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RESEARCHES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

(PROF. AMRESHWAR AVASTHI FELICITATION VOL.)

Edited by:-

JAI PRAKASH MISHRA

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Edited by
JAI PRAKASH MISHRA

AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI

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PREFACE

The present volume is in honour of Professor Amreshwar Avasthi an eminent social scientist and academician.

It is a distinct pleasure and a proud privilege to record of my deep sense of gratitude to the contributors for their scholarly and learned papers on various aspects of social sciences. As far as possible the papers have arranged in proper sequence. The editiorinal note contains a few sidelines gleaned from each and every paper. The responsibility of references and views expressed, rests entirely with the authors. However, I alone bear the responsibility for the shortcomings in the volume. The list of contributors have been given alphabetically.

I owe my gratitude to Shri S.P. Awasthi for contributing the academic profile of Professor Avasthi. I am grateful to Professor S.C. Dube for his reminiscences of various facets of the personality of Prof. Avasthi. I am also grateful to Professor H.P. Verma for a note on Professor Awasthi's tenure as Vice-Chancellor of Rani Durgavati Viswavidyalaya, Jabalpur.

I am grateful to Dr. S.C. Tiwari (Professor of Political Science) Dr. R.K. Sharma (Professor of Archaeology) and Dr. Manohar Pandit (Professor of Economics) for their valuable guidance in the preparation of this volume. I offer my heartfelt thanks to Shri Pramod Mehra, Archivist, National Archives of India, New Delhi, who rendered me every possible help in finalising the press copy of the volume.

I am indebted to Agam Kala Prakashan for bringing out the volume in an elegant manner.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Ashok Kumar Mukhopadhyay,
Professor and Head,
Department of Political Science,
University of Calcutta,
CALCUTTA.

Dr. Smt. Abha Rupender Pal,
Reader, Department of History,
Culture & Archaeelogy,
(School of Studies in History)
Ravishankar University,
RAIPUR.

Dr. Asha Gupta,
U.G.C. Fellow,
Department of Political Science,
University of Delhi,
DELHI.

Dr. Akhileshwar Prasad Singh,
Reader, Department of Political Science,
P.G. Centre, Ranchi University,
(Tata College Campus)
CHAIBASA. (BIHAR)

Dr. A.D.N. Bajpai,
Reader,
Department of Economics,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dr. Amitabh Shukla,
Lecturer,
Department of Economics,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Ashutosh Kumar Dubey,
Research Scholar,
Department of History,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. B.P.C. Bose
Lecturer,
Department of Political Science and
Public Administration, Nagarjuna University
NAGARJUNA (A.P.)

Dr. Brahmanand,
Department of History,
A.R.S.D. College,
(Delhi University)
NEW DELHI.

Dr. C.S. Sood,
Reader Bal Head,
Department of Political Science,
HNB Garhwal University,
SRINAGAR ,
(GARHWAL), (U.P.)

Dr. C.V. Raghavalu,
Prof. of Political Science and
Public Administration,
Nagarjuna University
NAGARJUNA (A.P.)

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Dr. David Baker,
Professor of History,
St. Stephen's College,
DELHI.

Dr. E.A. Narayana,
Lecturer, Department of Political Science and
Public Administration,
Nagarjuna University,
NAGARJUNA NAGAR. (A.P)

Dr. G.D. Shukla,
Professor and Head (Retd.)
Department of History,
Sardar Patel University,
Vallabh Vidyanagar,
KAIRA. (GUJARAT)

Dr. G.P. Nema,
Reader, Department of Political Science,
Dr. H.S. Gour University,
SAGAR. (M.P.)

Dr. Gunjan Sharma,
Lecturer, Department of Economics,
S.S. Khanna Girls College,
(Allahabad University)
ALLAHABAD.

Professor H.P. Verma,
Director, Adult Education,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. J.C. Jha,
Professor of Hisotry,
Director, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute,
PATNA.

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Dr. Jaytilak Guha Roy,
Centre for Administration of Justice,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
NEW DELHI.

Dr. Jai Prakash Mishra,
Reader and Head
Department of History,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Late Dr. K.D. Bajpai,
Professor & Head
(Tagore Professor)
Department of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Dr. H.S. Gour University,
SAGAR.

Dr. K. Mojumdar,
Professor & Head,
Department of History,
University of Nagpur,
NAGPUR.

Dr. K.S. Lal,
Professor & Head (Retd.)
Department of History,
University of Hyderabad,
HYDERABAD.

Dr. K.N. Sinha,
Professor & Head (Retd.)
Department of History
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

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Dr. Kamlesh Mishra,
Assistant Director,
Academic Staff College
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Smt. Lalita Mathur,
Assistant Professor,
Deparment of History,
Government Mahakoshal Arts
& Commerce College,
JABALPUR.

Professor Mahesh Dutt Mishra,
Ex-M.L.A. & Ex-M.P.
Professor & Head (Retd.)
Department of Political Science,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Manohar Pandit,
Professor, Department of Economics,
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Mahendra Prasad Singh,
Professor, Department of Political Science,
University of Delhi,
DELHI.

Dr. M.R. Sharma,
Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

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Dr. M.M. Semwal,
Lecturer,
Department of Political Science,
HNB Garhwal University,
SRINAGAR (GARHWAL)
(U.P.)

Dr. Smt. Nawaz B. Mody,
Dean, Faculty of Arts,
Department of Civics and Politics,
University of Bombay,
BOMBAY.

Dr. N. Ashirvad,
Head, Department of Political Science,
and Public Administration,
Nagarjuna University,
NAGARJUNA NAGAR. (A.P.)

Shri P.L. Joshi,
Prof. and Head,
Department of Political Science,
Nagpur University,
NAGPUR.

Dr. P.S. Mukhariya,
Professor & Head,
Department of History,
Government Mankunwar Girls College,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Pradeep K. Saxena,
Assiatant Professor,
Department of Public Administration,
Rajasthan University,
JAIPUR.

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Shri. Pramod Mehra,
Archivist,
National Archives of India,
Janpath,
NEW DELHI.

Dr. R.K. Sharma,
Professor & Head (Retd.)
Deparment of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Radhika Das,
Professor & Head,
Department of Economics,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Shri R.K. Nayak,
Director, State Archives
Governmentof Madhya Pradesh
Old Secretariat,
BHOPAL.

Dr. Ratneshwar Mishra,
Professor & Head,
Department of History,
L.N. Mithila University,
Darbhanga.

Dr. Raj Kumar,
Deputy Director,
Indian Council of Historical Research,
NEW DELHI.

Dr. R.N. Thakur,
Professor of Sociology & Social
Welfare Administration,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
NEW DELHI.

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Dr. R.N. Prasad,
Reader & Head,
Department of Public Administration,
North-Eastern Hill University,
Mizoram Campus,
AIZAWAL.

Dr. Rajeev Dubey,
Lecturer, Department of History,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Shri Ram Shankar
Lecturer,
Department of Political Science,
Rani Durgawati Vishwavidyalaya
JABALPUR.

Prof. S.C. Dube
Former Chairman,
Madhya Pradesh
Uchcha Shiksha Anudan Ayog,
BHOPAL.

Dr. S.C. Tiwari,
Professor & Head,
Department of Political Science,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Shreekrishna Jha,
Professor & Head,
Department of Political Science,
University of Gorakhpur,
GORAKHPUR.

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Dr. S.C. Mittal,
Reader, Department of History,
University of Kurukshetra,
KURUKSHETRA.

Dr. Sudhir Jacob George,
Reader, Department of Political Science,
University of Hyderabad,
HYDERABAD.

Dr. S.S. Singh,
Reader in Administrative Law,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
NEW DELHI.

Dr. Suresh Mishra,
Research Officer,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
NEW DELHI.

Shri. S.P. Awasthi,
Chief (Grade - I)
Institute of Applied Manpower Research,
NEW DELHI.

Dr. Shiv Kumar Tiwari,
Reader & Head,
Department of Tribal Studies,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. S.K. Sullerey,
Reader, (Head)
Department of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

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Dr. S.K. Chaturvedi,
Reader, Department of Political Science,
University of Meerut,
MEERUT. (U.P.)

Dr. Smt. Saraswati Mishra,
Lecturer, Department of Sociology,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. S.C. Sharma,
Lecturer, Department of History,
Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR.

Dr. Sudhakar Pandey,
Professor and Head (Retd)
Department of Ancient Indian History
Culture and Archeeology,
Dr. H.S. Gour University,
SAGAR.

Dr. V.D. Jha,
Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Dr. H.S. Gour University,
SAGAR. (M.P.)

Dr. V.P. Tripathi,
Reader, Department of Economics, R.B.S. College,
AGRA (U.P.)

Shri Vivek Misra
Lecturer,
Department of Political Science,
Rani Durgawati Vishwavidyalaya,
JABALPUR

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AMRESHWAR AVASTHI : AN ACADEMIC PROFILE

S.P. Awasthi

Born in village Kotra, which is situated in Sitapur District of Uttar Pradesh on 3 May 1913, Amreshwar Avasthi received his higher education in Lucknow University. He completed his brilliant academic career there in 1935 by obtaining First Division in Master's of Arts Examination in Political Science, also standing first in the order of merit. He repeated the performance in Nagpur University in 1944, while obtaining Master's of Arts Degree from there in History. Later in 1954, he obtained his doctorate degree in Political Science for Lucknow University. Shortly thereafter, he was selected by the Government of India, nunder its Modified Overseas Scholarship Scheme to undertake post-graduate study in Public Administration at Harvard in the USA. He was awarded Master's Degree in Public Administration (MPA) by Harvard University in 1956. His academic career has been frequently punctuated with a number of scholarships, awards and prizes, the more notable among them being Lucknow University Merit Scholarship (1931-34), Lucknow University Research Fellowship (1935-36), Modified Overseas Scholarship (1955-56), and Rockefeller Travel Grant (1956).

Being one of the senior-most members of the community of teachers of Political Science and Public Administration in India, Amreshwar Avasthi began his teaching career in Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, in 1936. Soon thereafter, he migrated to the erstwhile Central Province and Berar where he taught Political Science at graduate and post-graduate levels in Hislop College, Nagpur (1937-45) and later, on joining the Educational Service of the State Government, in Morris College, Nagpur, and Robertson College,

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Jabalpur. His association with the teaching of Public Administration began in Nagpur, as early as in 1950, when Nagpur University launched its postgraduate level-degree course in Public Administration. He joined Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) in 1958 as Assistant Professor in Public Administration and was elevated as Professor of Public Administration there in 1962. During his stay there, he among other things, designed and conducted the first-ever course on Organisation and Management in Governmental Administration. He also organised there a number of specialised training programmes for selected categories of Government officials. He left the IIPA in 1966 on accepting the invitation of Saugor University in Madhya Pradesh to join it as Professor and Head of Department of Political Science and Public aAdministration (1966-75). After retirement, he continued to teach there in his capacity as UGC Professor to Saugor University (1976-79).

While in active service and even after his retirement, professor Avasthi has frequently lectured, on invitation as a member of the guest faculty, at National Academy of Administration (Mussoorie), National Police Academy (then at Mount Abu), National Institute of Community Development (Hyderabad), Railways Staff College (Baroda), Secretariat Training School (New Delhi) Officers' Training School (Jaipur), Lal Bahadur Shastri Institute of Public Administration (Bhopal) and at similar other institutions in India.

Besides being an outstanding teacher, Professor Avasthi has been associated with some of the pioneering studies in the field of Public Administration in India. As early as in 1953, his research-work on "The Working of Local Self Government in Madhya Pradesh" was awarded the KEM Prize instituted by the prestigious King Edward Memorial Society, Nagpur. While at the IIPA, Professor Avasthi was an active member of its Case Study Programme and, in that capacity, he was associated with a string of case studies including the "Case Study on the Public Hospital" (1963) and "Case Study on Abolition of the Posts of Commissioners in M.P. and their Revival" (1966). He has also guided a number of research studies sponsored by such agencies as University Grants Commission and Indian Coun-

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cil of Social Science Research, and supervised scores of doctoral candidates. Professor Avasthi has been a member of several advisory committees on research such as the Committee on Case Studies (IIPA), Research Committee of M.P. Planning Board and ICSSR's Standing Commttee on Political Science. He has also served as the Chairman and Honorary Director of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain, and as the President of M.P. Political Science Association.

Professor Avasthi has, to his credit, more than 100 articles published in academic journals in India and abroad, covering the fields of Political Science, History and Public Administration. In the field of Public Administration, the areas covered by his writing include Organisation and Management, Local Self Government and Issues of Administration in India. Among the many books he has written, including some with co-authors, those entitled "Revenue Inspection at the District Level" (IIPA : 1965) "Public Administration" (1962), "Bureaucracy and Development" (1978), "Central Administration" (Tata McGraw Hill : 1980) and "Civil Service in India" (Indian Public Administration Association : 1986) are noteworthy. He has also contributed chapters to several edited books, including his chapter on "Administration—State and Union Territories," published in "The Gazetteer of India (Volume IV—Administration and Public Welfare)."

Professor Avasthi is currently the Chief Editor of "Lok Prashashan," Bhopal, the Hindi counter-part of the Indian Journal of Public Administration, New Delhi and is a member of the Editorial Board of "Administrative Change," published from Jaipur. He was associated with Indian Journal of Political Science and the Indian Journal of Public Administration for a number of years. Among the books brought out by him as Editor or as Co-Editor, "The Changing Role of the District Officer" (1956), "Elphinstone Correspondence 1804-08" (1961), "Revenue Boards and Divisional Commissioners" (1963), "Aspects of Administration" (1964), Municipal Administration in India" (1972) and "Crisis Administration in India (1983)" are worthy of note.

Professor Avasthi"s overseas experience includes his stay at Harvard (1955-56), immediately followed by study visits to various study centres in

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Public Administration in the USA. Later, in 1958, he undertook a study tour for observing the working of O and M Units in the USA, Canada, Egypt and several Western European Countries. He has also been a frequent visitor to Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Throughout his career, Professor Avasthi has been actively associated with the delibrations for the promotion of teaching and research in the field of Public Administration in India. he was a member of such high-level bodies as the Executive Committee, IIPA (1966-70), M.P. Administrative Reforms commission (1970-72), and Executive Council of Indian Public Administration Association (1971-78). He was the President of the Indian Public Administration (1972-73). He has also held the post of Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Saugor University (1974-75) and has been a member of academic bodies in Public Administration in a number of Indian Universities.

In recognition of his countless contribution as an academician and as a scholar, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has conferred its prestigious Dr. Hari Singh Gour Award for Social Sciences (1985) on Professor Avasthi. The Award is of the value of Rs. Fifty Thousand only and Professor Avasthi has the distinction of being its first receipient.

As a fitting finale to his long and distinguished academic career Professor Avasthi was appointed as Vice Chancellor of Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya, Jabalpur in 1984. He relinquished the post after successfully completing his term in June 1986. To his pupils and peers alike, Professor Avasthi's appointment as Vice-Chancellor represents a mark of recognition of his countless contributions, over the years, to the growth and development of Public Administration as an academic discipline in India. Yet anothe token of such recognition is the recent setting up of the Amreshwar Avasthi Institute of Public Administration for Teaching, Training, Research and Extension in Public Administration by the Rourkela Institute of Management Studies at Rourkela.

Despite his advancing age, Professor Avasthi continues to keep himself engaged in academic activities with the verve and vigour of a person totally dedicated to his profession.

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REMINISCENCES

S.C. Dube

It is difficult to write objectively about one's teacher, especially a teacher who was one's guide, preceptor, and source of inspiration. Though I was formally Professor Avasthi's student only for a year, I could draw upon his resources throughout my graduate-Hons. level-studies and even later. For a little under five decades we have had affectionate and warm relations. Our Interaction was interrupted as both of us were constantly on the move, but this did not diminish my regard for him or his affection for me, I know of several other former students of Professor Avasthi, who also hold him in high esteem.

In Nagpur University, before a university department was set up, post-graduate teaching in Political Science was done by pooling of college teachers. Professor Avasthi, then with Hislop College, participated in teaching Hons. and M.A. Classes under this arrangement. We found him very systematic and thorough. He developed his lecture in such a logical order that we had no difficulty in understanding and even memorising all the important points. The reading lists given by him were a great help to the better students. From him I learnt the art of note-taking, first separately from different books to be integrated later into a comprehensive essay. In fact he allowed me to use some of his own notes carried over from his student days. They were most impressive in range and depth. I was the first student in Nagpur University to get a first division in Political Science Hons/M.A. and I was indeed happy that I had not betrayed Professor Avasthi's expectations. He was pleased when I was appointed in his place after he moved over to Morris College. Professor Avasthi had come to Nagpur from Lucknow University; the exchange cycle was completed when I was appointed in his old department in Lucknow. He continued to watch my progress and was always generous with his advice.

In the years that followed we took different paths. He specialized in Public Administration and I switched over to Anthropology. We met at

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Cambridge, Mas, years later. He was doing an advanced programme at Harvard and I had been invited to give three seminars at MIT—two great neighbouring institutions. In the photographs of the seminar Professor Avasthi is clearly recognizable. Incidentally another person, present was Henry Kisinger, who later emerged as a shining star on the political horizon. It was good to have a vegetarian meal with Professor Avasthi in Boston.

Years later we were colleagues at the University of Saugar. He came there much after me, when Professor M.P. Sharma retired. With his arrival, the Department of Political Science was activated. Courses were modernized, a public administration programme was initiated, and several national seminars were held. His department took up a number of research project.

Our last official contact was when he was Vice-Chancellor of Rani Durgavati University, Jabalpur and I was Chairman, Madhya Pracesh Uchcha Shiksha Anudan Ayog. He had great plans for the University and had established a semblance of order in its functioning. I was hoping that the Ayog would support some of his development plans; we even extended some financial help. Unfortunately his stay in Jabalpur was not long enough to enable him to carry to fruition any of his major initiatives. The threads were later taken up by Professor H.P. Dixit, when he became Vice-Chancellor. Professor Avasthi always made a meaningful contribution to the deliberation of M.P. Vice-Chancellors Conferences.

Professor Avasthi is basically a scholar and a teacher. His books—comprehensive and thought provoking—were widely used by the student community. They inspired the students to seek and to explore. In a sense they were an extension of the teacher in him.

A committed and dedicated individual, Professor Amreshwar Avasthi is simple and sincere to a fault; he could even be blunt and undiplomatic. He did not have a soaring ambitions. In his case recognitions followed achievement. The honours he received were well deserved.

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PROFESSOR AMRESHWAR AVASTHI : A TEACHER VICE-CHANCELLOR

H.P. Verma

Professor Amreshwar Avasthi has the image of a teacher par excellence and this image he would not sacrifice for anything in the world. Like a true teacher he is unassuming and not weighed down by his learning. In his life and thought only one idea always reigned supreme and that is the idea of man in pursuit of knowledge.

But he does not evoke the image of a teacher that stands in a class room with an air of superiority, delivering sermons and snubbing the inquistitive minds that try to reach innocently his limited frontiers of knowledge. He is a teacher with a difference who gleans the seedlings of knowledge and tries to plant them in minds that approach him with a view to seeing them grow in climatically different continents of mind. He never boasts of being a teacher, even of History, Political Science or Public Administration, the disciplines in which he enjoys commanding heights. He always calls himself a student of Political Science, History and public Administration.

If he has anything confidential he would say' I hold it in confidence and it is sacred. Dr. Avasthi is a straightforward man, who comes to the point with perfect candour. But, the most enduring characteristic of his is that he makes no distinctions of caste, creed, colour or gender.

I have had the honour to serve over a dozen Vice-Chancellors of Jabalpur University right from its inception but no one graced that chair with such distinction and high regard for academic culture and administrative integrity. For him the office of the Vice Chancellor of

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for that matter any office was very small as he had no ambitions of position, power or monetary gain.

Professor Avasthi accepted the office of Vice Chancellor in the best traditions of public spirit. During his tenure he always acted according to his rights and never submitted to pressures which are the bane of teaching institutions in the country today. He sat in judgement on everything that was going on in the University but interfered in no body's work and allowed no one to tamper with the system. He decentralised the administration and each officer was asked to attend to his work and not interfere in the work of others. Matters that needed decision at the highest level were placed before him; otherwise everything was sorted out at the level of the Registrar. This system of decentralisation worked so well that each officer not only performed his duties but developed a sense of confidence in his own decision making.

As a good administrator he discerned the qualities of each of his immediate subordinates and he pooled the talent-resource in the administration and with his own knowledge of public administration made the system work marvellously well. He would have just some dozen files for disposal each day and a few issues for official discussion. Rest of the time he would prefer to have interection with teachers and academics, and would dig into the latest books and journals. Punctually, he would come to the office and punctually he would leave. He expected others to follow his example. Should something detain him in the office at the lunch hour, he would have no lunch on that day and would sit in the office till the end for he felt that time-management is as important as man-management.

Dr Avasthi's insight into men, matters and things is generous but keen. It would take just a few days for him to size up a person. His judgement is always objective and pure.

Even in matters where a certain degree of subjectivity is inevitable he rematind remarkably fair in his judgement. Since his judgement is pure and vision clear, his decisions were generally acceptable and even his critics could not find fault with them. He

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believes in giving each individual his dues. If he is worthy of respect he gets it; if he is worthy of love and blessings he gets them. But if his worth is little he does not scorn him but just places him at a point where his worth becomes useful without otherwise affecting others.

Professor Avasthi is a shining example of an academician with a flair for administration.

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EDITORIAL

Jai Prakash Mishra

AUTHORITY OF MINTING COINS IN ANCIENT INDIA

The paper propunds the theory based on finds of latest coins, that the authority of minting coins in ancient India vested not only with the janapadas but also with corporations of various traders and silver smiths.

FRANCHISE AND ELECTIONS IN VEDIC PERIOD

In Ancient India it is interesting to note that republics Co-existed with monarchy. The republics preceeded monarchy. Elections were conducted in ancient republics and in the transitory period republicanism was replaced by monarchy. The monarchy was hereditary but the popular choice was there. Usually the monarch was from the royal family and he had the popular support.

Some times many candidates contested for the election and people naturally took a keen interest. Canvassing was not resorted to and there was no question of any media. Prayers, Charm etc., were used to win over voters. Franchise was for all the people of the tribe in some states while in some only the privileged class had the right of choice. This was different from the elections in Ancient Greece where all the citizens were members of the democratic body. The king ruled for the whole life. But he could be banished and the dethroned king used to restored to his office.

Often indirect elections were held for Sabhas and Samitis. But for Imperial Councils, there were elections by the people as a whole. Unlike the Greek elections were direct in India and the principle of representation was followed.

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THE SACRAMENT OF MARRIAGE DURING VEDIC PERIOD

Marriage in ancient Indian was a religious affair based on matrimonial rites, ceremonial acts and customs. After the parents and elders had selected the bride and bridegroom rites and customs followed. The ceremony consisted of many symbolic actions which were concerned with the physical, mental and fateful stability. The priest, a Brahmin had a vital role to play. This was done for the happiness and prosperity of the newly wedded couple in their future life.

The second stage came when the bride entered her cohort's house. They sat before the household fire and worshipped it. The wife was told about her duties and rights in the family. She was expected to have children for the family traditions to continue. All aged men and women assembled and blessed her. In the bed chamber she entered along with her husband and then the cohabitation followed with the recital of verses. In the end the couples appeared before the Brahmin priest so that the demons may go away with them. This practice virtually continues with some changes even in modern times as they were during the Vedic period.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF RAMAGIRI

The problem of identification of Ramagiri described in the works of Kalidasa is a subject of keen controversy amongst the scholars. The author has furnished evidences to identity it with Ramagarh in the Sarguja district of Madhya Pradesh.

THE KALACHURIS OF KALANJARA

The author argues to prove that a branch of the Kalachuris ruled at Kalanjara, the hill fortress in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh, before the rise of the other branches at Mahismati, Tripuri, Ratanpur, Raipur, Sarayupara and Kalyana. On the basis of various indirect evidences it may be concluded that a separate branch of the Kalachuris ruled at Kalanjara which later on migrated to Tripuri and to Karnataka due to the growth of power of power in Kalanjara Mandal.

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ROYAL PATRONAGE TO ART ACTIVITIES BY THE RULERS OF THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR

The rulers of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur promoted the Art activities within the periphery of the empire and the patronage was offered irrespective of caste and creed. The author mainly studied the dated monuments and sculptures. Available epigraphic records of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur and their feudatories have also been consulted.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF DAKSHINA KOSALA UNDER THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR

This is a commendable treatise on a much neglected part of Central India where at one time ruled the non-publicised family of Kalachuris with their Capital at Ratanpur, the historical remains of which have not been much taken notice of in the past. Interestingly enough they ruled the area for nearly eight hundred years, long period for any ruling dynasty. They were benevolent rulers with high traditions and with an idea of welfare state. That was the medieval period of Indian history. The writer has taken pains togather information from epigarphs and other sources.

He traces the social structure of the inhabitants of this part, the Dakshina Kosala, a part of now Mahakoshal. As in Hindu society there were four varnas i.e. the Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. They were called jatis also. It is noteworthy that the word Sudra was not used but one can get an idea of them through some land grants made to them. The Brahmans were the most favoured people and they were associated with priestly work and had royal patonage. They were respected and consulted by the rulers on important matters of the State. They were divided into gotras traced to Seven Rishi. They had different surnames. They were held in high esteem by Kalachuri rulers and received valuable gifts from them. They maintained a high standard of life and conduct.

The Kshattriyas came next to the Brahmans. The rulers belonged to this group. They were the protectors of society. The writer gives a

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detailed account of their work. They were great fighters and knew the skill and technique of warfare. They had political foresight and were just and wise rulers.

The Vaisyas formed the third Varna. They were business people and exercised great influence at the royal court. They did the work of cultivation, trade and commerce.

The Sudras followed their traditional way of life. They were an important section of the society and were skilled artisans. Some of them were well off. They were quite happy, prosperous and were religious minded.

A very interesting community that came up was that of the Kayasthas. They were an important community of the Hindu Society. They held high public offices in the State and outside the State. They were learned and were oficials of Kalachuri Kings. They maintained the State records.

Finally the writer throws light on the position of women society. He gives an account of their status as rulers wives, the responsibilities expected of them as mothers or as dowage Rajmatas. They were quite advanced and had a say in state and domestic affairs. The rulers wife accompanied him in the battle field. She was compassionate and had great virtues. The system of Sati was there lent it was not widely practised. A very important feature of the society was the joint family system. People in Dakshina Kosala had built beautiful temples which were highly endowed.

GEO STRATEGY OF GOND FORTS

Between the two mountain ranges vindhyachal and Satpura and flowing in their valleys are two important rivers, the Narmada and Tapti. The whole area is covered with dense forests on undulating ground, interpenetrated by almost inaccessible forests abound with wild, ferocious animals. Dotted here and there are Gond forts which were built more for protection than for a battle. The site and situation of forts reflect the regional character of medieval kingdoms.

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They were not easily visible. The Gond rulers shifted their capital from one fort to another depending on the attitude of the rulers for his own safety. The tribals were not warriors and they were no match to the Muslim rulers of the North India who had their own armies, well equipped and with enough provisions. The main function of these forts was to provide inaccessibility and the passive act of the rulers was to save their kingdom. Out of these forts 52 still exist in dilapidated condition. It is painful that while the tribal people have received wise attention but very little notice is taken of their forts.

HISTORICITY OF RAJGOND KINGS OF GARHA-MANDLA

India has a long tradition of revealing historical events through folklores. Numerous tribes which gaverise to the Hindu culture and remembered their hoary past only through songs and narratives which were later documented in different ways. In the folklores of these tribes there are numerous instances of historical events. This is a traditionaly way of remembering history where' chronoloy' has little meaning. However, this area of historical presentation presents a major obstacle for our westernized vision when we search the chronologically correct history of our own people from their traditional narratives. Gonds and other tribals of central India had become the part of Hindu community in ancient India. According to Forsyth the Raj-Gonds were in many cases the descendent between Rajput adventures and Gonds. They claimed their descent from a Gond chief and Rajput wife. With the passage of time those Hindus were marginalised who lived in forests and thrived through hunting, gathering and subsistence agriculture. Now it is a work of historians who may prepare the **Historical Chronologies'** necessary for modern studies in the context of tribal history.

MIDDLE CLASSES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

The paper attempts to portray the psyche of the middle class of the Indian society during the 17th century. The author has made an excellent attempt to jux'tapose the prevalent society of the period in India with the

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division of classes that existed in pre-Revolution France. He consulted the vivid description provided by the travel accounts of Francois Bernier, who visited the Mughal Court during 1656-68 to prove his assertion. The author refers to the potentialities of the organised protest inherent in these middle classes for wresting concessions from the privileged classes of the society of the period.

SANT PRANNATH AND THE PRANAMI SECT.

Sant Prannath (1618-94 A.D.) was perhaps the last in the glorious tradition of those *Sants* of Medieval India who worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. Besides, he also laid a solid foundation of the synthesis of all religions for the first time in India. While *Sants* like Kabir, Nanak, Raidas, Dadu etc. have received full attention at the hands of the historians, the historicity and the contribution of Prannath and the *Pranami* Sact remains comparatively an unexplored field. Historians have paid scant and inadequate attention to it.

The primary and original sources of this sect are vast. It has a vast literature behind it, in the form of the *'Bani Sahitya'* and the *'Bitak Sahitya ' The Bani* or teachings of *Sant* Prannath are collected in the *Kulzamswarup'* or *Tartamya Sagar'* which means a vast ocean of knowledge. It is in 14 volumes or *'Granthas'* with more than 18 thousand verses. The *'Bitak Sahitya'* contains his biographies (written in verse-form) running into thousands of verses by his learned disciples. There are seven *Bitaks* about him. All the Pranami literature is in Hindustani written in the *Devnagri* script.

The *Pranamis* concealed their literature from the public view for a long time. Before the independence of India it was not opened to those who were not the followers of this sect. The reasons for this are best known to them. Now it has been opened to the general public. The *Kulzamswarup* was first published in 1965. This had given rise to much misunderstanding about the sect and a proper evaluation has yet to be done by the historians.

SHIVAJI AS VIEWED BY BENGALI INTELLECTUALS

It was a belief commonly held that only the Maharastrian and the British were the chroniclers of Shivaji. The historians of Bengal also wrote

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a detailed, lucid and fair account of Shivaji who defeated the Mughal Empire and established the Maratha kingdom, regeneration of Hindu hegemony. The author in his treatise elucidated the contribution of Bengali historians on the life and work of Shivaji. He established the uniqueess of Shivaji's place in Indian national life and alongwith him the Peshwa, the significant chapter of the history of the Hindu glory.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : ELEMENTS OF PROTEST AND CREATIVITY

It is generally believed that introduction of the western ideas and institutions in India led to the rise of social protest and religious dissent in the 19th century. The paper aims at examining how dark was the 18th century and whether that darkness was removed only through the spread of western knowledge or there was the presence of Indian intellecutal tradition that not only paved the way for the socio-cultural progress in the 18th century but also prepared the ground for the regeneration in the 19th century. The Indian society in the 18th century did not lack individual brilliance in religious, social and intellectual activities. These intellectual tendencies encouraged the element of social protest and religious dissent throughout the 18th century long before the imperialistic intervention. An intense desire to establish a reformed society was always there and the Indians had always been critical of their orthodox institutions. All their social, religious reform activities and intellectual attainments which led to the emergence of the reform movements of the 19th century aimed at reforming their own society.

A REVIEW OF THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MOIRA MARQUIS OF HASTINGS (1813 A.D. TO 1823 AD)

During the Governor Generalship of Lord Hastings further expansion of the British empire took place in India. However, he also devoted sufficient time to introduce new changes in the sphere of internal adminstration. Enquiry into the system of land tenures, introduction of police system, the arrangement and supervision of the

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local courts of justice were given due weightage during his region. His liberal and enlightened outlook led to the abolition of press censorship despite the opposition of the council and framed general rules for the guidance of the editors to stop the publication of those topics which may undermine the authority of the Government. His pioneering work in the field of education for the moral and intellectual advancement of the Indians are noteworthy. A few works of public utility like construction of roads, bridges and canals were executed during his time. Lord Hastings adminisitration was a continuation of Wellesley's expansionist policy and a forerunner to Bentick's reforms which resulted in the growth of the modern Indian administration.

EARLY HISTORY OF THUGGEE AND ITS MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS

The paper refers to the origin of Thuggee in India. The modus operandi employed by the Thugs in their criminal operations have been succincly described and their all round activities given in graphic details. The comparison of thugs in central India with the counterparts elsewhere in India have been drawn to depict their sphere of activities and commanalities existing in the heinous trade.

ORIGINS OF THE CHAMBAL VALLEY DACOITS

The paper examines the factors which were responsible for persons taking recourse to dacoity in Chambal region, caste-based cadres amongst dacoits and a brief historical retrospect of their activities. The differences between Pindari, Thuggee and Dacoity have as well been discussed in the paper.

INDIAN CULTURE IN THE WEST INDIES

Despite certain regional variations the Indian sub-continent had developed a distinct culture. One of the main characteristics of Indian culture had been its long antiquity or continuity which had evolved

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during the last five thousand years or more. The spirit of this culture survived after many invasions and conquests. It not only accomodated foreign elements but also assimilated some of them. More than 416,000 Indians visited West Indies between 1838 and 1917 as indentured labourers. Many of them had become unemployed or lost their land following the Revolt of 1857 in India and therefore they had been compelled by the circumstances to emigrate. They knew the value of property and thereby accquired property in the West Indies. Some sick Indians took to begging. Unlike the Africans the Indians did not give up their religion and social habits. In the post-independence period a number of Indian-scholars, the Indian High Commission staff, wrestlers, yogic, preachers, film personalities had increased which resulted in an unprecedented cultural revival among the Indians.

SOME PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE NATURE OF PRODUCTION AND CLASS RELATIONS ON THE UNECONOMIC FARMS IN WESTERN INDIA UNDER COLONIAL RULE, 1850-1950.

The paper deals with some pertinent problems relating to uneconomic farms in Western India under colonial rule (1850-1950) with reference to the nature of production and class-relations. Such uneconomic farms failed to meet the subsistence requirement of the farmer and the owner had to work partly either as a tenant or labourer, and if these expedients failed to rescue him, he became dependent on usurer. The author argues that the criteria for identifying uneconomic holdings as the holdings which did not meet the minimum requirements for farmer's family is not so fruitful as the criteria, although less often used, wherein production is taken into consideration. Author further argues that the assumption that production process on uneconomic farms does not yield any profit need to imply that no surplus value is created, but it simply means that much surplus was diverted across other unproductive channels in the form of rent, interest, and state demands.

In this paper it is assumed that holdings below 5 acres are un-

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economic holding, being the lowest possible limit for estimating the magnitude uneconomic farms. It is argued that the range of applicability of this concept is certainly a wider one than assumed by earlier writers. This concept is of vital importance in explaining the recurrent problems of colonial agriculture, its persistent crisis, the long-term stagnation and under-development.

It is concluded that the evolution of uneconomic holdings cannot be entirely attributed to Hindu Law of inheritance or demographic pressure. It is suggested that the underlying features of production process on uneconomic farms were inertia and stagnation, labour intensive techniques, preponderance of subsistence crops and low level of inputs. The author believes that the nature of class relations prevailing upon the uneconomic farms were for more complex compared to other farms. This introduced numerous complexities in social relations of the uneconomic farmers who became intricately interwined with numerous chains of dependency upon the surrounding social sphere.

ROHTAK IN REVOLT : A STUDY IN PEASANTS UPSURGE IN 1857

The paper in general raised a number of questions of far reaching importance relating to the Great Revolt of 1857 and critically examines the local issues in particular which gave incentive to the uprising in Rohtak District. The nature and character of the uprising in the District has been discussed in some detail with special reference to the classes which were more actively associated in the revolt.

There were many aspects of the peasants discontents in the Rohtak district. The village communities were forcibly liquidated resulting in a wide gulf between the peasants and the big land lords. The summary settlements of land revenue was oppressive and methods of collection were vexatious and extortionate. The effects of over assessment became obvious after 1828 when there was a severe agrarian depression but government did not come forward to give any relief. The peasants were demoralised and their economy was in shambles.

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Moreover, the recurrence of famines and epidemic also resulted in further deterioration of the condition of the peasants. The other contributing factors were the fall in grain prices which caused hardships to them. The end of village Panchayat system and the setting up of British judicial system which was corrupt and inefficient further led to great discontent. The work of Christian missionary naturally led to suspicion about their motive among the people. The feudal chiefs and the Sardars whose states were snatched away were the backbone of the revolt in the district. All these factors resulted in the peasant discontent which stimulated the great rising. Moreover, it was the result of the socio-economic and religious grievances and the dissatisfaction of the nawabs who lost their suzerainty.

NARAYAN SINGH THE ZAMINDAR OF SONAKHAN, A GREAT MARTYR OF 1857

Sonakhan is a township in Baloda Bazar Tehsil of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. The Zamindari of Sonakhan was held by the ancestors of Narayan Singh since the close of the 18th Century. Before the Revolt of 1857, the Zamindar Narayan Singh was arrested by the British for his generosity to the people in the famine year of 1856 for supplying extracted grains. When the Great Revolt broke out Narayan Singh managed to escape in October 1857 to his Zamindary. Thereafter he made heavy preparations to fight out the British by recruiting force, erecting walls on sensitive points and placing guns in the mountains. The Infantry commanding at Raipur took march against him and was repulsed for a while. The British having failed to come any passage to Sonakhan finally took help of the uncle of Narayan Singh on his betray. His help paved way for the British to reach Sonakhan through a secret route rendering the guns at mountains inoperative. Narayan Singh gave a great fight but was arrested finally and taken to Raipur Jail. A trial was staged against him and finally was sentenced to death in 1859. The place where he was blown at Raipur is named as "Vijay Stambha" today as a mark of his martyrdom.

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THE CHANGED MASTERS : TOWARDS QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION, 1858 AND CROWN IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA.

With the first ever organised challenge posed by the Indian masses to the British imperialism and supremacy, passions ran high in the minds of the champions in the land of the mother of democracy. How to combat with the changed situations and the *modus operandi* to hold on to India engaged the attention of the Government of Britain. Various stages of debates and discussions preceeded the final drafting of an Act to give better Government in India. Dissensions and debates flooded the Parliament and people alike. The credit for the final success to grant a Government to India, which remained the edifice till 1920 and for the Governments thereafter, should not go to an individual but to an institution that included wisdom and conciliation alike. This paper is an endeavour to examine the various stages wherein the final passage of the Bill on 2 August 1858 by the Parliament took place and highlights the views of Parliament and people on the combined efforts.

POLITICAL IDEAS OF MAHARSHI SHRI ARVIND : A STUDY INTO HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

An administrator, turned as violent agitator for the freedom of India and finally settled down as a Yogi or Maharshi was Shri. Arbind Ghosh. It is a unique case of these different roles in which this man appeared in the history of mankind. The author rightly described him the prophet of our age. He was a genius in various fields of human activities. As time passed he extended his confines from India to other countries of the world and he showed concern not only for his own countrymen but for the whole of humanity. He was basically spiritual and not political. He felt deeply that India should become completely independent and he would not compromise on anything short of that. India had a glorious past and she should be fully conscious of this and with this background she had a great message to the world. He regarded India as mother and he was passionately fond of Vande Matram.

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Maharshi started his career from Baroda. He contributed articles to different journals bitterly criticizing the British rule in India which was barbaric. He did not favoured the Indian National Congress particularly the Liberals who advocated constitutional advancement of India, adopting the British form of Government. He felt deeply about the miserable plight of the poor Indians. He believed in the use of violent methods to put an end to the British Raj and shifted to Bengal to give shape to his ideas. After his release from Alipore Jail in mid-1909, he retired from active politics and devoted all his time and energy to spiritualism and internal Yoga. He believed that the violence of the British must be met with violence of Indians. He finally settled in Pondicherry then under the French rule and from there he carried on his activities. He desired that the low caste people should come to the status of Brahmans. He believed strongly in Universal brotherhood, peace and prosperity for all the people of the world. In brief, Arvind was a great politician thinker and at the same time a great seer-Mahayogi. Indians should naturally feel proud of such a son of India.

ANNIE BESANT'S POLITICS IN INDIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR : A STUDY OF HER POLITICAL IDEALOGY :

This paper depicts the nature and character of the political idealogy of Annie Besant with the backdrop of Indian politics during World War-I period. The author discusses the evolution of the social philosophy propounded by Mrs. Besant, her understanding of the Eastern and Western cultures and her insistence for preserving ancient traditions and values of Indian culture. She believed that 'the science of politics was an aspect of the Divine Wisdom whose principles were firmly based on the bedrock of humanity's spiritual oneness and not on expediency'.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCE AND BERAR LEGISLATURE AND THE LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT : A STUDY IN FIRST PHASE-1915-1919

The people of C.P. and Berar desired the formation of local bodies to deal with the problems which affected the people of rural

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areas. There was confrontation between the government and some land lords and the lawyers who occupied position of importance in these bodies. They were represented in the then Legislative Council, Amendments had to be made to the Local-self Government Act and the Municipal Act, before they were submitted to the Government of India for approval.

The object of the Bill was to widen franchise, financial independence through some taxation and to reduce the control of Government. This Bill was much debated in the Council as there was no unanimity in confliciting opinions. Some leaders did make attempt to find a via-media. They wanted more representatives of the people free from unnecessary Government control. The Government at the Centre did feel that such bodies should be genuinely representative with more power to deal with local problems and consequently a Committee was appointed to give effect to the policy of the Government of India through a new Local-self Government Bill. It stipulated that there should be elected representatives and also some nominated members. Study teams were therefore, sent to England to observe the work of the local bodies.

The Government of C.P. and Berar after a due consideration presented a draft bill before the council in November 1919. Some members opposed this Bill as there was no scheme to introduce Panchayat System. It was, however, passed otherwise it would have meant a retrograde step.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CONGRESS RAJ IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR (1919-1937)

The paper depicts the gradual transition of Congress as a ruling party in the Central Provinces by virtue of a massive mandate given to it in the provincial elections of 1937. The author refers to the infectious enthusiasm of the people in the Province which saddled the Congress to form first ever Ministry in July 1937, after having been dominated by the British over 80 years.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF KARMAVIR IN MASS AWAKENING OF MAHAKOSHAL REGION 1920-30

The Hindi weekly 'Karmavir' made a significant contribution in the national movement by creating wide spread awakening among the masses of Mahakoshal region against the oppressive British rule. With its distinguished editor Makhanlal Chaturvedi, the paper infused people with the spirit of freedom and inspired them to defy the alien rulers. The paper had to suffer the wrath of the British rulers but it continued its crusade against the injustice and repressive measures of British bureaucracy to curb the struggle for freedom. The editor in his own way suffered but did not cease his mission to awaken the people through this media.

GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN THE PRINCELY STATES OF VINDHYA PRADESH REGION (1930-48)

During the British rule Vindhya Pradesh consisted of 35 big and small states and they were part of two regions Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. The author here traces in the detailed manner the growth the national consciousness and struggle for the democratic form of Government. This region consisted of people who lived in object poverty, ignorance, very poor in health and economically very backward. They were mostly farmers, landless labourers and small craftsmen. The rulers were very oppressive, inconsiderate and were bent upon retaining their absolute rule over the masses. The writer gives an account of their suffering for getting their grievances redressed. It was a non-violent fight against tyranny. They were subjected to very inhuman treatment by those in authority backed by the British rulers. People continued their struggle individually or through organisations for their rights by their elected representatives.

After Independence 1947, Vindhya Pradesh was placed under a Lt. Governor who was assisted by the Legislative Assembly. Finally in 1956, on linguistic basis, this part of Central India was merged with the newly formed states of Madhya Pradesh. The paper is a

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brief but comprehensive account of how people had struggled undergoing all sorts of inhuman and barboraus acts of the rulers to win their cherished goal of obtaining self-government.

AN INDIAN EFFORT TO AVERT PARTITION: SAPRU COMMITTEE PROPOSALS

The Constitutional proposals of the Sapru Committee is a monumental document on communal history and rejects other idea of the partition of India or creation of Pakistan. It also deals with the political problem and suggests a solution of it. However, the scope of this paper is limited to its proposals regarding the communal history and the partition of India.

An eminent jurist Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was free from any political affiliation, took up the task of bringing the two great communities Hindus and Muslims to live in peace and harmony and bring prosperity to this land. Historically the two communities were interdependent and contributed to the culture and traditions of India and thus there was unity in diversity. Sapru had the tacit consent of Gandhiji but at the very outself Jinnah, who had acquired the position of spokesman of the Muslim Community thwarted the mission of Sapru. He was joined by the lower strata of the Hindus and some fundamentalists among the Hindus, raised their voice of protest to Sapru's proposals and thus added fuel to fire, Of course the British rulers were happy to take advantage of this to thwart the great work of Sapru. All this happened in 1944 and 1945. His idea was not to have persons from any political party, but only those who were willing to evolve a formula of compromise to give one voice to the political aspirations of the people of our country. His Committee represented all sections of the people of India who knew well the communal and political problems of the country. The British rulers had adopted an attitude of strong opposition to the formation and work of Sapru Committee and directly or indirectly created obstacles in its work.

One section of the press lauded the great mission of Sapru while the communal press saw to its failure. Thus there was also no unanimity in the media and it made the task of Sapru more difficult. The two leaders Jinnah and Ambedkar were not prepared to

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pay any leed to the concrete proposals of the committee to keep the communities united and save this land from portition.

THE GENESIS OF A NEW MYTH : POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The concept of political development is a relatively new concept in the discipline of Political Science. Since its inception, however, the concept has caught the imagination of political scientists all over the World, and it has become the pivot around which most of the recent through in political science has tended to organise itself.

The emergence of this concept can be associated with two significant developments upon the world scene. The first in the emergence and coming into world prominence of a host of new nation-states born out of the holocaust of the Second World War and the second being the almost simultaneous ushering in of a profound revolution in the methodology and substance of the discipline of political science-the Behavioral Revolution.

The dominant parameters of the concept of political development were deviced and formulated by Western scholars. A social scientist inevitable identifies himself with the characteristics of the polity of which he is a member. Hence, it is natural for these, 'prescriptions' from the west for the 'Third World' nations to contain an expression of their (the West's) ethno-centric biases and value ambiguities. Further, the inherent logical inconsistencies of the concept with regard to the choice of the unit for comparison the 'path' of development, the problems of devicing a common measure for comparison and the content of the 'perfect polity' all compound to produce a 'Myth' that defies logic and understanding. The vital question that therefore arises is, can the methods of the pure sciences be applied to social sciences? And, should be continue to the guided by the West with regard to our own social and political paradigms ?

PROF. LASKI AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

The great French thinker of the French Revolution 1789 Rousseau had given the three words, Liberty, Equility and Fraternity

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which had a far reaching effect on the course of the events of the Revolution. Harold Laski, who was conscious of his Jewish parentage regarded individual liberty as the pivot some which his whole political ideology revolved. The author has thoughtfully analysed his concept of liberty with the group, society, community and the nation. He emphatically asserts that there should be no compromise where individual liberty is concerned. He hated all 'isms', whether it was communism or capitalism. He stands for pluralistic type of government. He, however, does not come out with a definite programme to achieve this. He was the political philosopher of the Labour Party in employment. His over emphasis on individual liberty did not lead to actual practice of it. He has viewed liberty from all angles, social, personal, economic, political, etc. Capitalism according to him is an evil since it makes a mockery of economic security. Finally, it is the duty of the State to guarantee minimum liberty.

TILAK — A POLITICAL STUDY

Before the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for India's freedom, three leaders of the country had played a vital part in it and they were Tilak, Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Chandra Pal. Tilak was a fire brand extremist and a bitter opponent of the policies of the Congress and the Liberal Party.

Tilak had a deep study of Bhagawad Gita and had written in Mandalay Jail *Gita Rahasya*. He advocated that the fight with the British rulers was one of righteousness against evil and people had to become Karmayogi. He knew well India's glorious past and vehemently opposed all those leaders of India who were influenced by western learning, science and its ways of life thereby belittling our great heritage.

Tilak was fearless, stood for truth and justice and did not hesitate to express his views openly whether one agreed with him or not. His slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it" become very popular through the length and breadth of the country. He believed in action in doing what he felt was right, unimindful of its reaction on the British rulers.

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Through his papers "Kesari and Mahratha", published from Pune, he carried on a relentless fight againt the misdeed and injustice done to the people of India by the British Rulers.

Tilak was aware of some of the evil customs among Hindus and he insisted to get them removed. He created a nationlist spirit among them by giving importance to 'Ganesh Festival' and 'Shivaji Jayanti'. He was not a religious bigot but through these festivals, he desired to generate a nationalist spirit among the Indians. He was not a communalist and wanted Muslims to fight the British rulers in close cooperation with Hindus. He was very pragmatic and realistic in the outlook. He believed in suffering and simple living.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Jawaharlal Nehru was deeply concerned for the welfare of the people of India. He wanted that right policies and well executed programmes of socio-economic development should be undertaken to improve the social situation. He believed that this could be achieved only through cooperative actions between the administrators and the people. The paper reflects Nehru's role in shaping the public administration.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND THÉ PASSING OF HINDU CODE BILL

The paper highlights Nehru's vision of modern India and his enthusiasm to bring about a legislation governing Hindu personal law. The Hindu Code Bill which Nehru attempted to get the parliamentary approval brought about the muh needed reforms for the traditional society of Hindus and thereby providing succour to Hindu women and grant them equal rights hitherto enjoyed by their male counterparts.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL AND HIS ROLE IN THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION (1946-50)

The author has given a vivid account of the administrative qualities of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel during the post-independence era. Sardar Villabhbhai Patel, the Iron man of India, played a vital part in erecting

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administrative structure of the country during the critical period of India after the British had quite the country. A man with a sterling character and one who never hesitated to call a spade a spade dreamt of a strong united India. He had a clear cut vision for the welfare of the people. Hailing from a rural area, he had the energy, stamina and hard work associated with a peasant. He understood the plight of the commoners their problems and worked to bring them relief. In this respect his attention was focussed on two services, civil and police. He reorganised them and motivated them to adopt to the changed conditions in the country. He was blunt, bold, frank and honest. He advocated devotion and sacrifice for the motherland so that it could emerge as a great nation. He wanted officers to be disciplined and put into practice what they had learnt during their probation.

It may be worthwhile to record the moving tribute of Nehru in the Lok Sabha on hearing the news of his death. "It is a great story that all of us know and the whole Country knows. History will record it in many pages and call him the builder and consolidator of the New India and will say many other things about him. But, perhaps, to many of us here, he will be remembered as a great captain of our forces in the struggle for freedom and as one who gave us sound advice in times of trouble as well as in moments of victory, a friend and colleague and comrade on whom one could invariably rely, as a tower of strength when we were in trouble. I, who have sat here on this bench side by side with him for these several years, will feel rather forlorn and a certain emptiness will steal upon me as I look upon this empty bench."

While returning from the crematorium Late Pt. D.P. Mishra, a close associate of Sardar Patel recalled the following lines from Tennyson:

"Mourn for the man of amplest influence,
Yet clearest of ambitious crime,
Our greatest yet wiith least pretence,
Great in council and great in war,
Foremost captain of his time,
Rich in saving common sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime,'*
(*Living an Era, Vol II, p. 195)

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EVOLUTION OF LAW AND ORDER ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The change which have been brought about in law and order administration in India have been dealt with in a nutshell. This paper deals with the evolution of this very significant aspect of any Government. The primary duty of any government is concerned with how effective these can be for human happiness and all round developments. Society which is governed by rules laid down for human conduct must see to the implementation of them and those who deviate from these must be penalized. There should be no chaos in Society and hence arrangements are made for the routine public life. No defiance should be overlooked or tolerated.

The writer goes back to the Vedic period where emphasis was on Dharma and Rite. There was a proper and logical decentralization of this and a sense of duty and responsibility was inculcated. Here Kautilya's view is taken into account when a watchful spy system was adopted. In the medieval period of India's history the rulers did nto disturb the existing arrangement. With the collapse of Maratha and Mughal power the British rule began. An innovation of vital importance was the seperation of judiciary from the executive and revenue. The writer then gives a hierarchy of police force for checks and counter checks to do away with corruption and oppression to secure the confidence of the people.

During the post independence era much work has been done to reform the police adminstration based on the report and recommedations of quite a few committees and commissions. Public cooperation is necessary for all such schemes to ensure peace and security.

JUDICIARY, ADMINISTRATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The very title of this papers judiciary, administration and human rights indicates the close link among these three. The writer has shown this in a very commendable manner how they are interconnected. Of these human rights is the burning topic of the day since its violation throughout the world has been the cause of concern for

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the dignity of human existence. The government of the developed countries and developing countries justify this on the exigencies that exist, not bothering to know its affects on human life and dignified existence. This is more noticeable in India. The writer has given instance of this, for the redressal of the aggreived man who approaches a law court and if he is denied justice, then it is an end of man's liberty. He can get protection from a judicial authority since the administration will always try to justify its action on some ground or other. Judiciary is the watch dog of our constitution and any assault on human rights of the citizen must be set aside by it.

The writer has clearly defined what human rights are and they include social, economic and political. Where poverty is great, human rights are in jeopardy. The writer raised a fine question. Are human rights guaranteed under the Constitution of India rhetoric or reality? He elaborates this in a convicing manner. Justice, liberty, equality and fraternity have no meaning there. Any miscalculated action to suppress human rights is justified on the ground of internal or external security of the country and thus those rights became non-functional. All protest by the right thinking people are not taken notice of *e.g.* the National Security Act. What is the meaning of Habeas Corpus so much talked about but rarely enforced. A degnified existence becomes impossible and a fear lingers in the mind of the person who can be detained without his involvement in a situation. The primary duty of the judiciary is to give redressal in the matter of violation of fundamental rights. Judiciary has to be alert and free from any bias or fear of the highhanded and unjustified action of the executive. Common people should be made aware of the rights and how he should fight for it in a fearless manner. The writer concludes his paper by emphasizing all round socio-economic development for the upliftment of deprived, disadvantaged and dispossessed masses of India.

PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA - THE EMERGING SCENARIO

A predominantly agricultural land like India, it is incumbent on the Central Government and State Governments that the benefits of all the plans and schemes drawn for the people reach the millions of people who

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are backward, economically and socially and deprived of medical aid even drinking water. This requires that there should be decentralisation of power and all those institutions should be revived which can serve the people for their total benefit. It is not humanly possible to govern the country from the Centre. At the gross root level the village, the people should actively participate with their total involvement in all problems affecting them. They should be motivated in this direction and initiative should be utilized and encouraged. The main object of Panchayati Raj could be summed up as follows :-

(a) Active participation of the people in their socio-economic development. (b) Decentralization of administration to the village leve. (c) Creation of local self-governings institutions in village.

With the introduction of Panchyati Raj System, it became necessary for the political leaders from the urban areas to seek support from the rural areas for power. Naturally their attention was drawn to the numerous problems of the village. As a result of this there was political consciousness among the people. Entrepreneurs under government help set up small industries in the village and modern and scientific methods of agriculture greately contributed to the so called Green Revolution. However, the overall picture was not pleasing. On the contrary wrong concepts entered the minds of the people and the village became an area for political scheming. The simple farmer became a politician greatly influenced by the party which propagated their programme and thus lured them to fulfil their objectives.

Ashok Mehta Committee recommended the reorganisation of Panchyati Raj into two stages-The district level and the block level. Then there were report submitted by G.V.K. Rao Committee and L.M. Singhvi Committee. There was not much of difference in their reports. The Sarkaria Commission rejected the Singhvi Committee Report and placed the whole responsibility on the States in India and their Legislature. However the Government insisted on the proper reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Women. For these the Centre was prepared to bring amendment in the Constitution.

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PANCHAYATI RAJ : AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

This paper gives a critical analysis of the recommendations of the Balwantray Mehta Report; the conditions preceding the implementation of the recommendations of the said Report, the good points and drawbacks of the report and finally what should be done to improve the socio-economic and political conditions of the rural areas in the country.

The concept of development requires an integrated process of all sided development with social justice. It is an inter-related process of transformation involving social and human factors. After Independence it became imperative that the country's progress depended considerably on the development of our rural areas where nearly seventy five percent of population lived in squalor, misery, ignorance and below the poverty line. The Government at the Centre felt that the benefits of the amount alloted for rural progress and improvement in the Five Year Plans must reach them. This however, could not happen as a proper machinery for it could not be set up. It took the shape of Community Development Programme in the initial stage. There can be no development in any field of rural activities unless the people actively participate in development activities. They should be motivated to realize that the government was sincere to ensure their happiness with the necessary material benefits.

Community Development Projects were started in October 1952 all over the country. It was planned to grow more food. Later National Extension Service blocks were started and the emphasis was on the peoples willing cooperation, a better approach. All these resulted in falling below what was expected of them and it was then Balwant Ray Mehta Committee was formed, for the reappraisal of the objectives, priorities and policies of the programme.

The author gives a detailed account of the findings of the Committee and its recommendations for a complete reorientation of the development of all phases of India's rural population. The committee recommeded the three-tier democratic system to take charge of all aspects of development.

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The report was well received and accordingly work began on its recommendations for far reaching changes. Quite a number of states have adopted this Report.

The author is quite optimistic about its success provided the Panchayati Raj Institution have the essential resources and power, expertise and no undue interference from agencies placed above them. Finally the attitude of the State Government is an important and vital factor for its success or failure.

DECENTRALIZATION, THE CORE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Decentralization is a highly debatable and controversial issue that often crops up between the federating states and Central authority which has the overall responsibility of the smooth adminstration of the nation. The author traces it to the religious background of the country where fundamentalists play a vital role. It is primarily a question of domination of one part over the other and if this is not amicably settled, it results in confrontation and the progress of the country as a whole is retarded. The socio-economic conditions is the ruling factor. As a matter of fact it filters down to the village level. The Centre-State relations have to be viewed from the broader aspect so that decentralization may lead to the all round progress without in any way affecting the smooth working of the Central Government. The political decentralization must go along with economic one. The author concludes by asserting that through a decentralized system of politics and economics, we can make the people feel that their voice is really heard'.

CENTRE-STATE ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS IN DISASTER-MITIGATION AND PREPAREDNESS

The Constitution of India clearly defines the States and Union relationship through Central List, State List and Concurrent list. But the problem arises when a State is faced with natural calamities such as floods, famines, earthquakes and ravages brought about by

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the cyclones in coastal areas. The author have given a general account of the Central aid to such areas with particular references to Andhra Pradesh. The involvement of the Centre and the States leads to bitter feelings, frustration, grumbling and dissatisfaction in this respect and the blame is levied mutually. The sufferring of the affected people particularly the poor continue, if the prompt help is not forthcoming. As a matter of fact, it is joint responsibility of the State concerned and the Central Government. Here again political machinations play an important part while the suffering continues. The official machinery is rigid and goes by the rules laind down in this respect. The humanity aspect is missing. The two things must be before in mind-relief and rehabilitation. As a step in relief, the remission of land revenue is given where the standing crops are destroyed by the natural calamity. Various ministries of the Centre-State have to go into action in a spirit of coordination and mutual understanding.

The media plays an important part in this. The Meteorological Department should issue a pre-warning of the forthcoming clamity and radio and television should broadcast this simultaneously. Mass movement is not possible and many people are traditionally attached to their huts and a few belongings. The Food Corporation of India should release food stocks for the affected people, Home Ministry's Mobile Civil Emergency force should see to the supply of drinking water, clearance of roads and restoration of communications. In this direction the army plays a very important role-reconnaisance, rescue, air dropping of food and other emergency reservices. Very often private organisations do very laudable work. But this work is not given any publicity and only work done on government level is publicised.

The authors particularly give instances of the States and Centre relationship by giving a detailed account of what happened in such calamities in Andhra Pradesh, over the years. They are very critical of various lapses on the part of the Centre.

The authors have done a good job in throwing light on all

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aspects of relief measures by making a study of what had been down in Andhra Pradesh. Their findings have a bearing on other States too.

ROLE OF THE NORTH-EASTERN COUNCIL IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES OF NORTH-EASTERN STATES

The North-Eastern region of India as a result of the North-Eastern Area Act 1971 is divided into seven units-Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. There the people speak different dialects/languages, following different religions. This area is mountainous and full of forests. The Britishers never attempted to bring about any administrative system and it was for all purposes cut off from the rest of India. It has however a very vital strategic position from the defence point of view. People were economically very backward. With the formation of North-Eastern Council in the year 1972, when it was inauguarated by late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, there was a new beginning in the State-Centre co-operation. The Council had the task of the development of the region for great human welfare. All natural resources had to be fully utilized for the economic develoment and welfare of the people. The author traces in a comprehensive way what this Council had done for the region. There were problems which seemed insolvable and which hampered the work of the Council. The Council is an advisory body and not an executive one. The Government at the Centre is doing all it can to bring this region in the mainstream of the country. There are numerous problems of a very complicated nature and they have to be very tactfully handled and the Council is contributing in its own way.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Ancillary to the rural development about which many plans and committees have been set up, is the problem of governing urban areas which have grown up due to the influx of the rural population to these areas. There are quite a few problems and the relation

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of the administration may not be necessarily direct and intimate with them. Here the socio-economic problems are quite different from those of the rural areas. In the first place there is congestion remitting in slums. Secondly urban people have varied profession and occupation. They are conscious of their rights and dues. Fourthly urban populations is anonymous. Fifthly, urban population heavily depends on organised infrastructure.

There should be institution for improved services and community participation in urban planning and its cooperation, particularly from poorer sections.

The community development is a useful approach, provided there is participation by the poor. There should be community services and amentities. Most of the urban people are illiterate poor and socially under privileged. The local bodies can play a useful and vital part in this respect. Environmental problem should be tackled. There should be enough water supply, drainage, sewerage, garbage removal, lighting and other essential services. All these will add to the happiness and contentment of the urban people and they will save them from frustration.

TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL PARTIES - PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIP

The author begins this paper with a quotation of Alexis de Tocqueville from hs book Democracy in America. He traces the position of Trade Unions vis-a-vis political parties or political ideology. The labour in European Countries and some of the other countries was conscious and aware of the part that it had to play in industries. The European Nations were industrialised much before it took place in India. It came only after the British rule was firmly established in India. But it could not get what it wanted since the industries in India were closely linked with those of England and played a subservient part in them. There could be no question of any labour movement in India and formation of any unions. The British Government could not have been expected to give an encouragement

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or patronage to them because that would have directly affected their own interests. The movement could not possibly take roots in India which happened to be a dominatly agricultural country. It was not possible to organise any union as they were dominated by Zamindars (the feudal system) who held full sway over rural labour and whose security, economic and social, depended on their attitude and mercy which were always varying.

The author traces the relationship between the unions and the political parties and also the unions which are independent of them or they are interdependent. Normally since independence the union movement has acquired some significance. In some cases they were influenced by Communist ideology and as a result of this their individuality was merged with poltiical party under that banner. The Government of the state, for example, West Bengal, was ruled by the Communist Party and the labour felt that their interests would be well looked after by the government. On the contrary Unions in England had their representatives in the Labour party which sometimes ruled the country and was a powerful challenge to the other party, the Conservatives. There is another difference. The labour is liberate and over conscious of its rights. Here in Indian the labour is skilled and unskilled, partly literate or illiterate. And as such could be influenced by the union leaders who instead of looking after their interests and welfare loved to remain in power. Labour leaders sought dominance over the workers and sometimes this rivalry and acquisition and retention of power was the primary factor for the utter neglect of their interests and welfare. The media was controlled by the captains of the industries while the labour community have no medium to ventilate their grievances.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION, REGENERATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : THE NEED FOR A NEW LOOK

The author have revealed in a lucid and comprehensive way the environmental, conservation, Regeneration economic development of a region-Garhwal with which they are closely associated. This paper is a praiseworthy analysis of this very important problem which the

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developed and developing countries have to face. It affects not only the present generation but in a more devastating way the coming generation, which will have to suffer considerably. This awakening should have come much earlier. In any case it has aroused to people from their slumber, ignorance and indifferences. Now it is being tackled in international forum due to the involvement of all the countries of the world.

Primarily the people of Garhwal were agriculturist and there are very few industries. This tract has the richest treasures of the Himalayan fauna and flora. Yet the people are poor and there has been negligible development after independence. More than 59% of the total land area of Garhwal is classified as forest land. The forest Department, the Waste Land Development Board and other allied organisation have been working to afforest degraded forest land. However, the planting of seedlings and saplings have not been able to survive. The writer hold social conditions and improper policy planning responsible for this. Except Dehradun, the overall economic condition of the region is abonimable. Effective steps taken have shown their fruit, Commercial felling of forest has virtually ceased. There are certain flaws in the environmental policies and they are being rectified.

FACING THE WORLD WIDE DECLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT STATE : REACTIONS OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

A problem before the developing countries is that of the development states and particularly in India with its emergence as an independent country in 1947 after having been under the British Raj for a long period with a legacy of West minister form of administration which was established in U.K. after a prolonged struggle against dictatorial kingship. Conditions in India are quite different. The author of this paper has shown briefly but comprehensively conditions which prevail here. Poverty economic problems, tradition, ethnic problems, agricultural background internaional competition, high technology, terrorism, divisive tendencies as a result of

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regionalism and problems of similar nature have come up and obstruct the formation of a development state. The writer shows clearly the bureaucratic methods came down from the Raj. Political groupism is of an unhealthy nature and it neglects the national problem and interests. In this country the rich are becoming more prosperous and the poor are getting poorer. The influx of the foreign investment has already affected the indigenous industries as they cannot compete with them with their vast resources. Our foreign debts have increased tremendously in the last few years and people in general are alarmed. However we cannot do without them as we need capital to give a boost to our industries. Then there is a controversy over the private enterprise and the public enterprise which control major national projects and their performance makes us think about their utility.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT : THE GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The paper assessed the significance of the Gandhian techniques in resolving the international conflict situations. Referring to the conflict formation in contemporary society-capitalism and globalisation of International politics, he discusses the role of East-West divide, North-South conflict formation, conflict formations within third world and then discusses Gandhian philosophy of Ahimsa and conflict resolution of the world situation categorised by anarchy, war and conflict.

STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT

One of the very important developments of modern science and technology is the enormous growth of warfare techniques. Nuclear weapons have assumed a very important indicator in international dominance over various nations. As a matter of fact increasing militarisation and extensive increase in the nuclear capabilities have become tools of neo-colonialism. In other words, it is wrong to assume nuclear power as simply a strategy of self-defence. It has important socio-political dimensions. In a sense the political strength

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is also expressed in military terms. This development is indeeded frightening for humanity as a whole. The ultimate path is of agony, frustration and destruction of mankind. It is because of the potential threats of extreme nuclearisation that several nations have raised their voices against it. Public opinion towards disarmament has been generated through several peace loving bodies and international institutions. The United Nations has given highest priority to this problem. It organized three special sessions entirealy devoted to the cause of disarmament in 1978, 1982 and 1988.

THE WORLD IN THE NINETIEES : REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING SCENARIO OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

There can be not two opinions on unexpected and of far reaching importance, the sudden changes which took place between 1990-1992. It was sudden eruption which brought out lava of great importance. The two great powers-the Soviet Union and the USA virtually controlled the destiny of the World through their armed strength. Some countries were on the side of USA and other on the side of Soviet Union. The world was held at ransom by these two powers who had a full away over the people who willingly or under compulsion subscribed to their points of view. This was an undeclared war between capitalism as represented by the U.S.A. and Communism represented by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union became the messiah of the downtrodden people, mostly of the Eastern Hemisphere and some parts of Latin America. The U.S.A. continued its hold on Western Europe and in some places in the East. A very important point to reckon with was China with its communist ideology.

Very sweeping changes took place in a dramatic fashion when the Soviet Union ceased to be federation of its numerous Republics, which became independent overnight. Changes also took place in Eastern Europe, where nations became independent of the Soviet hegemony. The Cold War had come to an end and Soviet Union ceased to be a world power. Situation changed rapidly when West Germany and East Germany united to form one country.

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Military alliances ceased and regional and collective security took its place. Although U.S.A. has emerged as the most powerful nation in the World. But it has its own limitations. No doubt the gulf war did enhance its prestige in the world but the USA should remember that it has given rise to fundamentalism among the Islamic Countries of the world., Adversity had made strange bed fellows but the appeal on religious grounds combines the people. The problem of the Third World will be solved to some extent provided the technology of the USA and Japan is made available to them on easy terms. Industrially and technologically Japan has come into forefront and the USA has to sit with its fingers crossed to face it. Economically poor countries will have to admit multinationals to improve their economy.

The author has, in a very comprehensive way touched on these problem quite effectively.

PRIVATISATION AND THE CONCEPT OF EFFICIENCY

Privatisation is a recent phenomenon. All the world over, governments are resorting to privatisation for multiple reason: improving efficiency and competition, reducing public deficits, generation of cash, elimination of political inteference in the management of various enterprises and widening of ownership of economic assets etc. It is generally assumed that private sector is more efficient than the public sector. What the state can do, the private sector can do better. Further, the non-public is considered as a burden on the productive private sector. We find the lack of a broad understanding of the extent of social obligation of public enterprises. The dual sets of responsibility of public enterprises make efficiency measurement difficult of sometimes impossible. Those who have a vested or ideological interest in continued public ownership of public enterprises seek to measure their performance by broader and even more socially oriented dimensions. Those who have a contrary interest seek to measure their performance in the conviction that their inherent inefficiency will thereby be revealed. The paper discusses the theoretical and practical problems involved in determining the

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criteria for performance of public enterprises. The thrust of the paper is to find out whether it is appropriate to apply the market criteria for assessing the efficiency of public enterprises or not. The methodology adopted is analytical, empirical and comparative.

EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PLAN AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

In this paper author attemps to discuss the growth strategy of the eighth plan in the light of the previous Plans, alleviating the conditions of the poor people. In the first part of the paper size, growth rate, approach, thrust, and strategy of the eighth plan has been discussed in detail and in the second part various efforts initiated in the previous plans to eliminate the poverty and the new arrangements in this direction in the eighth plan have been examined.

Considering the facts and figures the author argues that the anti-poverty programmes sponsored and initiated by the government have so far not yielded satisfactory results. The benefits under poverty alleviation programmes were not reaching the people for whom they were meant. He further argues that our experience from the planned economic development reveals certain hard realities i.e. the planning in our country suffers from class and caste biases.

The author has suggested certain steps like, quick and rigorous land reform, recognition of right to work, right to primary education, right to housing and right to information and participation.

RESTRUCTURISATION OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION : SOME OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The paper examines the controversial issue of organisational structure of the Planning Commission in India. It is argued that the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister is necessary but the Deputy Chairmanship should be held by a person with extensive practical experience of planning process on one hand and with deep in right into socio-economic constraints of our economy on the other. He should also be competent to establish good liason with the govern-

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ment in general and with the Prime Minister in particular. The paper concludes that this office should be held by a person who has an economic background and political experience and is capable of thinking on a broad horizon in a down to earth manner.

THE DEBACLE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND THE THIRD WORLD

The demonstration effect of Soviet economic growth had a profound impact on the thinking of the leaders in backward areas belonging to the Third World. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the demonstration effect of Soviet economic and political debacle is having equally profound impact on the attitude of the leaders of the Third World.

A new wave has spread all over the world for establishing what is now being termed as 'market friendly' economy. Most of the Third World countries have opened their doors for multinationals. The old ideal that the best government is that which governs the least is replacing the ideal of socialist pattern having a 'Big' government. For economic decisions reliance on 'market forces' rather than on central planning authority is becoming more and more popular.

Whether the present revival of competitive market economy is the result of the failure of the implementation of 'scientific socialism' or is it the natural outcome of a thesis having weak foundations ? This paper makes an effort to find an answer to this question.

In conclusion, we find that although demonstration effect of the debacle of socialist system of Soviet economy does have an impact on the Third World, but the adverse experience of socialistic pattern of society in most of these countries is going to prove more disastrous to scientific socialism doctrine. In fact, the weak foundation of the thesis of scientific socialism is the primary cause of failure.

MARKET, PLANNING AND MARKET-FRIENDLY APPROACH TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

An attempt has been made to explain the concept of market, planning and market friendly approach. The market and the plan-

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ning are treated as two opposite poles with different instruments and ideological policy frameworks. However, in all the systems govoernment and market both exist; but the difference is that in the market system government reads the measages coming from the market and respond to them. Conversely, in command economies, instead of incorporating the signals of the market in economic policies, the markets are suppressed by the government leading to several distortions and incompetence. Therefore, a market friendly approach is propounded in whcih neither the markets are allowed to go indisciplined and uncontrolled nor the governments are permitted to behave illogically and irrationally. The authors argues that this approach is also not a fool proof approach and the developing countries should reframe their economic policies looking to their structure, intensity of problems, requirements and administrative capacities. Any step taken in haste or under compulsion may not be fruitful in the long run.

NEED FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN ECONOMY—A PROPOSED CASE STUDY OF MADHYA PRADESH

The basic need of the Indian economy in general and the State economics in particular is to bring about structural reforms. Corrective measures have also to be taken to remove imbalances that have crept into the economy The instance of Madhya Pradesh economy has been referred to here.

The Madhya Pradesh is categorised among the low-income Staes of the country. The growth rate has also been much lower as compared to the national average. Contribution of State income to the National Income has declared from 7% in 1960-61 to less than 5% in 1984-85.

It is, however, paradoxical that in various respects, the State has been favourably placed, yet it per capita income could not rise to a comparatively higher level. An important reason for not contributing higher to the percapita income in the State is that the infrastructure got a lion's share in the State, which do not at once contribute to the production.

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The most striking fact about agriculture in M.P. is its flow productivity, still it is a surplus State. If the existing agriculture potentialities of this State is harnessed, it can, supply a substantial portion of the nation's requirement.

RELIGIOSITY AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH IN OLD AGE (A CASE STUDY OF RETIRED GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES LIVING IN URBAN AREAS)

An attempt has been made by the author to judge the degree of the retired persons religious indebtness and attitudes towards death in old age. On the basis of various evidences it has been concluded that religious mindedness alone creates anxiety, worry and fear about the event of death in old age. When the religious mindedness gets coupled with the religious activeness, it produces a considerably high degree of positiveness in the attitudes towards death. It indicates towards the fact that due to the imagined positive consequences of religious deeds, the self-assurance about the comfortable experience in future, during and after the death, decreases the fear of death from the minds of the aged people and they get mentally prepared to die anytime.

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AUTHORITY OF MINTING COINS IN ANCIENT INDIA

K.D. Bajpai

Various problems relating to the coinage in ancient India have been discussed by several scholars.[1] It is now generally accepted that the early Indian punch-marked coins were current in different parts of the country. Recent archaeological excavations[2] have confirmed the belief, mainly based on the literary evidence, that the manufacrure of coins was known, at least in some parts of the country, during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.

In this short note, I propose to deal with the question of authority responsible for the issue of coins in ancient India. The recent studies of the punch-marked hoards from different regions of the country tend to indicate that some of the *Janapadas* in the Buddha's time and afterwards were issuing the silver and copper coins with definite marks of their own. It is also known to us that during the Nanda-Maurya epoch it was the State which was mainly responsible for the minting and circulation of coins. Whether the State had the same system of minting and circulation of coins in the pre-Nanda times as envisaged in the *Arthasastra*[3] of Kautilya is a moot point.

There is no denying the fact that in ancient India, besides various States themeselves minting coins, the authority was vested in various guilds of traders and silversmiths. V.A. Smith[4] thought that a large number of the ancient silver punch-marked coins were issued by the moneyers, who impressed their own symbols on them. This is supported by the literary evidence.[5] Two works of Buddhaghosha, viz. *Visuddhimagga* and *Samanta pasadika*, and their commentaries, point out that the silversmiths, both in towns and villages, were empowered

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by the State to manufacture punch-marked coins. From these works, it also appears that the symbols put on the coins represented the particular village, town, hill or river-bank where they were made. A detailed study of the various regional hoards and the distinctive symbols on the coins of those hoards may prove quite fruitful in ascertaining the exact locations where the coins were minted.

It has been argued on the basis of a passage in the *Arthasastra*[6] that the State coined money for the use of the *Paura* and *Janapada*. Some scholars take it to mean that the State minted the money in gold and silver for the corporate bodies[7]. But this is far from being correct. The passage only means to say that the State goldsmiths were assigned the duty of preparing silver and gold ornaments for the people of towns and villages.

That the guilds or corporations of traders were empowered to issue coins is attested by the *Negama* coins from Taxila. The word *Negama* (Skt. *Naigamah*) here should be taken to mean "the *Srenis* or corporations of merchants". The Taxila *Negama* coins bear several other words, Dojaka, Atakataka, Ralimasa, Kadare[8], etc. I think that these terms refer to the merchants' localities where the respective coins were minted. Some Taxila coins bear the legend *Panchanekame* meaning probably that they were issues of a joint body of five nigamas or of a guild called *Panchanigam*. This would indicate that in the Gandhara region during the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. there existed several guilds of traders who were authorised to issue coins bearing their particular names. The appearance of the weighing scale on these coins, as also on some coins from Ayodhya and some silver punch-marked coins, signifies the correctness of weight.

Another class of the inscribed coins from Taxila bears the legend *hiranyasame*[9]. Allan takes it to be the *Prakrita* form of *hiranyasrama* (the golden hermitage ?). But this interpretation appears to be far from satisfactory. I venture to suggest that this legend, which is in the nominative form, may be taken to mean *hiranyaswami*[10] (the owner of the coined money). This possibly refers to the corporation of traders responsible for the manufacture of these coins.

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Besides these *Negama* coins for Taxila, there was so far no other clear numismatic evidence to show that the traders' guilds issued their own coins in ancient India. I came across two copper coins bearing the name of *Gandhikas* (dealers in perfumes). One of the coins was purchased by me at Kausambi. The other was examined by me in the coin-cabinet of the Allahabad Museum. Dr. S.C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, informed me that the coin came from Kausambi. I examined the Allahabad Museum coin and found that it was similar to mine and bore the same inscription. I describe below the coin in question :

Cooper; circular, 0.5"; 21 grains.

Obv. Circular Brahmi legend in bold Mauryan Characters-*Gadhikanam*.

Rev. Square with crosses. (Pl. 1)

The legend *Gadhikanan:* can be interpreted to mean "of the Gandhikas" (dealers in perfumes).

The *Gandhikas* played an important role in ancient Indian economic life. The donations made by the *Gandhikas* are referred to in various early inscriptions for Bharhut, Mathura, Karle, Pitalkhora, Amaravati, etc.[11] Rich perfume-dealers hailed from such towns as Mathura. Pratishthana, Dhenukakata and Karahakata. They usually made donations for the religious institutions located in various parts of the country.

The script of the legend on the coin described above is typically Mauryan, which assigns it to the 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. The Taxila Negama coins also belong to the same period. It appears that soon after the disintegration of Asoka's empire the guilds of traders were empowered to issue their coins in some parts of the country. Althought a few rulers had now begun to issue coins with their own names on them, it appears very plausible that the power of manufacturing coins was enjoyed by some guilds and silversmiths. This is borne out by the passage of *Visuddhimagga* referred to above. This literary reference makes us believe that the practice was current even up to the 5th century A.D. Some of the States seem to have

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given the sole authority to the merchants and their guilds for the manufacture of coins in the post-Mauryan era.

I publish below two more rare coins which lend support to my theory. One of these was noticed by me among the Kausambi coins of Shri Janeshwar Das of Allahabad and has now been purchased for the State Museusm, Lucknow. The other coin has recently been acquired by me from Vidisa in Madhya Pradesh. The description of these is as under:

Kausambi Coin

Copper; round, 0.45"; 19.25 grains.

Obv. Border Brahmi legend in bold characters—*Kasabikanam.*

Rev. Circle with a dot in the centre and a crescent above it. (Pl. 2)

The legend *Kasabikanam* is written in the Mauryan Brahmi characters. A few copper coins bearing the name *Kasabi* or *Koshavi*[12] are already known to us and so also the coins bearing the names of several other towns such as Tripuri, Ujjaini, Erakana, Varanasi, etc.[13]

The present coin is unique in so far as it refers to the people of the Kausambi town, the capital of the Vatsa-*janapada.* I suggest that the coin was issued by a corporation of traders, who had their establishment in Kausambi. This may have been the case with the other city-name coins referred to above. That more than one guild of the same town used to issue such coins is borne out by the varieties in these coins regarding fabric, symbols and inscriptions.[14]

The second coin, acquired from Vidisa, is described below:

Copper; almost square, 0.5" × 0.425"; 285 grains.

Obv. In an incuse, half Sun-symbol. Brahmi legend—*Kanam.*

Rev. Taurine symbol at one corner.

It appears that the complete die, containing the sun-symbol and the legend ending in *Kanam,* could not be accommodated on the flan of the coin due to the smaller size of the latter. The complete legend

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would have given us the name of the people who issued this coin. It is clear, at any rate, that this coins also was issued by a corporation of merchants, probably of Vidisa, whose name unfortunately is lost due to the incomplete legend.

It is hoped that some more coins bearing the names of other *nigamas* would be forthcoming to prove the contention that the authority of manufacturing coins in ancient India was vested in the corporations of various traders and silversmiths.

References

1. See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lec.*, 1921, pp. 98ff; Walsh, MASI., no. 19; Smith, IMC., I, p. 133; Allan, BMC., AI, Intro.; S.V. Sohoni, 51st Presi. Add., Num. Socy., 1961; M.M. Singh, JNSI., XX, pp. 111ff; Lallanji Gopal, JNSI., XXII, pp. 38 ff; D.C. Sircar, JNSI., XXIII, pp. 297 ff; Upendra Thakur, JNSI., XXIII, pp. 175 ff.
2. See e.g. the *Kausambi Excavation Report* (Allahabad, 1960), p. [illegible].
3. II, 12-14.
4. IMC., I. p. 133.
5. See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lec.*, pp. 99-100; JNSI., XIII, pp. 183 ff; XXIII, pp. 297 ff.
6. II, 14.
7. K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 254-55.
8. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 214-19, pls. XXXI and XXXIV.
9. Buhler's reading *hidujasame* is not correct. (See Allan, ibid., Intro., pp. 131-2).
10. The word *hiranyam* does not mean gold only. It also stands for (coined) money. (See Monier William's *Dictionary* and *Halayudha Kosa* undr *hiranyam*).
11. See *Luders* nos. 37, 68, 76, 1090, 1187, 1210 and 1230. One of the Bharhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, *Bhar. Ins.*, p. 17, no. 46) refers to a donor named Uttara, a perfume-dealer and resident of Karahakata. Barua wrongly translates the inscription as "Uttaragrahika of Karahakata."
12. Allan, Loc. cit. Intro., p. 99; JNSI., XI, pp. 9-10; XXIII, p. 416.
13. See S.L. Katare, JNSI., XIII, pp. 40 ff.
14. Cf. Tripuri and Kausambi coins of various types (f.n. 1 and 2 above).

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FRANCHISE AND ELECTIONS IN VEDIC PERIOD

P.L. Joshi

The republican form of government preceded monarchy during the Ancient Period in India. The Devas were constantly defeated by the Asuras and this defeat they attributed to their want of a leader.[1] The Devas therefore elected a king. This evidence clearly indicates two points: (I) that the Devas has republican society before the advent of monarchy., and (II) that the institution of kingship has emerged from the exigencies of warfare and the institution of monarchy.

It is generally argued that the very prayer for kingship shows that the institution had gained ground. But if we study the nature of the story carefully, this argument falls through. It is an incident of antiquity narrated by a third party who knows that the institution of monarchy means, and therefore he, in his narrative names "Kingship" as the institution which the gods demanded.

Zimmer points out a passage in the Rigveda as an evidence to show that in times of peace there was no king in some states; the members of the royal family held equal rights[2]. A vedic hymn stands as a clear index of the forms known to that period which also includes republicanism[3].

Political tendencies which prevailed in the first historical monarchies also reveal that republicanism existed in ancient India even before the Vedas. The king is often found surrounded by a Sabha or Samiti or Council wielding a great power on him. Sometimes we find that the people are vested with the authority of making Kings. There are also prayers to be made by the Kings to seek confidence

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of the Assembly and the people[4]. All these must have been the remnants of the republican type. Republicanism was so deeply rooted in the Aryans that they did preserve its essence even under the changed polities. It is signifiecant to note that the Vratyas, ans Aryan tribe, retained for a longer time their original republican institutions.

Thus, we come to the conclusion that republicanism existed even before the vedic Monarchy. A passage in the Atharva Veda supports this conclusion. It is said there-in that "There was a period when the people were living in the stateless society. They were terrified for they feared that the condition may remain for ever. Then emerged an organized will of the people which later established a village council[5]."

Elections in Pre–Vedic Era :

The existance of the republican type of government carries with it a system of elections for at least the executive posts–in however crude form. The people at all times are not competent to look after the affairs of all and therefore there must be some sort of deligation of authority and functions to some persons or assembly of persons. If, therefore, we could establish that the republics existed even in the pre Vedic era, we could definitely declare that the system of elections also did exist before the Vedas.

Not only that, even kingship itself was sometimes elective. Out of the four principle theories about the origin of Kingship viz. Divine origin, origin in war, the theory of contract, and the theory of elective kingship, the last seems to be more logical and possessing definite evidences.

In the story of the war between gods and the devils as depicted in the Aitareya Brahman[6] which is repeated in the Mahabharat and other sacred books, it is clearly pointed out that the gods themselves when they required a leader elected a King. Again, the jatakas which reflect the general Buddhist thought also agree with the elective theory. The Uluka Jataka preserves for us the then prevailing notion regarding the election of kings in the dawn of history. It

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says, "Once upon a time the people who lived in the first cycle of the world gathered together, and took for their king a certain man, handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect[7]. Ajjanna Suttanta of the Digha Nikaya contains a discourse on the creation of Kingship by people's choice. There he is called as Mahasammata which means the "Great Elect" or chosen by general consent[8].

As to the procedure of conducting election in pre vedic times we, unfortunately, possess no traces. Yet there can be little doubt that elections did exist in the pre Vedic period.

Elections in the Vedic period :- In the vedic age, republicanism gave way to Monarchy, yet the popular control and popular institutions were not allowed to vanish[9]. The system of election existed even in the Vedic monarchial age. Succession to the throne was generally hereditary and according to primogeniture, yet many Incidents might have arisen when recourse to popular verdict might have been taken. Also, the existence of republics in the Vedic era can not be totally ruled out.

Almost all the scholars of Vedic literature agree that elections were not unknown to the Aryans of the Vedas. Zimmer, Webber[10] and Bloomfield[11] all agree to the view that kingship was elective in some states of the period. Geldner opposes this view and states that kings were accepted by the people but not chosen by them[12]. Prof. Macdonell also agrees that this may be more probable since the people had no right to choose any person among their body to be their sovereign, but they were merely required to ditto the unanimous choice of the royal prince or in extreme cases they were to decide the tie between the two intending candidates of the royal family. Whatever may be the case, the hypothesis of elective monarchy can not be excluded.

Evidences to show prevelence of the principle of election.

Evidences from the Rigveda :- In the Rigveda a simile is used as "like subjects choosing a king they smitten with fear fled from Vritra[13]". Simile of a thing is given only when it is a commonly

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known feature. Thus this simile does signify the fact that elections were widely known to the people. Inthe Atharva Veda, there are passages after passages which clearly indicate that election were carried on in those days.

Evidences from Atharva Veda :– For example here is a hymn of the Atharva Veda used at the time of establishing a king.

(1) Unto thee hath come the kingdom, with splendor rise forward, (as) lord of the people sole king, bear thou rule; let all the directions call thee, O king; because thou here one for waiting on, for homage."

(2) Thee let the people choose unto kingship, thee these five divine directions rest at the summit of royalty, at the pinnawle; from thence, formidable share out good things to us.

(6) Like a human Indra, go thou away; for thou hast conquered in concord with the castes, he here hath called thee in his own station; he shall sacrifise to the gods, and he shall arrange the people.

(7) The wealthy roads of manifoldly variously forms all assembling, have made wide room for thee; let them all in concord call thee; to the tenth (decade of life) abide here formidable, well-willing."

(8) On the testimony of these and other such prayers there can now be scarcely any doubt that kings were sometimes really elected by the people. There are some other interesting hymns to be used as prayers at the time of electing a king. The root var in the word "Varuna" means to elect; and therefore it was a popular notion that God Varuna presents himself at the time of elections.

In these elections, unanimity did not always exist. A number of contestants used to contest for election. A passage of the Atharva Veda reads[15].

(3) For the waters let king Varuna call thee, let Soma Call thee for the mountains; let Indra call thee for these subjects; becoming a falcon, fly unto these subjects.

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(4) Let the falcon lead nither from far the one to be called, living excited in other's territory; let the Asvins make the road for thee easy to go; settle togeter about this man, ye his fellows.

(5) Let thine opponents call thee; thy friends have chosen (thee) against (them); Indra and Agni, all the gods, have maintained for thee security in the people.

(6) Whatever fellow disputes thy call, and whatever outsider–making him go away, O Indra, then do thou reinstate this man here.

The following passage also refers to the election of a king from among several candidates.

(2) At his direction O Gods, Be thers light, sun fire, or also gold, be his rivals inferior to him.

(3) Within that highest worship O Jatavedas thou didst bring together draught for Indra, therewith O Agni, do thou increase this man here: set him in supremany over his fellows....

(4) "O...Agni, be his rivals inferior to him....."

Again a passage[17] reads,

(1) Increase O indra this Kahatriya for me, make thou this man sole chief of the clans, unman all his enemies; make them subject to him in the cintests for pre-eminence.

(2) Portion thou this man in village in horses, in kins; unportion that man who is his enemy.....In him), Indra, put great splendours.

(3) Destitute of splendour make thou his foe.

(5) I join to thee Indra who gives superiority, by whom men conquer, are not conquered; who shall make thee sale chief of the people, also uppermost of kings discended from Manu.

Interest in Elections :– Unfortunately there are no details to show the actual mode of conducting elections. The Vedas or the Brahmans are not the books on polity or political philosophy, but

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these are the sacred books of the Hindu ecclesiasts and therefore, existence of the political institutions we have to infer, as above, on the basis of occasional remarks.

Although a picture of actual conduct of elections can not be made clear of the basis of the available data, it can certainly be asserted that a great interest and activity was evinced by the people at the time of elections of kings. In the hymn already refered a simily of the fear of the time of election is used[18]. "Like subjects choosing a king, they smitten with fear fled from Vritra". This clearly denotes the type of animosity created due to elections. There are, in the passages quoted above, some such instances which clearly point out the feeling towards one's rivals. It might be that much dirty linen was washed creating a great deal of animosity, so that the defeated parties were to live a life "smitten with fear". There were repeated and almost pathetic prayers to God that one's rivals should prove inferior to him in the elections. In the following hymn,

"They that are kings, king makers, that are charioteers and troop leaders subjects to me do thou O, parna make all poople round about[19]".

An attempt seems to have been made to charm the people and to bring about the voters to one's side.

Elections for Councils :– Besides kingsjip, there were other offices also for which elections were held, the most important of them being membership to the different councils of the state. In the Vedas we find that Sabha and Samiti the two popular institutions are mentioned. Scholars differ as to the organisation functions and powers of these bodies. Some held that sabha was a sort of village assembly others thought that sabha was not an assembly of all the people but consisted of the Brahmans and Maghvans (rich people), while the samiti included all the people. Prof. Macdonell (II) does not distinguish between sabha and samiti. He holds up the view that these are the synonymous terms used interchangingly. Sanity can not be said to have been an assembly of all the people, but there are instances when we find only aristocratic class in this body e.g. when

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Swetaketu goes to the Samiti and Panchalas, he finds such persins as philosophers and statesmen. Under such circumstances it is difficult to affix any particular meaning to any of these bodies. But one fact is quite clear that samiti was always considered to be a greater assembly than sabha.

Evidences from Atharva Veda :– In the Atharva Veda we find the following evidence as the the evolution and organisation of different popular bodies.

III. "There was a period when the people were living in a stateless society. They were terrified for they feared that this condition may remain for ever. Then emerged an organised will of the people which later established a village Council. Lager on that developed and a national council was established. Again it developed and a cabinet was evolved".

Indirect Elections :– This hymn mentions three assemblies ana their inter-relation. Village assembly first seems to be an assembly of the people. National C ouncil has arisen out the village assembly i.e. village assembly might have sent its representatives to form the national assembly. Later this national assembly chose some persons of tis body to form a pilot assembly or cabinet.

Thus, elections for sending members to different political bodies were certainly held and the system of election for councils seems to be generally indirect.

Every Sabha and samiti had its president generally known as sabhapati[20].

Franchise for Kingship :– Now, the questions regarding franchise and procedure of elections remained to be solved. We have seen that there were indirect elections in the constitution of different popular assemblies and therefore the franchise was restricted to those members of the less important body.

But as to the frachise for the election of Kingship, many learned scholar have tried to tackle the problem yet they proved unsatisfac-

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tory. Shri K.P. Jaiswal[21] maintains that Samiti which was the national assembly of the whole people or Visah[22] was vested with the right of franchise to elect a king. Shri P.N. Banerjea[23] also remarks, "The Samiti appears to have been a general Assembley of the people convened on an important occasion such as the election of a King." But this important question can bot be so generalized neither regarding the franchise for Assemblies.

Any attempt to generalize or to find a uniform polity is in fact disastrous. Vedas were not composed by one writer or Rishi sitting at a place and in one period, but they are the product of the works of different Rishis of different times places. Therefore, unless we make it sure that we are to encounter different polities and her institutions in the vedas, we are bound to be confused. Therefore, any attempt to decide the question of franchise must be from this point of view alone.

Thus, Mr. Jaiswal's and also Mr. Banerjea's view might be correct as regards some states only, but it was not a universal fact. In some States, the franchise was exercised by the[24] Samiti comprising the whole population of the tribe for the election of the King. In some States the Samiti might have been an aristocratic body and yet the vote might have been given to all the people[25]. Again in some States Sabha and Samiti both might have existed and the franchise for the election of the Executive head might have been bestowed upon the aristrocratic element only. Sabhas and Samitis might have been of different constitutions in different States in some direct election and in some indirect election was taken. Election of King by aristocrates can be proved by the following evidences from-Sat path Brahman and Atharva-Veda.

Evidence from Satpath Brahman and Atharva-Veda :– The metres act as attendants about him (Sema); even as the non-royal King makers, the heralds (Suta) and head-men (gramani) (attend upon) the king, so do the metres act as attendants about him (Sema)[26].

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Again[27]. Even as the non-royal King-Makers, the heralds and headmen, are to the King; so those Paryangas (animals encircling the main animal) are to the horse."

A passage from the Atharva-Veda mentions[28] "They that are Kings, King-makers, that are charioteers and troop leaders subjects to me do thou oparna make all people round about." Thus charioteers i.e. captains of the regiments and also the headmen i.e. village chiefs were called as the King-makers and therefore it can be safely presumed that some times in some States the franchise was restricted to there classes of men.

Procedure of Election and tern of office :– What was the procedure of election ? Was it by show of hands of flocking to a side or by ballot ? was it secret of open ?

Although these questions have a great bearing on the election of King, we unfortunately possess no traces for it. As regards tenure of the elected King we may presume it to be for the whole life, A hymn in Atharva Veda[29] points ent to a custom of fastening an amulet with the desire that Kingship should last for hundred yeras. Also, the steps taken to dethrone and banish an elected King for some or the other reason and to restore an expelled King etc.[30] Clearly denote the fact that election was held for life long.

Qualification of Candidates:– It is a moot point to discuss whether any Tom Dic and harry was allowed to contest elections or whether if any special qualificaticns were laid down for different posts. Although we have nothing conctete to remark yet there is one[31] hymn in the Rigveda which faintly gives an idea that specially qualified people were allowed to contest elections.

"We, possessing three qualities of broad mindednes, freindlyness towardas people and learning, should try to work for every body's welfare in a bigger self ruled State, ruled by many".

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The three requisite qulification were :–

1. **Learning. (soori) :** This wasan important qualification. The word Soori is significant of high learning and it was usually affixed to denote one to be of high learning e.g. qsrRthSh jpsg

2. **Friendliness :** (Mitra) This word denotes qualities of a well-wisher, a real helper a lover etc. A person who has devoted his life for social work should be allowed to contest election.

3. **Broad Mindedness :** (Iyachakshas) Those who are so narrow minded as to look after personal selfishness or only of the interests of a particular cast or community should not be allowed to stand.

Thus Elections were conducted in the Republics of Vedic time and even for the monarchies which had come to stay then. Vedic period being a transitory age from Republicanism to monarchy, principles of heredity and primogeniture existed along with the popular choice. Thus many times the election might be unanimous since the candidate was chosen from the royal family. But that is not always the case. Sometimes the election was contested by many candidates, in which great interest was evinced by the people. Different factics were used to win over voters to one's side as prayers and charms etc. Franchise for the election was extended to all the people of the tribe in some States while in some only an aristocratic class had this priviledge. The tenure of office of the elected King was the whole life. He was sometimes banished sometimes the dethrened King was restored to his office.

There were Sabhas and Samitis of Various constitutions. Generally indirect elections were held for these bodies. But direct elections also existed when the imperial Councils were formed by the people as a whole. Qualifications necessary for a publican were three fold : (i) broad mindedness, (ii) friendliness and (iii) learning.

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An important point deserves our special attention. It is generally put forth that functional and territorial repres-entation is an invention of modern age only. The wastern politicians presume that because the ancient Greece did not know indirect democracy than direct the former no where existed in antiquity. But that is not so. Indian evidences amply prove that the principle of representation was variously acted upon in the Vedic age as also in later periods. In the coronation ceremony hymns we find Gramani[1] reprsenting his village and also the representatives of various guilds. Representation, indirect elections etc. were no doubt known to India hundreds of years earlier than it was known to the West.

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Cont. From last page:

India. V. V. 1, 9. –

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17. Indi: IV. 22 Text:–
18. Rigveda, X. 124.8 opp. cit.
19. W.D. Whitney: Opp. cit. iii. 5. 7.
20. Samiti= (Sam+iti) meeting together i.e. An Assembly.
    Prof. Macdonell: Vedic Index. II pp. 427-30.
    Atharva Veda: 8, 10.
    Sabhas and Sabhapatis were greately respect
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THE SACRAMENT OF MARRIAGE DURING VEDIC PERIOD

M.R. Sharma

The sacrament of marriage consists of matrimonial rites, ceremonial acts and customs. After the selection of the bride and the groom, these rites and customs are arranged. The bases of these rites are religious beliefs, social customs, traditions and regional culture. The ceremonial acts consist of many symbolic actions which are concerned with the physical, mental and fateful stability. In the sacrament of marriage includes all those elements which are necessary for the future prosperity and happiness of the newly wed couple. In short the matrimonial sacranment was performed through various symbolic rites for the love, stability, physical and spiritual success of the husband and wife in their future life.

Concerning the sacrament of marriage, Mahamahopadhyaya Vachaspati Pandit Shri Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi[1] has given a very meaningful sloka which means this:

The sacrament of marriage unites the body, mind and fate of the husband and wife. This unity is very fruitful. That is why God Shankara took the form of Ardhanarcshvara to make the sacrament of marriage successful. This tie of matrimony continues through many lives and is never broken. The chief outcome of this is the birth of progeny through which continues the dynastic line.

Origin of the Sacrament of Marriage

Practically no information is available about the marriage rites prevailing in the pre-Vedic age. perhaps it is possible that the marrige rites and costoms of the pre-historic age may have been

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practiced more or less in the Vedic age. In absence of reliable evidence nothing can be said positively in this regard because there must have been difference of opinion and practice with regard to the performance of mariage ceremonies right from the pre-historic age. We get indications of this in the Sutra literature. In the Ashvalayana Grihyasutra it has been said that customs regarding marriage were different in different countries and villages. Hence only those should be followed which are practiced everywhere[2]. From this it is clear that uniformity in marriage rites and coustoms did not exist till the Sutra age.

The origin of the matrimonial rites and customs can be attributed to the Rigvedic times. The marriage rites found in the Rigvedic age must have been practiced more or less in the pre-Vedic age. It is also possible that the ceremonial acts and marriage rites described in the Rigveda may not have been the same in all castes and regions. Brief but a variety of descriptions about marriage rites are available in the Rigveda and the Atharva Veda. In these two basic works, there is lack of similarity and sequence in description of marriage rites. The same thing is found in Sutra literature too. This has been clearly stated in the Ashvalayana Grihyasutra[3]. The Apastamba Grihyasutra also says the same thing. According to it a correct description of these rites should be obtained from married men and women[4]. From this we can conclude that the traditional customs in marriage were followed in society.

Vedic Marriage Ceremony:

Information regarding marriage ceremonies is very scanty in Vedic literature. From this we can infer that the ceremonies used to be very simple, in which, after the selection of the bride and the groom, the father or the guardian of the bride used to give bride in marriage to the groom. The social life during this age was simple and the complexities of ceremonial acts has not set in. But in course of time many rules and customs were followed. These symbolised the stability and mellifluence of marriage.

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The hymns of Rigveda[5] concerning marriage are very important considering the ancient times when these were written. These hymns consist of relevant metaphors. But these metaphors were closely related to the practical life of man because all metaphors are based on the actual experience of the physical life of man. A hymn of Rigveda begins with the allegory of the marriage of the daughter of the Sun with Soma or the moon. The summary of this hymn is as follows :

Both the Ashvinis went to Surya to ask for the hands of his daughter for Soma (moon). The Sun was ready to give his daughter in marriage. He received the bridegroom with honour and gave him dowry. In the panigrahana ceremony Some said: "I accept yoy, so that you may live with me till we get old. Gods–Bhu, Aryama, Sun and Poosha have given you to me as my wife". It is clear from the Rigveda that the daughter is given in marriage in the presence of gods[6]. By analysing the above hymn and by considering the material available from Atharvaveda we can describe the matrimonial sacrament of the Vedic times thus:

The ceremony used to be held at the residence of the bride's father. The bridegroom used to wear costly apparel obtained from friends and relatives and enter the house of the bride. There he used to be introduced to the friends and relatives of the bride. On the day of the marriage the bride was bathed in water consecrated with Vedic mantras and a yoke was put over her head[7]. This was the symbol of the bonds of the household stage. She was then dressed with robes in accompaniment of Vedic mantras[8].

Then the actual marriage rite began. The bride was made to stand on a stone[9]. This symbolised the firmness and permanence of the wife in her relations with her husband. Then the groom took her hand muttering appropriated verses. That is why the Rigveda calls the husband 'Lastagram' or the holder of the hand[10]. That symbolised that he would cherish her in a proper way[11]. Along with panigrahana the bride and the groom went round the sacred fire.[12]

After panigrahana, the bride and the groom became full fledged

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husband and wife. The wife wore the robes and ornaments given by her husband. Then the husband and the wife declared that just as water, once mixed, cannot be separated, so also their hearts had become one never to be separated, they will both be very happy. Just as one cannot give up breathing so also they will not give up each other[13]. After this the rite of 'Kesha Munchana' was performed, in which the husband took wife to a solitary place and reciting appropriate verses opened out the knot of hair on his wife's head[14]. Then he used to say : "I accept you as my wife and free you from the bondage of celibacy; I accept you as my wife with the ardent desire that you bear good sons"[15].

Thereafter, the bride used to proceed to the house of her husband in a closed chariot. She used to have with her the dowry presented to her by her parents and relatives[16]. At this time the bride used to be blessed in many ways such as:- 'you two always live together and never be separated. May you two have a long life and live happily with your sons and grandsons. O Lord Indra, give them property and ten sons. May the bride live among her father and mother in law, brother and sister in law like a queen'[17]. On this occasion the husband used to tell his wife; 'Just as a fruit is plucked from the stem so also I separate you from here and make you free'[18]. All this lead us to conclude that after marriage the legal abode of the wife was her husband's house and he was his real protector.

On entering the husband's house, the bride used to sit with her husband before the household fire and worshipped it[19]. Then the wife was acquainted with her rights and duties towards the family of her husband. She was made to understand that she was the mistress of the household. It was expected of the bride that through her the tradition of having children in the family was to continue. She should be a source of pleasure to the members of the family and the society. All the assembled aged men and women used to give their good wishes to the bride[20]. Thereafter at night the bride was conducted to the bridal bed where she and the bridegroom anointed each other's eyes. Then co-habitation followed with the

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recital of verses[21]. In the end the nupital garments were presented to the brahmana priest so that the demons go away with them.

The marriage ceremonies and the rituals connected therewith in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda clearly show that the main outlines of the Hindu marriage rituals of today are almost the same as they were during the Vedic period.

Reference

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7. Ath. V., 14/1/40.
8. Ibid, 14/1/46.
9. Ibid, 14/1/47.
10. Rigveda, 10/18/8.
11. Ath. V., 14/1/50.
12. Rigveda, 10/85/36/38.
13. Ibid, 10/85/47.
14. Rigveda, 10/85/24/25.
15. Ibid.
16. Ath. V., 14/1/6-13.
17. Rigveda, 10/85/42,45.
18. Ath. V., 14/1/40.
19. Ibid, 14/2/2.
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THE IDENTIFICATION OF RAMAGIRI

V.D. Jha

The identification of Ramagiri, described in the Meghaduta, has caused great controversy. This sites identified as Ramagiri include Ramateka near Kampthi, Ramaiagiri in Koraput district and Ramagarh in Saraguja district.

The author feels inclined to suggest that the Ramagarh of Saraguja district (M.P.) be identified with Ramagiri. the intimate association of Lord Rama can very well be established with Saraguja region by its geographical location, place-names and local traditions. The Matanga of Matatringa mountain in the district is said to have been the site where the Sage Matanga performed penance, and it was visited by Rama[1]. This region was comprised within Dandakaranya. "Dandora", referred to in the Rajim epigraph of Jagapaladeva has been identified with Saraguja by R.B. Hiralal (Descriptive lists of Inscriptions in C.P. and berar, pp. 97-99). Dandora, as a matter of fact, derived its name for Dandakaranya.

The place-names viz. Ramagarh, Laksamanagarh, Ramchaura, Ramadaha, Sitamarhi, Ramapura, Ramakola, Sitapur, Janakapur, Bhartatapur testify Rama's close association with this part of the land. About 2,000 feet high Ramagarh hill of Saraguja district is full of natural springs and ponds. Two ponds, dug in remote past, can be seen at the summit of the hill. A natural water reservoir near the Hathphor tunnel is known as Sitakunda. There are localities like Vasisthagupha, Sitabengra, Laksamana bengra, Ravana Darawaza and Ravana Darwaza at Ramagarh hill. The early mediaeval images of Rama and Krisna have been noticed at Ramagarh and Laksamanagarh a nearby village, respectively.

In all probabilities, Dasarathi Rama Reached Saraguja via Panna, Satna and Shahdol after leaving the Chitrakuta of Kamatanathagiri.

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It would be proper of discuss various views regarding the identification of Ramagiri before the author's own assumption is described.

RAMATEKA

Ramateka has been identified with Ramagri by Wilson, Jaiswal (History of India from 150 A.D. to 350. A.D., p. 74), K.N. Dixit (A new history of Indian People, Vol. VI, First Edn., p. 437), Altekar (A new history of Indian people, Vol. VI, P. 104), K.A.N. Shastri (History of India, Pt. I, p. 156), R.C. Majumdar (Ancient India, First Edn., p. 287), D.C. Sircar (J. of Indian History, Vol. XLVI, p. 426) Pargiter and Mirashi. The following arguments have been put forward in support of the theory:

1. The inscription of Yadava Ramachundra of 13th cent. A.D. at Ramateka indicates that Ramateka was demominated as Ramagin[2]. A small shrine known as Dharmesvara still exists at Ramateka.

2. Chakradhara, the founder of Mahanubhava sect, stayed at Ramateka for a pretty long period because it was a famous religious centre from the remote past. It shows that Ramateka had its religious importance and in fact lord Rama Stayed there with Sita.

3. It has been stated in the Meghaduta that, the pond of Ramagiri Ashrama was sanctified by the abluation of Sita. A pond near Laksmana temple of Ramateka has been identified with that in which Sita used to take bath. It has been corroborated by the work Sthanapothi also[3].

4. According to the Meghaduta, the Ramagiri bears the foot impressions of lord Rama[4]. The foot-wear of lord Rama, enshrined in Rama temple at Ramateka, are still under worship.

5. Hanging over the clouds at Ramateka hill in rainy season corroborates with the description of the Meghaduta.

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6. In the Meghaduta the Yaksa has been shown drawing the sketch of her beloved with the help of Dhaturaga. Dhaturaga is in abundance at Ramateka.

7. The meghaduta records the abundance of *Kutaja* flowers at Ramagiri. *Kutaja* flowers can still be seen at Ramateka.

8. Mirashi stated that both Paumchariya and Uttara Rama-charita place Ramagiri to the north of Dandakaranya. An inscription of 13th century A.D. at Ramateka, relating the episode of Sambuka, clearly indicates that the hermitage of Sambuka was located at Ramateka. The Uttara Rama-Charita narrates that the hermitage of Sambuka was located to the north of Dandakaranya. Thus, Ramateka is the only place which is located to the north of Dandaka. No evidence shows that Ramagiri of Koraput and Ramagarh of Saraguja were located to the north of Dandakaranya.

9. The route of the cloud messenger as described in Meghaduta corresponds with that from Ramateka to Vidisa. The *Malabhumi* has been equated with the plains of Saṭapura plateau (Seoni-Chhapara region), the Amrakuta with the Amarawada in Chhindwara district and the river Narmada, on way to the cloud messanger, with that near Narasinghpur by Prof. Mirashi.

10. The Riddhapura copper plate of prabhavati Gupta records that, it was issued from the feet of Ramagiri Swamin. Mirashi opines that, as Ramateka was within the dominion of the Vakatakas, the charter was issued from Ramateka. Nagaradhana near Ramateka has been identified with Nandivardhana, the capital of the Vakatakas.

11. Kalidasa, who was sent to the court of the Vakatakas by Chandragupta II, wrote the work Setubandha for Pravarasena II. Kalidasa visited Ramateka when he was staying at Nandivardhana.

The above mentioned arguments are not tenable because:

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1. The inscription of Yadava Ramachandra do not speak that Ramateka is Ramagiri. Moreover, it is a very late record.

2. On the basis of Chakradhara's long stay at Ramateka, the latter cannot be identified with Ramagiri. The work Sthanapothi is a late work of the 13 the cent. A.D. Hence, its description about Ramagiri of the early Mediaeval period is not authentic.

3. Sitakunda near Laksmana temple at Ramateka is the only pond in the locality. There is no concrete evidence of identifying it with the pond which was sanctified by the abluation of Sita.

4. The wooden footwear (Khadaun) enshrined in the temple at Ramateka are of recent origin. Hence, it cannot be taken as the footwear of lord Rama.

5. Ramateka is a small hill where the clouds do not hang over in rainy season. So, the description of Meghaduta do nto corroborate with the nature at Ramateka.

6. *Dhaturaga* is available in many hills. Hence, Ramateka cannot be identified with Ramagiri on account of the availability of *Dhaturaga*.

7. Of course *Kutaja* flowers are available at Ramateka. But *Nichula* (Cane) and *Silindhra* (Mashroom) described in Meghaduta are not available at Ramateka.

8. According to the Uttar Ramacharita, Ramagiri was located Within Dandakaranya. As a matter of fact, Sambuka performed penance at Dandakaranya. Sthiradeva also places it with in Dandakaranya. Hence Ramateka, located beyond Dandakaranya cannot be identified as Ramagiri.

9. Amarawada hill of Chhindawara is so small that it cannot stop clouds to cause rains. The cloud messanger, proceeding from Ramagiri leads towards *Malabhumi* and then after turning back again it takes the northern direction to reach Amrakuta.

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It is noteworthy that, by turning back from Malabhumi (i.e. the Seoni-Chhapara plains according to Prof. Mirashi) the cloud already reaches Amarawada. Then there was no need to take northern direction for reaching Amrakuta (i.e. the Amarawada).

10. The issuing of Riddhapur copper plates from Ramagiriswamin do not present concrete evidence that Ramagiriswamin was in close proximity to Nandivardhana. Secondly, the identification of Nagaradhan with the Vakataka capital Nandivardhana has not been widely accepted. Nandapur, Nandgaon and Nandigaon are located near Ramagarh (Saraguja) and Ramagiri (Koraput) also.

11. It has not been corroborated by any historical evidence that Kalidasa wrote Setubandha for Pravarasena II during his stay at Nandivardhana.

RAMAGIRI, DISTRICT KORAPUT (ORISSA)

Ramagiri of Koraput district has been identified with the Ramagiri of Meghaduta by Pandit S.L. Tripathi. In support of the theory he has given following arguments:

1. Vallabhadeva[5] and Mallinatha[6] have described Ramagiri in Chitrakuta region. According to Sthiradeva, Ramagiri is within Dandakaranya.

Shri Tripathi opines that the Valmiki Ramayana speaks about two Chitrakuta. The first, described in Ayodhyakanda is that of the Kamatanathagiri. Another referred to in Aranyakanda, is identifiable with the Chitrakuta waterfall of Bastar district. The Bastar-Koraput region, known as Chakrakuta during the mediaeval period, has been referred to as Chitrakuta in Valmiki Ramayana. The Ramagiri, stated by Vallabhadeo and Mallinatha was located in this Chitrakuta, i.e. the Bastar-Koraput country[7].

The rivers Tamasa and Murala of Dandakaranya referred to in the Uttara Ramacharita are identifiable with Tamasa of Koraput and Morala, a tributary of Indravati in Bastar District[8].

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2. In the Ramagiri mountain of Koraput a large cave has huge Sivalinga. The mountain is full of *Kutaja* flowers, *Nichula* and mushroom. *Dhaturaga* is also in abundance. The clouds gather over the hill in rainy season. Ponds, sanctified by Sita's abluation, can also be seen at Ramagiri.

3. The local traditions speak about lord Rama's visit to this land. The episode of the killing of Sambuka took place in Dandakaranya somewhere near Ramagiri of Koraput.

4. Koraput-Bastar region formed a part of Vakataka dominion and nandapur (District Koraput) was their capital. The Nandapur, mentioned in the Bhattiprolu casket inscription of 2nd cent. B.C., is identifiable with the Nandapur in Koraput[9]. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela suggest Supremacy of the Nandas over Kalinga. The Nandapur of Koraput district is named after the Nandas[10].

5. The Sivalinga at Ramagiri of Koraput is the "Ramagiri-swamin" from where the Riddhapur epigraph was issued.

6. On the basis of *'Sinduragiri Mahatmya'* it has been suggested that it was Ramateka where lord Rama stayed for a long period on the request of Sambuka. Ramateka later denominated as Ramagiri after Rama. This assumption is not plausible because the Uttara Ramacharita places the hermitage of Sambuka in Dandakaranya near Godavari[11].

7. Ratanapur region of distrct Bilaspur and Amarakantaka of Shahdol district are the Malabhumi and Amrakuta of Meghaduta respectively.

In his scholarly discussion Shri Tripathi has rightly placed Ramagiri in Dandakaranya. *But, its identification with Ramagiri of Koraput appears to be untenable for the following reasons*:

1. The river Sabari-Kholaba flowing by Ramagiri of Koraput has not been described in the Meghaduta. Had it been Ramagiri, the Kalidasa would have mentioned the river.

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2. There is no pond as such at Ramagiri (Koraput) which can be said to have been sanctified by Sita's abluation.

3. Cane mushroom and *Dhaturaga* (Ochre) are available in many other hills.

4. Kalidasa would not have refrained himself by asking the cloud-messanger to perform its journey via gorgious and beautiful waterfall of Chitrakuta (Bastar district), which falls almost on its way to Ratanapur and Amrakuta, if it starts from Ramagiri of Koraput district.

5. In between Ramagiri of Koraput district and Ratanpur of Bilaspur district there are places like Garh Dhanora (Bastar), Aranga and Rajim (Raipur), Durg (known as Sivadurg during 2nd cent. A.D.), Malhar and Tala (Bilaspur) which were flourishing as prominent cultural centres at the time of Kalidasa. None of these cultural centres have been mentioned in Meghaduta. It indicates that Ramagiri of Koraput is not the Ramagiri mentioned in Meghaduta.

6. The Ramagiri of Koraput neither has the foot impressions of lord Rama, nor the local traditions speak about it.

7. Ratanapur is far from Ramagiri of Koraput. In between Koraput and Ratanapur there are fertile plains of Bastar, Raipur, Rajnandgaon and Durg districts, any of which can equated with the *Malbhumi* of Meghaduta.

RAMAGARH, DISTRICT SARAGUJA

The Ramagarh of Saraguja district has been indentified with Ramagiri by Beglar[12], M. Venkata Ramanaiyya[13], V.K. Paranjape[14], K.B. Pathak[15], R.B. Hiralal, K.D. Bajpai[16] and others. Following evidences have been put forward to locate Ramagiri at Ramagarh:

1. The 2,000 feet high thickly wooded Ramagarh hill is practically covered by the clouds in rainy season. This corresponds with the description of Meghaduta.

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2. Ochre (Dhaturaga), cane and mushroom can be seen at Ramagarh.

3. A number of natural springs and three ancient ponds are in-Ramagarh. The local tradition speaks, that, the pond near Laksamana bengra was the place where Sita took baths.

4. The foot impressions of lord Rama can be seen near the entrance of one of the caves at Ramagarh.

5. The Malda Region near Ratanapur and Amarakantaka are the *Malabhumi* and Amrakuta of Meghaduta respectively

6. Narmada described in Meghaduta after Amrakuta can be taken as the river Narmada near Amarakantaka.

7. As described in Meghaduta, the Ramagarh hill appears like an elephant engaged in *Vaprakrida.*

The scholars refuting this theory have argued that :

1. According to the Meghaduta, Ramagiri was located to the south of Amarakantaka, whereas Ramagarh is at its north-west.

2. Malda region of Ratanapur lies at the south of Ramagarh, which do not correpond with the description of Meghaduta.

3. The cloud-messanger must have seen Narmada at Amarakantaka, if the later is taken as Amrakuta. But, the Meghaduta the glimpses of Narmada were shown to the cloud-messenger after Amarakantaka.

4. As Chhattisgarh including Ramagarh was not within the Vakataka dominion, how could Prabhavati issue Riddhapur charter from Ramagiriswamin.

5. There are no traces of the temple dedicated to Rama in early mediaeval Ramagarh. According to Mirashi, the temple at the summit of Ramagarh was that of Siva.

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6. According to the Uttara Ramacharita, and Paumachariya, Ramagiri was located at the north of Dandakaranya, whereas Ramagarh was within Dandakaranya.

7. The foot-impressions of Ramagarh are of some *Sadhu*.

8. In the meghaduta the cloud has been described as an elephant engaged in *Vaprakrida* and not the Ramagiri hill.

AUTHOR'S ASSUMPTION

The author also agrees with the identification of Ramagarh as Ramagiri, but with some modifications.

The author feels that the cloud-messenger proceeded from Ramagarh on its north-west direction to the fertile plains of Saraguja around Ambikapur. This plain, located at the central part of Saraguja may be identified with *Malabhumi*. It may be noted that locally "Mala" is regarded as a cultivation land which is levelled and embanked from all sides[17]. From Mala the cloud headed slightly southward to reach Malhara (35 kms. east of Bilaspur), which was a prominent cultural centre. The recent excavations at Malhar revealed that the town was founded during the Pre-Mauryan period. The icon of Visnu, noticed at Malhar, bears inscription of 2nd cent. B.C. The clay sealing bearing the legend "Gamas Kosaliya" in Brahmi script of 2nd cent. A.D. and that of "Maharaja Mahendrasya" of 4th cent. A.D., and the clay sealing of Satavahana Vedasri testify the significance of Malhara in between 2nd cent. B.C. and 4th cent. A.D. Malhara was located on the high way running between Kausambi and south-eastern sea coast[18].

From Malhara the cloud-messanger proceeded to the northern direction for Amrakuta i.e. the Amarakantaka. The high mountain obstructed its way, hence the cloud messanger had to wait there for sometime before it could rain by gaining heights.

It is apparent by the slokas of Meghaduta that, Amrakuta (Amarakantaka) is located at the north of that place where the cloud-messanger reached after taking the southward direction from

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Malabhumi. As discussed earlier this place was Malhara. The slokas do not speak that Amrakuta (Amarakantaka) was located on the north of Ramagiri. Hence, the argument that–Ramagarh, not located in the south of Amarakantaka (Amrakuta), Cannot be considered as Ramagiri of the Meghaduta–is not acceptable.

The hill near Amarawada is not acceptable as Amrakuta, because it was an insignificant place. How could Kalidas send the cloud-messanger to a place which had no importance of any sort. Amarakantaka, on the otherhand, had religious significance because of being the rising place of the holy river Narmada and the location of Jalesvara *Tirtha*[19] in the vicinity. It was equally rich so far flora, fauna and nature is concerned. Amarawada hill is not so high which could obstruct the way of the cloud messanger.

In sloka 19 of Meghaduta, it has been stated that, after leaving Amarakantaka, the Meghaduta will sight river Narmada divided into many streams over the uneven ground. The site will present such a view as if the white strips are drawn on the body of an elephant. The site presenting the view of Narmada as described in Meghaduta can be seen near Dindori in Mandla district.

Mirashi opines that, Vakataka kindgom Nandivardhana be identified with Nagaradhana near Ramateka. According to him Vakatakas had no hold over Chhattisgarh. The undated Vakataka copper plate recovered from village Mohalla of Durg district and the Balaghat copper plates of Prithvisena II speak about Vakataka dominance in Chhattisgarh. The Balaghat plates of Prithvisena II describe Narendrasena, the father of the former, as the ruler of Kosala i.e. Daksina Kosala.[20]

The author is inclined to suggest that Nandigaon, located on the southern bank of Mahanadi near Pujaripali in Raigarh district, may be identified with the Vakataka kingdom Nandivardhana. At Pujaripali, located at the distance of 6 kms. from Nandigaon, brick temples of 5th-6th cent. A.D. have been noticed. Besides this, there are the ruins of two early mediaeval temples at village PAJADHAR, located at the distance of 02 kms. from Pujaripali.[21] Ruins of the

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Gupta brick structures have ben noticed at Nandigaon itself. As a matte of fact this region known as Nandipur Bhoga during the reign of the Sarabhapurias, was denominated as Nandivardhana in the Vakataka period. Later the Vakatakas shifted their capital to Pravarapura. Nandigaon is located about 70 kms. South-west to Ramagarh of Saraguja. Nandigaon near Pujaripali and Sankra (located 10 kms. south-east to Nandigaon) may be identified with the Nandapur Bhoga and Sarkarapadra of the Piparadula plate respectively.[22] In the preceding pages it has been established on the basis of the description fo Uttara Ramacharita and Paumchariya that Ramgiri of Sarguja was well within Dandakaranya, while Ramataka was beyond Dandakaranya.

The early mediaeval icons of Rama, noticed at Ramagarh, indicate about the prevalence of the worship of Rama in this region.[23] Hence, the opinion of Prof. Mirashi that the temple at the summit of Ramagarh was dedicated to lord Siva, and Ramagarh was not Vaisnava centre during the Gupta period is untenable. The inscriptions, the ring wells, the Mauryan pottery, the punch marked coins and the paintings in one of the caves of Ramagarh are the testimony of its antiquity.[24]

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THE KALACHURIS OF KALANJARA

S.K. Sullerey

The famous hill fort of Kalanjara[1] in the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh stands as a Sentinel guarding the pathway of Central India. It is the strongest fort of India and most important strong hold of Kalachuri-Chandella area. Kalanjara is very intimately associated with the kalachuris and it played a very significant role in their history. An attempt has been made in the present paper to recognise a separate branch of Kalachuris having its headquarter at Kalanjara.

The Kalachuri occupation of the Kalanjara fort was remembered for a long time by the Kalachuris of Karanataka, the Kalachuris of kalyana mention with pride in their records the title 'kalanjarapuravaradhisvara the lord of kalanjara, the best cities.[2]

The Kalachuris emerged as poltical power about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Krishnraja from all available sources appears to be the first historical ruler of the Kalachuris, who established himself in the Narmada region in the second quarter of sixth Century A.D. Krishnaraja built a big empire extending the territories of Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, konkan and Maharastra including Vidarbha and Kalanjara[3]. This may be supported from the following evidences :-

Firstly in the eipgraphs of the kalachuris of kalyana, an early member of the family named Krishna is said to have conquered Kalanjara and Dahala.[4] In his lineage, there were born other rulers among whom Bijjala was the most powerful and he ascended the throne of Kalyana in 1165 A.D.[5] Bijjala assumed the two epithets Kalanjarauravaradhisvara, and Dahalabedanga which mean "the lord of the foremost town of Kalanjara" and "an ornament of the Dahala Country."[6] The epithet Kalanjarapuravaradhisvara, along with two

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more, Suvarna Vrishabhadvaja (having the golden bull as their banner), and Damarugaturya nirghoshana (loudly proclaming with the musical instruments of Damaru and Turya), mentioned in the inscription of Bijjala[7] for the first time, continued to be used by the member of the his family later in their prasasti throughout the Kalachuri regime. The reference to any other Krishna is not noticeable in the records of other branches of Kalachuris.

Secondly, in the kahala plates[8] of Sodhadeva, a scion of the Kalachuris dynasty of Sarayupara, there occurs the mention of a personage who conquiring Ayomukha and Subduing the krathas, possessed kalanjara.[9] Ayomukha has been identified by Cunningham[10] with a place situated South-West of Pratapgarh District in Uttar Pradesh. Mirashi suggests that Krathakaiska is an ancient name of Vidarbha.[11] If kielhorn is correct in his reading then the areas lying between Vidarbha and river Ganga including Kalanjara may have been conquered by that personage, who in all probability was no other but krishnaraja The conquest of this ruler is attested from his coins distributed over that region.[12]

Thirdly, Krishnaraja flourished in the middle of the sixth century A.D. At this time kalanjara was occupied by Panduvamsi Udayan[13] and his descendents. His son Indrabala and latter's son Nanna are known from epigraph[14] discovered at Bhandak in the Chanda District of Maharastra. It is most probably from this family that Krishnaraja, wrested the region lying between Vidarbha and Kalanjara. The pressure of Kalachuris power compelled the Pandav family to move towards Mekala[15] and South Kosala.[16]

Jalhanas Suktimuktavati mentions a King ofKalanjara named Bhimata, who composed five plays of which Swapanadasanna was considered the best.[17] The kasia stone inscription[18] of Kalachuris of Sarayupara mentions two Kalachuri princes bearing the same name.[19] As the name like Lakshmanraja, Rajaputra, Sivaraja and Sankaragana are common to both the records, they evidently belong to one and the same family. Kalanjara appears to be a possession of this family from very beginning. It is also proved by the mention of Bhimata as

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the lord of Kalanjara who in all probability should be identified with Bhimata I, son and successor of Sivaraja I. The latter prince of the same name would be come a contemporary of the Gurjara Pratiharas and therefore would not be a possibility.[20] Thus Krishnaraja from all indirect evidence appears to have been the first Kalachuris king who conqured Dahala and kalanjara and he alone according to the version of the kahla plates made over the conqured territory including kalanjara to his younger brother, Lakshmanraja.[21]

The descendent of krishnaraja namely his son Sankaragana and latter's son Buddharaja confined their activities in Gujarata and Narmada region. After Buddharaja, there is no mention of further activities of Kalachuris.[22] During this period, the Kalachuris were almost uprooted from Deccan. Next we hear of them in Central India and Kalanjara region. The defeat of Buddharaja compelled them to shift their capital and activities in central India which they occupied during the time of Krishnaraja.

It has been possible to reconstruct the early history of this dynasty in this region with the help of Sagar inscription.[23] of the time of Sankarangana I. This inscription refers to Sankarangana as padanudhyata of Vamarajadeva.[24] There has ben a good deal of controversy in regard to the identification of Vamarajadeva.[25] Mirashi places Vamarajadeva towards the end of the seventh century A.D.[26] As suggested by K.D. Bajpai, Vamarajadeo was probably the successor of Buddharaja.[27] Vamaraja occupied impregnable fort of Kalanjara[28] which was early strong hold of Kalachuris from the time of Krishnaraja. He made Kalanjara his capital and chief religious centre.[29] Kalanjara Mandala become the main centre of their activities during this period.

The origin of the name of the town Banda is also closely connected with Vamadeoraja. It has a temple of Vamadevasvara.[30] The fort of Kalanjara remained under the occupation of the Kalachuris upto the end of the eight century A.D.[31] It was then subjugated by the Pratiharas who retained it about a century. The pressure of the Pratihara power compelled the Kalachuris to move to Tripuri and to Karanataka.

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The above discussion leads us to conclude that Kalanjara was the foremost town of the Kalachuri-Chandella area. It was their capital and the centre of their power during the second half of the Sixth Century of their power during the second half of the Sixth Century and Seventh century A.D. Conspicuous evidence is available to show that the early Kalachuris and later Kalachuris were staunch adherent of Saivism and patronised this cult. This was due to their close association with Kalanjara, which was also regarded as a holy place dedicated to the god siva.[31] From indirect references it is known that Krishnaraja, Lakshmanraja, Vamarajadeo and Bhimata I were the glorious Kalachuri rulers of Kalanjara branch who played a vital role in shaping the fate of this dynasty. It may be safely concluded that a separate branch of the Kalachuris ruled at Kalanjara which later on migrated to Tripuri and to karanataka on account of expansion of the Pratihara power.

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ROYAL PATRONAGE TO ART ACTIVITIES BY THE RULERS OF THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR

R.K. Sharma

The present paper is devoted to study the role of the rulers of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur in the art activities within their empire. The paper is based on the study of the dated monuments and sculptures and available epigraphic records of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur and their feudatories.

The rulers of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris were great builders. Architectural activities conducted at Tammana, the earlier capital of this branch of the Kalachuris have been described in the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva I in the following words :

"Thmmana, with its temples of holy vankesa and other (gods) and also (those of) Ratnesvara and others, with a garden containing innumerable flowers and good fruits and a beautiful high mango-grove and crowded with mansions and decorated with charming beauty, was made, by Ratnesa, delightful to the eyes, when viewed by the people[1]."

None of those remains, however, exist now at Tummana.

During the reign of Prithvideva, the successor of Ratnadeva I, a temple of Siva under the name of Prithvisvara was constructed at Tummana[2]. Also a chatusthika or a hall resting on four pillars was provided with the old temple of Vanekesvara.[3]

Jajalladeva I who succeded Prithvideva I was also a great builder. He founded the city of Jajallapura[4] which is probably identical with modern Janjgir (Jajallanagara) in Bilaspur District of M.P.

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According to his Ratanpur Stone Inscription dated in (K.) E. 866, he constructed at Jajallapura 'a monastery for the ascetics, a mango grove with garden, a beautiful lake equal to the lake of the heaven[5]. He also constructed in this city a temple which he endowed with the gift of several villages. Ruins of several temples of the Kalachuri period exist at this place even today. Some of them atleast may be attributed to this period[6]. The most important and interesting of these temples is the great unfinished temple of Vishnu standing near the Bhimba Tal. The temple stands on a large oblong terrace, the external face of which is partially ornamented. The temple consists of a simple cell only which is profusely sculptured on outside with statues. The tower which is imcomplete is also profusely sculptured right upto the top as far as finished. Internally, the sanctum has plain walls. Although only the sanctum is built in front, a mandapa was undoubtedly intended to the added, as there is space left for the same. The sanctum contains no enshrined statues, but the singhasana for it exists. The temple, as noted above, is incomplete. Local traditions say that in competition with the Sheorinarayan temple for the early completion, the builders of this temple were defeated and, hence, it was left incomplete.

During the reign of Jajalladeva I, repairs were made to the ancient temple of Siva at Pali by erecting cross-walls and giving support to a broken beam. These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions in the temple.[7] The temple was originally built by a Bana King about two hundred years back.[8]

The reign of Ratnadeva II, the successor of Jajalladeva I was also full of considerable architectural activities. According to the Akaltara stone Inscription of Ratnadeva[9] II, Vallabharaja, a feudatory of Vaisya lineage costructed a temple of Ravanta, the son of Saptasva (sun) at Vikarnapura (modern Kotgarh). Also a tank was excavated on the outskirts of the city with a palace of pleasure in the middle of it. According to the Raipur Museum Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II, Vallabharaja also constructed a temple of Siva at Kotgarh to which donations were made for the workship of the deity by royal order. There is no trace of any sun temple at Kotgarh

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now. Most minor remains of some temples are available here and the temple of Siva referred to above may be one of them.[10]

Purushottama, the Sarvadhikarin of Ratnadeva II made several benefactions. According to the Koni Stone Inscription dated in (K.) E. 900, he raised several groves, erected many mathas and mandapas and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built a five shrined temple of Siva (Siva Panchayatana) at Koni (about 10 miles north-west of Bilaspur) and planted a pleasure garden near it. The site of the inscription and temple referred to in it is about 1/2 mile north of Koni. The only remains at the site at present are the black granite Sivalinga, Several sculptures, couple of lintels and a small mound strewn with brick-bats.[11]

Several architectural activities were conducted during the reign of Prithvideva II, the successor of Ratnadeva II. According to the Rajim Stone Inscription of Prithivideva[12] II, Jagapala, the military Commander of the king repaired the temple of Ramachandra at Rajim and endowed it with the gift of a village. This temple was originally built in the 8th century A.D., by a king of the Nala dyansty[13]. According to the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II of (K.)E. 915,[14] the aforementioned Vallabharaja excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur using the range of hills near the village (khada) as a dam. He dug another small tank, raised grove of 300 mango trees at the foot of the hill near the village Saavida and excavated a large lake named Ratnesvarasagara. On the outskirts of Vikarnapura (modern Kotgarh) he excavated a tank, raised a garden containing many temples and monasteries, erected a temple of Revanta and dug a deep wall near a hill called Devaparvata.[15] He also excavated tanks at the villages Rathevaisama and Bhauda. None of these remains exist now, except of lake near Ratanpur known by the name of Kharung.[16]

Brahmadeva, another feudatory of Prithvideva II erected charitable buildings at several places and his benefactions are recorded in the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Prithivideva[17] II. It said that he constructed a temple of Dhurjati (Siva) at Mallala

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(modern Mallar in Bilaspur district) and excavated a tank evedintly at the same place.

At Varelapur (modern Barela, 10 miles south of Ratanpur), he erected a grand temple of Siva and at Ratanpur he built nine shrines of Parvati. At the latter place, he also excavated a large step-well and two tanks, one on the north and the other on the south of the city. Also he constructed a temple of Dhurjati (Siva) at Narayanapura (Narayanpur in Raipur district), a temple of Siva at Kumarakota and tanks at Bamhani, Characya and Tejjalapura. None of these remains can be traced at present. The Siva temple said to have been constructed at Narayanapura may be identical with the one still existing at the place, which Cunningham has ascribed to a period after 9th century A.D.

The temple at Narayanapura, facing east consists of a sanctum and a mandapa. The mandapa is an oblong hall, open all sides, its roof being supported by four pillars on three sides. The sanctum has a roof of intersecting squares, supported on four corner pilasters. Most of the pillars and pilasters are profusely sculptured. The exterior of the temple is profusely sculptured with images of various Gods and Goddesses.

Erection of another temple of Siva under the name of Bilvapani, by a private individual named Davagana at Samba is referred to in the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II of (K.)E. 1207.[18] The place is still unidentified.

As in past, there was considerable architectural activities during the reign of Jajalladeva II, the succesor or Prithvideya II. A stone inscription dated in the (K.)E. 918[19] discovered from Mallar records the construction of a temple of Siva under the name of Kedara by a Brahmana named Somaraja at Mallar. The Sheorinarayan Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II of (K.)E. 919[20] records that at Sonthiva, Sarvadeva, belonging to the collateral branch of the Kalachuris, erected a lofty temple of Sambhu and excavated a large tank and a garden. At Patharia (modern patharia, 6 miles south-west of Mungeli in Bilaspur district), Rajadeva, the grandson of Sarvadeva built a

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temple of Purabhid (Siva) and also raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhanadeva built a temple of Chandrachuresvara at Sheorinarayan. The present record was put-up in the above mentioned temple by his son Amanadeva, who donated the village Chinchedirachuda. The temple as it exists today has only the original sanctum and antarila left, the mandapa in front, is a modern structure. What is interesting in the temple is that though the sanctum is square internally, externally the plan is based on that of a circle and not on that of a square which is the usual rule. The circumstance of the circle has four straight faces on the principal directions. The arcs intermediate between the straight faces are cut-up into five regular right-angled indentations at the back and two in front, the remaining portion of the circle in front having been occupied by the frontal adjuncts of the mandapa and the portico, now entirely gone. But for the straight faces, the plan is obtained on the principle of the rotating square round a central axis. The Principal faces are carried right upto the top and while doing so it is broken up into a series of pinnacles, rising over and behind each other. In Central India, temples based on similar principle may be located at Arang (Raipur district), Mahoba and Udaypur, The conception is of occurence in Central India, but, is a characteristic of the temples of the Deccan.

During the reign of Ratnadeva III, his Prime Minister Gangadhara is recorded to have erected several religious and charitable works. They are all mentioned in the Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III of (K.)E. 933.[21] According to the record, reconstructed the mandapa of the temple of Siva to which the inscription is affixed. This temple was originally erected by a Somavamsi king Isanadeva more than six centuries before. According to the inscription, he also built at Kharod a spacious and beautiful mandapa of sauri (Vishnu). The remains of this building cannot be located now. At Ratanpur, he erected the mandapa of Ekavira resembling Pushpaka, on the top of the hill in the west. The temple still stands today on the hill to the west of Ratanpur; but, its entire old structure, has gone. It is no a white-washed structure, avowedly modern

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and it is now said to dedicated to Lakshmi.[22] Among other constructions made by him, the inscription mentions a mandapa in honour of Pasupati (Siva) and temples of Hara and Haremba at Vadada in the forest tract (probably modern Balauda, 30 miles north-west of Kharod), a temple of Durga at Durg (modern Durg), a temple of sun town of Pahapaka (modern putpura 16 mils north of Kharod) a lofty shrine of Sambhu at Poratha (modern paratha, 30 miles north-west of Kharod), a mandapa of Tunta-Ganapati to the north of Ratanpur and tanks and lotus ponds ahead Tipuraga (Tipurung, 10 miles in South of Kharod) Girahauli (Giropali in Janjgir Tahsil), Ulva (Ulba in Raipur district) and Senadu (Sonada,, 15 miles east of Kharod.) Besides these, he established a charitable feeding house and a flower garden at Narayanapura.

There are other records of the Kalachuris of Dakshina Kosala which refer to Architectural activities. The first is the Raipur stone Inscription of Brahmadeva of (V.)E. 1458[23] which records the construction of a temple of Hatakesvara (Siva) at Rayapura (Modern Raipur) The second record is the Khaliari Stone Inscription of Haribramhadeva of (V.)E. 1470[24] recording the Inscription of a temple of Narayana by a shoe-maker (mochi) at Khalvatika (modern Khalari). The third record is the Dujaripali Stone Inscription of Gopaldeva,[25] recording the construction of a temple by Gopaladeva of the collateral branch of the Kalachuris. Not much of the remains of these temples recorded in the inscription are available now to give us any idea of the structure of these temples.[26]

It is clear that the rulers of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur left no stone unturned to promote art activity within the territorial jurisdiction. A study of sculptures and inscription show that this patronage was offered irrespective of caste and religion.

References

Note : Inscription Nos. mentioned below refer to Mirashi : Corpus Inscription Indicareem, Vol. IV, pt I & II, Ootacamund, 1955.

1. Ins. No. 77 verse 10.
2. Ins. No. 77 verse 17.

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3. Ins. No. 80 line 28.
4. Ins. No. 77 verse 27.
5. Ins. No. 77 verse 27.
6. C.A.S.I.R. VII p. 204 ff.
7. Ins. No. 78-81.
8. C.I.I. IV. p. 418.
9. Ins. No. 84 Verse 21-24.
10. C.A.S.I.R. VII p. 212-13.
11. E.I. XXVII. p. 276 ff.
12. Ins. No. 88 verses. 22.
13. C.I.I. IV. p. 451 fn. 2.
14. Ins. No. 95 pp. 24 ff.
15. Devaparvata which has not so far been identified may, in my opinion, be identical with Dalha-pahada, about a mile north of Kotgarh. For details, se my Research paper on "Place names in the Kalachuri Records" in I.H.Q. Vol. XXXVIII p. 103 ff.
16. C.I.I. IV. p. 496.
17. Ins. No. 96 verse 22-39.
18. Ins. No. 93 verse 23-24.
19. Ins No. 97 vese 21.
20. Ins, no. 98 verse 42 ff.
21. Ins. No. 100.
22. C.A.S.I.R. VII. p. 215; C.I.I.IV p. 535 fn. 4.
23. Ins. No. 107 verse 15.
24. Ins. No. 108, verse No. 10.
25. Ins. No. 114 verse 42.
26. C.A.S.I.R. VII. p. 159.

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SOCIAL CONDITION OF DAKSHINA KOSALA UNDER THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR

Sudhakar Pandey

The dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur do not furnish sufficient information as to give a clear picture of the society, over which they ruled nearly for eitht-hundred years. Whatever little information is supplied by the epigraphs, is just enough to catch a glimpse of the conventional social structure, which did not materially change from that of the age. The body-social of the early mediaeval age consisted of the traditional four *varnas*, namely to Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The *Varnas*, by now became known as the *jatis*.[1] The name *sudra* does not occur in the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, but some families belonging to the fourth division of the Hindu society are feferred to in connection with some land-grants[2] and temple constructions.[3]

In this social organisation, the *Brahmanas* were placed at the top. The Brahmana families, which have been referred to in the epigraphs of this dynasty, generally followed the priestly profession and they received the royal patronage from the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, in form of grants of land of money. Some of the Brahmana families migrated to Dakshina Kosala from places like Sonabhadra[4] Takari[5] and Kumbhati,[6] all situated in the Madhyadesa[7] of the ancient writers of India, which was hailed as the best region of India in the eyes of these Brahmanas.[8]

The *Brahmanas* distinguished themselves by their family distinctions of the *Vedas*, *Sakhas*, *Gotras* and pravaras. It appears that the Brahmanas of the early mediaeval age paid little regard t their as-

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sociation with particular *Vedas* and *Sakhas* and instead they inveriably used the gotras and *pravaras* as their distinction marks. The word gotra means'a group of men connected together'.[9] Baudhayana says that a *gotra* is made up of the descendants of the Seven Rishis, namely visvamitra, Jamadagni, Eharadvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha and Kashyapa, with Agastya as the Eighth.[10] These major gotras have been divided and sub-divided into a number of gotras and in the course of time their number considerably increased. Baudhayana further informs that there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions of gotras.[11] Even the early mediaeval writers like Bhuvanadeva and other also admit their number in tens of thousands.[12]

Similarly the Conception of *pravara* is associated with that of *gotra* from very ancient times. According to Baudhayana, the number of *pravaras* is forty-nine.[13] Majority of these *gotras* have three-rishi *pravaras*, while a few of them have one-rishi *pravara* or two-rishi of five-fishi *pravaras*.[14] The epigraphs of the dynasty, under review, refer to various *gotras* and pravaras, summarized below:

Record	Dones	Veda	Sakha	Gotra	Pravara
Raipur Plate K.E. 821	Joguka	(Samaveda)	Chhandoga	Kausika	Tri-pravara (Vaisvamitra, Daivarata & Audala.[15]
Amoda Plates, K.E. 831	Kesava	(Rigveda)	Bahvricha	Angirasa	Tri-pravara :- Utathya, Gaytama and Vasishtha.
Seori-narayan Plates K.E. 878	Narayana Sarman	Samaveda	-	Parasara	Tri-pravara :- Vasishtha, Sakti & Parasara
Sarkho Plates K.E. 880	Padma-nabha	-	-	Vatsa	Pansha-pravara (Bhargava Chyavana, Apnavana, Aurva and Jamadgnya)[3]

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Paragaon Plates, K.E. 885	Padma-nabha	-	-	Bhargava	Pancha-pravara:- Bhargava, Chyavana Apnavana, Aurva & Jamadagnya.
Daikoni Plates, K.E. 890	Vishnu	-	-	Vatsa	Pancha-pravara (Bhargava, Chya-vana, Apnavana, Aurva and Jamadagnya).
Bilaigadh Plates, K.E. 896	Delhuka	-	-	Vatsa	Panch-pravara (Bhargava, Chyavana Apnavana, Aurva & Jamadagnya.
Amoda Plates K.E. 900	Silana	(Yajurveda)	Vajasa-neya	Chandra-treya	Tri-pravara : Chandra, Atri & Savana (Syavasva).
Amoda Plates, K.E. 905	Silana, Pithana & Lakhana	(Yajurveda) veda)	(Vajasa-neya)	Chandra-treya	Tri-pravara : Chandra, Atri and Spavana (Syavasva).
Mallara Stone-Inscr. K.E. 919	Somaraja	-	-	Krishna-treya	Tri-pravara : Atreya, Archananasa and Syavasva.
Amoda Plates, K.E. 919	Raghava	-	-	Vatsa ?	Panch-pravara : Vatsa, Bhargava, Chyavana, Apnavana and Aurva.
	Namadeva	-	-	Bharad-vaja	Tri-pravara : Bharadvaja, Angirasa & Barhaspatya.
Kharod Stone Inscr. K.E. 933	Ganga-dhara	-	-	Kasyapa	(Tri-pravara-Kasyapa Avatsara and Naidhruva).[18]

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Pendra-banch, Plates K.E. 965	Sadhara	-	-	Parasara	(Tri-pravara-Vasishtha, Sakti and Parasara).19
Bilaigadh Plates K.E. 969	Haridasa	-	-	Sankrita	Tri-pravara-Sankritya, Angirasa and Vanaspatya (Gaurivita).[20]

The Brahmanas, in addition to *gotras* and *pravaras*, also used the honorifics and appellations, such as Rishi,[21] Sri,[22] Pandita,[23] Thakkura,[24] Sarman,[25] Trivedi,[26] Dikshita,[27] Tripathi[28] and Misra,[29] the last two occurring in the mediaeval records of this dynasty.

Ordinarily, the Brahmanas devoted themselves to their six-fold duties, enjoined in the Smritis[30] and other literature[31] of the age. The Paragaon plates of Prithvideva II (K.E. 897) refer to the donee, Padmanabha, who studied and taught the Vedas, performed sacrifices at his own house and at others, and also made charity and accepted gifts.[32] almost all the Brahmana donees, figuring in the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, are said to have been well-versed in the Vedas, six Vedangas, Smritis, Puranas, Agamas, all philosophical systems and various arts. Besides literature and philosophy, some of the Brahmanas attained proficiency in other subjects. Padmanabha of the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II (K.E. 880) became proficient in astrology. When in the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadeva II, Padmanabha correctly predicted the occurrence of a total lunar eclipse, he was granted a village by the king for his mastery over the subject.[33] Similarly Delhuka of the Bilaigadh Plates of Prithvideva II (K.E. 896) knew Sakambhari-Vidya, by which Mandalika Brahmadeva got easy victory over his enemies.[34] Some of the Brahmanas, after receiving their education, also imparted instruction to their pupils. The Ratanpur (Badal Mahal) stone-inscription of Prithvideva II (K.E. 915) refers to the teachers of the Talahari-mandala, who took to teaching profession and engaged students for teaching purposes.[35] Similarly the epigraph informs ablut the sacrificial enclosures in the Talahari-mandala, where the line of smoke touched the expanse of sky.[36] Padmanabha of the Sarkho Plates[37] (K.E. 880), Padmanabha Dikshita of the Bilaigadh Plates[38]

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(K.E. 897) and Somaraja of the Mallar stone-inscription[39] (K.E. 919), all are eulogised for the performance of sacrifices *Makha-karma). Lastly, the land-grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur throw valuable light on the fifth and sixth duties of the Brahmanas i.e. *dana* and *pratigraha*. The learned and pious Brahmanas were given grants of land on the occasion of eclipses, Sankranti, Akshaya-tritiya and Sraddha-tithis. These land-grants appear to have been exempted from taxation in accordance with the provisions of the Dharmasastra literature. The Koni stone-inscription of Prithvideva II (K.E. 900) gives an interesting information about the givt of a village made to the Sarvadhikarin Purushottama by the King Prithvideva II and the former in his turn granting some land to the temple and also to a learned Brahmana, named Vasudeva.[40] The references, therefore, sugges that the traditional six-fold duties (Shatkarma) of the Brahmanas were still performed by the Brahmanas of Dakshina Kosala in the Kalachuri period. The *Shatkarma* performances of the Brahmanas appear to have been a general feature of the age, as the references to the Brahmanas, engaged in the performances of these six-fold duties *(Shatkarmmabhiratah)* are found in the records of the contemporary dynasties like the Kalachuris of Tripuri[41] and the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti.[42]

A majority of the Brahmanas, of course, followed the traditional way of life. We have, however, references to some Brahmana families, occupying important administrative posts, normally meant for the Kshatriyas. A family of the Brahmana Sodhadeva served the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur for several generations. Sodhadeva got the hereditary minister ship form Prithvideva I. His grandson, Purushottama, afterwards, was appointed as *Sarvadhikarin*, a post equivalent to that of the Prime Minister, by Ratnadeva II.[43] Similarly Gangadhara, a scion of the Kasyapa family, was made Prime Minister by Ratnadeva III.[44] There too, the essentia qualities[45] of the Brahmanas, such as self-control, forgiveness, religious merit, character, charity, learning and pure conduct, as also laid down by the Niti-writers,[46] became the sole consideration of these appointments.

Thus the high standard of life and conduct practised by the Bradmanas of Dakshina Kosala won them the reverence and devo-

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tion of their Kshatriya kings[47] and other communities[48] living in Dakshina Kosala. It is really strange, how the Srutasagara commentary of *Yasastilaka*, interprets an allusion made in *Yasastilaka*[49] that the Brahmanas of Ratnapura were i the habit of drinking wine. The obvious mistake on the part of the commentator, which is easily discernible, is that he identifies the Vangi country with Ratnapur.[50] The Vangi country is altogether a different region, and this difference has also ben maintained in the Kuruspal stone-inscription[51] of the Nagavamsi king Some-svaradeva, wherein vengi and Kosala i.e. Dashina Kosala are mentioned as two different countries. The reference, in question, has, therefore, nothing to asperse against the established reputation of the Brahmanas of Dakshina Kosala.

The *Kshatriyas* came next to the Brahmanas. Among them were the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur and their relatives, who enjoyed the highest status in Dakshina Kosala. The inscriptions of this dynasty refer to the descent of Kalachuris from Kartavirya Arjuna, who in his turn was born in the primeval race of the Moon,[52] while in most of the copper-plate charters, Kartavirya is said to have been born in the family of Manu Vaivasvata.[53] The ambiguity, therefore, suggests that their origin was somewhat obscure like other Rajput communities of early mediaeval age. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur were a branch of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, as they trace their genealogy to one of the younger sons of Kokkala or Kokalla, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri.[54] A feudatory family of the Thakkura Sahilla, similarly belonged to the *Rajamala-Kula*, and migrated to Dakshina Kosala from the Vadahara country, near Mirzapur in Uttar pradesh.[55] Another Kshatriya family of the Mandalika Brahmadeva also lived in the Talahari-mandala of Dakshina Kosala.[56]

The Kshatriyas, in fact, were the protectors of the society. The *Smritis* and the *Niti-works* prescribe, the protection of people, charity, performance of sacrifices, education and avoidance of sensual pleasures, as the duties of the Kshatriyas.[57]

As regards the early training or education of the Kshatriyas, the epigraphs seem to suggest that the Kshatriyas in Dakshina Kosala

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did not study the Vedic works, although, Alberuni noticed the Brahmanas teaching the Vedas to the Kshatriyas. The latter could learn them but were not allowed to teach them, even to a Brahmana.[58] the Rajim stone-inscription (K.E. 896) informs us that th feudatory Jagapaladeva used to listen to the recitations of the Puranas, Agamas and Sastras such as the Bharata and others[59] and used to read himself all such works as the Ramayana.[60] There is, but, a solitary instance of Kshatriya Kumarapala, an eminent poet born in the Haihaya family, who is said to have possessed a deep knowledge of the poetics, literature and politics.[61] He was a good calligraphist and claims to have writen a number of Kalachuri records.[62] The main interest of the Kshatriyas; however, lay in the science of weapons *(Sastra-vidya)*. The Koni stone-inscription (K.E. 900), states that Ratnadeva II had the full knowledge of the thirty-six sciences of weapons and his sole delight was in the festivity of battle.[63]

The early training of the Kshatriyas, in this way, made them fully equipped with all the requisites for their future life, as the membes of the ruling class. The displayed their valour on the battlefield only in the time of war, but for the major part of their life, they gave a full proof of their political foresight, sagacity and just and wise rule. Above all they protected the society, punished the evil-minded persons, distributed wealth and land in charity and throughout their life exerted on piety. The records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repeatedly refer to the two foremost qualities of the Kshatriya masters namely righteousness and bravery.[64] The *Niti*-works of the age also enjoin these qualities of the Kshatriyas.[65] The Koni record eulogises King Prithvideva II, for his noble qualities,[66] very similar to those, prescribed by Dharmasastra writers, referred to ablve.

The *Vaisyas* formed the third *'varna'* or group of the social organisation and came next to the Kshatriya. The inscriptions refer to three Vaisya families, serving the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and exercising influence at the royal court. The Amoda copper plates[67] of Prithvideva I (K.E. 831) and the Ratanpur stoneinscription[68] of Jajal-

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ladeva I (K.E. 866), mention the Sreshthin Yasa, who held the office of the Mayor of Ratnapura (Ratnapura-Pradhana). The duties of a *Pura-Pradhana* were similar to those of *Gramadhipati*, who had to give protection to persons in his charge, against the out-laws and also to take care of them like their parents.[69] Sreshthin Yasa proved very helpful to Ratnaraya I, in building up the extensive and glorious town of Ratnapura.

The traditional duties of the Vaisyas, according to the Smritis[70] and the Dharmasastra works[71] were the Vedic studies, performance of sacrifices, charity, domestication of animals, cultivation, trade and commerce, It appears that the Vaisyas of the age, generally kept themselves engaged in trade and commerce. There were, however, a few merchant families, which were assisting the ruling class through various administrative assignments. We are informed or anothr Vaisya family of the feudatory Vallabharaja.[73] This family begins from Devaraja, who is said to have been a devoted feudatory of the ancestors of Ratnadeva II. His son Raghava, the grandson Harigana and the great-grandson Vallabharaja, all served the Kalachuri kings as ministers of feudatories and won many battles for their masters. Vallabharaja, the last descendant of the family, is glorified in the Akaltara,[74] Kotgadh (Raipur Museum)[75] and Ratanpur (K.E. 910)[76] stone-inscriptions, for his victory over the king of Gauda anf for his military and religious activities. He was a contemporary of Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II and the dowage queen, Lachchhaladevi looked upon him as her adopted son.[77]

Our information, although scanty, suggests that the vaisyas did not study the Vedas and philosophical works in that age. Alberuni also noticed that the Vaisyas and the Sudras were not allowed to hear, pronounce or recite the Veda.[78] The Akaltara stone-inscription, vaguely accredits Raghava with the knowledge of arts *(Kalavan)* and also Vallabharaja, with the acquaintance of various branches of knowledge *(bahuvividhasikshaparichaya)*.[79] Sreshthin Ralhana, another member of the Vaisya community, is similarly praised for his intelligence *(Samstuta-buddhina)*, in the Kharod stone-inscription of

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Ratnadeva III (K.E. 933).[80] The references, therefore, suggest that the Vaisyas received a general education, comprising various arts and sciences.

The Vaisyas lastly, like the Brahmanas and Kahatriyas, were engaged in the performance of their religious duties. The fedudatory Vallabharaja has been praised for the construction of the temple of Revanta, a *vahyali* and a tank, named Vallabhasagara, at Vikarnnapura.[81] The Sreshthin Ralhana of the Kharod record (K.E. 933), similarly held th office of the *Dharmakarmmadhikarin*,[82] evidently to manage the religious activities of the Ratanpur State

Besides the higher castes, discussed above, the early mediaeval age is marked by the emergence of the *Kayasthas* as an important community of the Hindu society. In the eleventh and the following centuries, the individual Kayastha families are known to have risen to the highest public offices in different pat of India.[83] The inscriptions refore to some learned and influential Kayastnha families, living in Dakshina kosala and enjoying the patronage of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur. Some of these femilies migrated to Dakshina Kosala form the Chedi mandala. A Vastavya Kayastha family of Kirttidhara, the owner of the Jamdera village, served as the scribes of the Kalachuri kings, continuously for three generations. Most of the Royal charters were written by Kirttidhara. his sone Supata and Vatsaraja, and grandson Dharmaraja.[84] another family of the Vastavya Govinda,[85] came to the Tummana–country from the Chedi–mandala. The members of this family were well-versed in poetics and philosophical works. They used to take part in the learned discussions. Poet Ratnasimha, the son of Mame and the grandson of Govinda, composed the Mallar stone-inscription of Jajalladeva II (K.E. 919). he claims to have acquired the knowledge of the philosophical systems of Kasyapa *(Vaiseshika)* and Akshapada *(Nyaya)*[86]

The Kayasthas, according to the Dharmasastra works, were employed as the scribes for writing and maintaining the stte records.[87] The inscriptions also refer to some members of the Gaud

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(Kayastha) family, serving as the *Akshapatala*[88] (Record-keeper) and Karana,[89] under the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

The *Sudras* or the people of the inferior castes, were following their traditional was of life. A community of the *Rupakaras* or the *Silpins*, is known from the various epigraphs of the dynasty. The members of this community, namely Bhasala,[90] Sampula[91] and Chhituka[92] claim to have been renowned for their skill in the mechanical arts. The Silpins and the artis answere supposed to serve the society as a whole.[93]

Some of the well-to-do persons, belonging to the inferior and low castes, s scheduled in the Dharmasastras,[94] showed their zeal towards religion, Mochi Devapala,[95] a member of the shoe-makers' caste, constructed a temple of Narayana at Khalvatika, identified with the village Khalari in the Raipur District. The fact suggests that some individual families belongingto the lower castes, led a bappy, prosperous and pious life.

Marriage and position of Women :

for marriage, the words, *'Parinaya'*,[96] *'Upayama'*[97] and *'Panigrahana'*[98] have been used in the Kalachuri records. The epigraphs, however, do not throw sufficient light on the various forms of marriage, prevalent in Dakshina Kosala. It appears that people generally married in their own castes *(Savarnavivaha)*. We are informed tat Ratnaraja I, married Honalla,[99] the daughter of Vajuvarman, a Kshatriya prince of Komo-mandala. Other Kalachuri queens, namely Rajalla,[100] Lachchhalladevi,[101] Rambhalla,[102] and somalladevi[103] also hailed from noble Kshatriya families. The Rajim stone-inscription of Jagapaladeva (K.E. 896), mentions Thakkurajni Udaya,[104] the mother of Jagapaladeva, who evidently came from a Kshatriya family.

The Brahmanas and other communities also selected their brides from equal castes. The inscriptions refer to a number of married women (Kula-badhus), namely Lakhama,[105] Jiva,[106] Ranma,[107]

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Padma,[108] Svetalladevi,[109] Rambha,[106] Prabha,[7] and Jamho[112] and some of them are said to have been honoured by their relatives.[113] This is an additional point to show that they received honour from their kinsmen, obviously for their noble parentage.

Although, the Majority in society followed the principle of monogamy, the evidences, however, suggest that persons of the well-to-do families in all the higher castes practised polygamy. We know that th Brahmana Gangadhara, Prime Minister of Ratnadeva III, had two wives, namely Ranma and Padma.[10] Similarly the prince Ulhanadeva, a scion of the collateral branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, had three queens, who follwed him on his funeral pyre.[115] The Kayastha Devagana of the Ratanpur stone-inscription (V.E. 1207), had two wives, Prabha and Jamho.[116] These facts are sufficient to prove that polygamy was in vogue in Dakshina Kosala, in the period under review There were, however, exceptions to this rule, as queen Lachchhalladevi, according to the Kugda record (K.E. 893) is said to have been the lawfu and only wife of Jajalladeva I.[117] The Akaltara stone-inscription further elaborates the fact by recording that she became a co-wife of the Earth.[118]

A mutilated verse of the Ratanpur (Badal-Mahal) stone-inscription (K.E. 915), gives as interesting information regarding the union of a man and woman, by love and consent on both the sides. It is said that the Mandalika Brahmadeva 'accepted a beloved, clad in a black garment who had just than fallen in love with him.'[119] The evidence, although inconclusive, suggests that sometimes the Kshatriya princes of feudatory chiefs married the wives of hostile warriors, who were deveated and killed in battle. We know from other works of the age that the King's seraglio, in that period, consisted of a large number of women. Some of them were captured in wars. Among the married wives of a king, the mention is made of '*Phalakali*', a lady who was won in war.[120] The capture of the women of hostile warriors or enemies, in war, appears to have been a common practice in Ancient India. The *Smritis* include women among the spoils of victory.[121] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of

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Jajalladeva I (K.E. 866), states that Jajalladeva I, defeated Somesvara and imprisoned him together with his ministers and wives. The Kalachuri king, afterwards, released them at the intercession of his mother.[122] This tendency is also noticed in the records of the contemorary dynasties. The Khajuraho stone-inscription of the Chandella Dhangadeva (V.S. 1059) refers to Dhanga's imprisoning of the wives of the kings of Kanchi, Andhra, Radha and Anga.[123]

As regards the position of women, the Kalachuri records from Chhattisgarh give very little information about the three stages of womanhood, namely of daughter, wife and mother. The *Smritis* lay down that woman should always remain under the protecton of her male guardian i.e. father, huband or son, and she should never think of her own independent status. [124] We find that women in Dakshina Kosala also lived under the supervision of their husbands of other male relations.

To begin with the position of the daughte in a family, the epigraphs praise the pure and virtuous conduct of a daughter. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Prithvideva II (V.E. 1207), refers to Bhopa, the virtuous daughter of Devagaa of the Vastavya race. She is said to have been untouched by the evil actions of the Kali Age and has been compared to the celestial river, purifying the three worlds.[125] Not only son, but the daughter also inherited the fame and good name from her father. Nonalla, the queen of Ratnaraja I, has always been referred to in the Kalachuri records, as the famous daughter of Vijjuka, the fuler of the Komo-mandala.[126]

The daughter, after marraige, entered the second stage of her womanhood. Alberuni informs that during this period pre-puberty marriages of girls were prevalent atleast among the Brahmanas.[127] The epigraphs do not gove a clear indication on this point. We have already seen that the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur refer to a number of Kshtriya queens and other married women, belonging to the higher castes. The virtuous ladies and their noble husbands, referred to therein, have been compared with the divine couples, viz., Sachi and Indra, Lakshmi and Vishun, and Parvati and

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Sambhu.[128] For their bodily charms and also for steadfastness in love towards the husband, the married women hav also been compared to Rati and Arundhati respectively.[129] Devotion to husband *(Pativarata)*, Chastity *(visuddhasila)*, virtuous conduct *(sachcharitra)* and truthful, pious and qiet nature *(satya-dharmarata santa)* were considered as the foremost qualities of the true wifehood.[130] The epigraphs do not give a detailed information about the duties of the wife, but it appears that the married women generally lived in seclusion and performed their daily *(naityika-karma)* and occasional *naimittika-karma)* duties, as laid down in the *Smritis*[131] and Dharmasastras.[132] The emphasis had been laid upon the wife's devotion to her husband and family, bearing of children and performance of religious duties. It was believed that by her chastity and virtuous conduct, the wife increased the happiness and and prosperity of her family.[133]

The wife, after bearing a child, attained the status of the mother. The Smritis[134] and the Dharmasastra works[135] bestow the highest honour on mother. The inscriptions refer to the Kshatriya mothers and their brave sons and they have been compared to the divine mothers and their sons, namely Sachi and Jayanta,[136] Yasoda and Krishna, and Parvati and Guha (Karttikeya).[137] The Kalachuri queens have been praised for their virtues of compassion and large-heartedness. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jajalladeva I (K.E. 866) informs about the kind nature of the queen-mother, Rajalladevi. It is stated therein that Jajalladeva I, imprisoned Somesvara together with his ministers and wives, but the former afterwards, released them, at the intervention of his mother.[138] At another place, the large-heartedness of the dowager queen Lachchhalladevi has similarly been praised. The Kotagadh (Raipur Museum), fragmentary stone-inscription records that the queen Lachchhalladevi treated the Vaisya feudatory Vallabharaja, as her own son.[139] Both these examples, besides showing the magnanimous nature of the queen mothes, also allude to the fact that the dowager queens were treated with respect by their sons and the former exercised influence upon the administration of the state.

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Thus wome received honour inside the home and some of them, particularly the Kshatriya queens, even commanded respect and exercised influence upon the public. The married women *(Sabhartrikas)* used to decorate their forehead with the vermillion *(Sindura) mark.*[140] The epigraphs give a poetic description of the natural grief of the enemies' wives on the death of their husbands, who were killed in the battle.[141] The Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E. 919) informs abou the custom of the *Sati* by recording that the three devoted queens of the prince Ulhanadeva immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.[142] The Arab writers,[143] including Alberuni[144] also refer to the prevalence of the Sati custom in India. But the custom of the Sati was not so common in Dakshina Kosala of this time even in the royal families, as was in the north.[145] We have the examples of the dowager queens, Rajalladevi[146] and Lachchhalladevi,[147] who survived their husbands.

Lastly the epigraphs suggest that the joint family system was in vogue in Dakshina Kosala. The Rajim,[148] Koni,[149] Ratanpur[150] (V.E. 1207) and Kharod[151] inscriptions refer to the large families, belonging to the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Kayastha communities. These families included a number of brothers, sons and grandsons. The Seorinarayana stone-inscription (K.E. 919), although, informs about the divisio of property between two brothers, after the death of their father, but the family of the younger brother, referred to thein, named Sarvadeva (the younger brother of Prithvideva I), in due course, grew so large, as the include a numbe of near relatives in it.[152]

Manners and Customs :

The villages and towns in Dakshina Kosala piaye a vital role in moulding the social and cultural life of the people. The population was made up of different castes, based more or less on professional lines. Each group had to perform its duty towards the welfare of the society. Both Tummana[153] and Ratnapura,[154] the capital towns of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were crowded with temples, gradens,

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mango-groves, lakes and palatial buildings. The *Talahari-mandala*, which included the towns of Mallala, Varelapura, Narayanapura, Tejallapura and Kumarakota and the villages of Gothall, Bamhani and Charauya, is suggested to have been the ornament of the earth *(Visvambharabhushanam)* and it was surrounded on all sides by temples, gradens and lakes, besides the *gurukulas* and the sacrificial enclosures, humming with activities.[155] A mediaeval record from Khalari gives a glimpse of the life in these towns and villages by stating that there the Brahmaṅas were engaged in the study of the Vedas, rich men in their pleasure-pursuits and passionate women in their merry-makings.[156]

The Kalachuri records also throw light on certain customs observed by the people in Dakshina Kosala. Most popular of them was the custom among the ruling chiefs, feudatories and wealthy individuals to build temples and make endowments for their maintenance. The Kalachuri kings and the wealthy persons also donated lands and other valuable things to Brahmanas and scholars on the auspicious *tithis* and the *Sraddha* daya. When the grant was made, the donor, after filling his hand with water, kusa grass, rice-grains and gold, announced the gift to the brahmanadonee and poured water on the latter's hand, as a mark of sanctity attached to the donor's own words.[157] The custom of the *Sati*, as known from the Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E. 919), has laready been discussed. The study of the Kalachuri sculptures of Chhattisgarh, reveals the knowledge of a peculiar custom of this area. We come across a number of inscribed statues, claimed to have been made of the learned brahmanas,[158] warriors[159] householders and other devotees. These statues were generally kept inside the temples of the famous religious centres, namely Seorinarayan, Kharod and Amarakantaka.

References

1. Sukraniti, 4, 252. The four-fold division of the Hindu society was also noticed by Alberuni, Sachau; Alberuni's India, Vol. I pp. 100-101.
2. Bhasala, Palhuka, Ratanpala, Sampula, Chandarka, Dhanapati, Isvara, Chhituka and Jatu, who engraved various prasastis and charters, belonged to the artisan class.

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3. Mochi Devapala of the Khalari stone-inscription of Samvat 1470, constructed a temple of Narayana, C.I.I., Vol IV. p. 577.
4. Mahasona, the great-grandfather of the done Padmanabha of the Sarkho plates, hailed from Sonabhadra in Madhyadesa, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.
5. Devasarman, the father of the donee, Silana of the Amoda grant of K.E. 900 emigrated from the village Takari, which according to Prof. Mirashi was situated in the Madhyadesa, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. IV, p. 475, fn. 4.
6. Gangadhara, who was granted the village Kosambi by Ratnadeva II, came to the country of Tummana, from the village Kumbhati in Madhyadesa. His son, Somearaja constructed the temple of Siva at Mallala in K.E. 919, E.I.., Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.
7. va. chap. 45, vv. 109 ff; Bd., chap. 49, Vv 44. ff.: Mat., chap. 114, Vv. 34 ff. The boundary fo madhyasdesa has been defined in *Manusmriti :*
8. Sarkho plates of K.E. 880, C.I.I., Vol. VI, P. 426.
9. Kane, P.V. : *Hisory of Dharmassastra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 479 ff.
10. Baudhayana, quoted by Purushottama Pandita in the GotraPravara-Manjari, trans. by JOhn Brough, p. 203.
11. Ibia., p. 203
12. -Aparajitaprichchha, chap, 6, Slokas 21-22.
13. Baudhayana, quoted by Purushottama Pandita, in the Gotra-Pravara-Manjari, trans. by John Brough, p. 203.
14. Kane, P.V. : *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II pp. 479-497.
15. *Gotra-ravara-Manjari*, trans. by J. Brough, p. 147.
16. *Ibid*. p. 81
17. Gotra-Pravara Manjair, trans. By J. Brough, pp. 140-41
18. Ibid., p. 160
19. Ibid., p. 176
20. Ibid. p. 124
21. Rishi Kesava of the Amoda Plates, K.E. 831, E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff.
22. Sri Padmanabha of the Sarkho Plates, K.E. 880, EI, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.
23. Pandita Raghava of the Amoda Plates, K.E. 919, E.I., Vol XIX, pp. 209 ff.
24. Purohita Thakkura Namadeva of the Amoda Plates, K.E. 919, Ibid., pp. 209 ff.

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25. Naryanasarman of the Seorinarayan plates, K.E. 878, I.h.Q., vol. IV, pp. 31 ff.
26. Vishnu Trivedi of the Daikoni plates, K.E. 890, C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 443-446,
27. Padmanabha Dikshita of the Paragaon plates K.E. 897, Ibid., vol. IV., p. 629.
28. Devadatta Tripathi of the Kosgain stone-inscription, Ibid., Vol IV, p. 561.
29. Damodara Misara of the Khalari stone - inscripition, V.E. 1470, Ibid., Vol. IV p. 578.
30. Manu I, 99.
31. Sukraniti, 4, 257,
32. -C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 629.
33. Ibid., Vol. IV. p. 427
34. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 461
35. C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 504
36. *Ibid.*, p. 504
37. *Ibid.*, p. 427
38. *Ibid.*, p. 629
39. *Ibid.*, p. 515
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70.
41. Rewa Plate of Jayasimhadeva, K.E. 926, Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 342.
42. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhangadeva of the year 1059, Renewed by Jayavarmadeva in the year 1173, E.I., Vol. I, p. 146, V. 53; and Charkhari Plate of Devavarmadeva, V.S. 1108, Ibid., Vol. XX p. 128.
43. Koni stone-inscription, K.E. 900, E.I. vol XXVII, pp. 276 ff.
44. Kharod stone-inscription, K.E. 9333, E.I vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.
45. -Koni stone-inscription, K.E. 900 C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 468, V. 19; and

    -Kharod stone-inscription, K.E. 933, Ibid., Vol IV. p. 538 V. 26
46. -Sukraniti, 1, 40
47. -Pendrabanch Plates of Pratapamalladeva, K.E. 965 C.I.I., Vol IV, p. 547.
48. -Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 455; and Vastavya Pratiraja of the Bilaigadh plates, K.E 969,

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also claims his natural devotion to the feet of the twice-born, 'dvijaticharaneshunisargga-bhaktya, Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 553.

49. -Someadeva Suri,'s Yasastilaka, with the commentary of srutasagara Suri, 2 parts, ed. by Mm. Pandita Sivadatta, Nirnayasagara Press, bombay, 1916, p. 95; also K.K. Handiqui : Yasastilaka and Indian culture, p. 99

50. -Ibid., pp. 95-96.

51. E.I., Vol X, p. 29

52. Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jajalladeva I, K.E. 866; E.I., Vol. I pp. 33 ff.

53. Amoda copper-plates of prithvideva I, K.E. 831, E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff.

54. E.I., Vol XIX, pp. 75 ff.

55. Hiralal : Inscriptions in c.P. & Berar, p. 107

56. E.I., vol XXVI, pp. 255 ff.

57. -Manu, I, 89, The Sukraniti (Adhyaya 4, Slokas 257-58) besides :

also adds the following, among the duties of the Kshatriyas :

58. Sachau : Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 125.

59.

60. - I.A., Vol XVII, p. 140

61. Kharod stone-inscription of Ratnadeva III, K.E. 933, E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 165, V. 42. Besides this record, Kumarapala also composed the Seorinarayan stone-inscription of the collateral Branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, K.E. 919, C.I.I., Vol, IV, p. 524.

62. Ratanpur stone-inscription, V.E. 1207 E.I., Vol. I pp. 45 ff. Ratanpur (Badal-Mahal) stone-inscription, K.E. 915 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 255 ff. & Mallar stone-inscription, K.E. 919 Ibid., Vol. I pp. 39 ff.

63. 'Shattrimsachchhastravidyasvadhikaparichayah', and 'Samarotsavaikarasikah' C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 467.

64. - Ratanpur stone-inscription, K.E. 866, E.I. Vol. I, p. 35, v.14.

65. -Sukraniti, 1, 41

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66.
-E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 281, V. 13.

67. E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff.

68. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.

69.
-Sukraniti, 2, 170.

70
-Manu, I, 90

71.

72.
-Sukraniti, 1, 42.

73. Akaltara stone-inscription, C.I.I., Vol IV, pp. 430-36.

74. Ibid. vol. Iv, pp. 430-36

75. Ibid., Vol. IV. 436-442

76. Ibid. Vol IV, pp. 495-510

77. Kotgadh stone-inscription, C.I.I., Vol, IV, p. 440, V. 16

78. Sachau : Alberuni's India, Vol I, p. 125.

79. C.I.I. Vol. IV pp. 432-33

80. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 165, V. 44

81. C.I.I., Vol. IV. pp. 433 & 499.

82. E.I., Vol XXI, p. 165.

83. U.N. Ghoshal : Chapter on social condition, in the Struggle for Empire, p. 477.

84. Ratanpur stone-inscription (K.E. 866), Sarkho plates (K.E. 880), Bilaigadh plates, (K.E. 896), Paragaon plates (K.E. 897), and Amoda palts (K.E. 900, 905 & 919).

85. Ratanpur stone-inscription (V.E. 1207), E.I. Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

86.
-C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 515, V. 23.

87. 'Kayastho-lekhakah', Sukraniti, 2,420.

88. Akshapatala Anantapala of the Ratanpur (Badal-Mahal) stone-inscription (K.E. 915), C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 507, V. 40.

89. Karana Pratiraja of the Pendrabandh plates (K.E. 965), C.I.I. Vol IV, p. 548, V. 29.

90. Amoda plates of Prithivideva I (K.E. 831), E.I. vol. XIX, p. 75, V. 22

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91. Ratanpur stone-inscription (V.E. 1207) and Mallar stone-inscription (K.E. 919) C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp. 488, v. 28 & 515 V. 26.
92. Scorinarayan stne-inscription (K.E. 919), C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 524, V. 41.
93. -Sukraniti, 2. 193.
94. Sikraniti, 2. 194-203.
95. Khalairi stone-inscription, v.e. 1470, E.I. Vol. II, pp. 228 ff.
96. E.I., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 13
97. Ibid., Vol. I p. 35, V. 18.
98. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 432, V. 8.
99. E.I., Vol. XIX p. 79, V. 12; Ibid., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 13
100. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 18
101. C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 432, V. 8
102. Ibid., Vol. IV p. 524, V. 38.
103. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 164, V. 15.
104. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 454, V. 7.
105 E.I., Vol XXVII, pl 282, V. 18
106. Ibid. Vol XXI, p. 164, V. 22
107. Ibid., vol XXI, p. 164, V. 28
108. Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 164, V. 28.
109. C.I.I., Vol IV, p. 499, V. 30.
110. E.I., Vol. I, p. 48, V. 12.
111. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 48, V. 16.
112. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 48, V. 16.
113. 'Sada bandhujanabhipujya', E.I., Vol. I, p. 48, V. 12
114. -E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 164, V. 28.
115. Scorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E. 919), C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp. 523-24.
116. E.I., Vol. I, p. 48, Vv. 16-17.
117. 'sadharmmini tasva tathapyananya Lachchhalladevi Mahishi babhuva', C.I.I., Vol, IV p. 447, V. 3.
118. 'va Vasudhasapathnyam chakre Lachchalladeviti', C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 432, V. 8.
119. -E.I., Vol., XXVI, p. 260, V. 15.

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120. Vaijayant, 106, 31-34, by Yadavaprakasa, ed. by Gustav Oppert, Madras, 1893, quoted by Dr. U.N. Ghoshal in his chapter on Social Condition, published in The Struggle for Empire, p. 479.
121. Manu, VII, 96.
122. C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 413, V. 32.
123. E.I., Vol. I, p. 145, Vv. 45-46.
124. -Manu, IX, 3.
125. E.I. Vol. I, p. 48, v. 21.
126. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 13; Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 79, v. 12.
127. Sachau : Alberuni's India Vol. II, p. 131.
128. E.I. Vol. I, p. 35, V. 18; Ibid., Vol. I, p. 48, V. 12.
129. Ibid., Vol XXVII, p. 282, V. 18.
130. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 454, V. 7; E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 282, V. 18; Ibid., Vol. I, p. 48 Vv. 12, 16 & 17; Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 164, Vv. 15,22, & 28.
132. Sukraniti 3,44-68.
133. C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 454, V. 7; E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 282, V. 18.
134. -Manu, II, 145.
135. -Mbh., Sanitparvan, 251, 29.
136. E.I., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 19.
137. C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 440, V. 16.
138. 'baddham mantrikalatrasarthamanu tanmaturggira mochitam', E.I., Vol. I, pp. 35-36, v. 22.
139. C.I.I. Vol. IV, 440, V. 16.
140. Ibid., Vol. IV, 433, V. 19.
141. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 433, V. 19.
142. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 524, V. 19.
143. Elliot, H.M. : History of India, Vol. I, p. 6.
144. Sachau : alveruni's India, Vol. II, p. 155.
145. Kalhana : Rajatarangini, V. p. 206, VII, pp. 481. 724.858, 1486, 1488 1490; VIII, p. 366.
146. E.I., Vol. I, p. 35, V. 18.
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148. I.A., Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.
149. E.I. Vol. XXVII, pp. 276 ff.
150. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.
151. Ibid., Vol. XXI. pp. 159 ff.
152. C.I.I., Vol. IV pp. 5223 ff.
153. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 412, V. 10.
154. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 412, V. 11.
155. C.I.I Vol. IV, p. 504, Vv. 5-8.
156. -Khalari stone-inscription of Haribrahmadeva, V.E. 1470, C.I.I. Vol. IV, p. 577. V. 8.
157. 'kusakshatahiranyasamanvitavarichu lukamapurya; E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 80, 1.29.
158. Statue of Pandita Damodara,
159. Statues of Samgramasimha and Narayana.

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GEO STRATEGY OF GOND FORTS

Kamlesh Mishra

THE GONDS:

Gonds form one of the largest group of tribal population of India. Their number is larger than the population of many countries of the world like iceland, Male of Yeman. Gonds are also one the best known tribals not only to social scientists but also to the common people of Europe and America. This is partily because the Missionaries had started their work in the land of Gonds as early as in 18th century. This was also the reason that in due course of time Geologists named a hypothetical continent of past geological times as Gondwanaland, which not only included Pesinsular India but also parts of south America, Africa, Australia and Antaretica.

The Gond Population:–

There is a general upward trend in the population of Gonds, however, their rate of population growth is lesser than the common non tribal Indians.

Fluctuations in Tribal population between 1911-1961.

Year	Tribal Population Of India	Gond Population of India
1911	10,295,165	-
1921	9,775,000	2,902,592
1931	8,280.00	3,069,069
1941	-	3,201,004
1951	20,000,000	-
1961	30,000.000	3,991,767

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Regions under real Control and Influence of Garha-Mandla Kingdoms:

Not all the regions or subregions of M.P. were under the influence of Gond Kings. The Gond kingdom of Garha-Mandla had only marginal influence-on Malwa. It had not friendly relationship with the Bundelkhand kings but in general Gond Kings maintained good relationship with Bundelkhand kings. The main area of their influence was Narmada Valley and the most of these kings were concerned about the control of Vindhyan escarpement. The Garha–Mandla armies never entered in Chhatisgarh or Dandakaranya. The major part of Garha–Mandla kingdoms thus comprised the:

(i) Vindhyan Escarpement Subregion.

(ii) Large part of Narmada Valley.

Other Regions like Chhattisgarh of Malwa felt little influence of Gond power.

Here we give a brief geographic descriptive of the above two subregions which were far imporant in the context of Gond kingdoms. Narmada Valley particularly upper Narmada Valley was the heart of the kingdom. Dense forests ana mountanous physiography preserved the Gond kingdom for a long time.

VINDHYAN ESCARPEMENT:

A large part of Vindhyan Escarpement subregeion (singh et el, 1971) was under Gond influence. Bhander and Kaimur Ranges formed natural barrier of the outer boundary of Gond territory. A general discription of the subregion gives the picture of northern limits of the kingdom.

The Vindhyan escarpement subregion has vindhyan and Cudappa groups of Sanstones. The altitude ranging from 300 mtr. to 752 mtr. shows uneven areal expanses of subheight groups. Main elements of physiography in this hill valley complex are the scarps overlooking the Ganga plain in the north and the Narmada Son

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through in the south. Bhander and Kaimur range rise (450-600 mtr) above the Tons and Sonar Valleys. Sonar upland is drained by the Sonar river and has relatively more level agriculture land. Sagar plateau lies on the eastern edge at about 457 mtr. elevation. The tract has alternating basins and ranges. The subregion has also the deposits of pleistocone and recent age in parts of Rewa, Satna and Sagar districts. Tons and Ken rivers form two big basins in the sub-region.

NARMADA SON VALLEY:

The Narmada Son Valley is the lower portion of Madhya Pradesh having average hight of 300 mtr. only. This narrow valley runs from west to north east. Its a riftsvalley and both the base of this river are escarpments. The southern portion of the son is a not in continuous. series. The Narmada Valley runs the from Maikal ranges Shahdol, Mandla, Jabalpur, narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and East and West Nimar districts of Madhya Pradesh. This is the most important region of Gond population.

THE KINGDOM OF GONDS:

The geographical distribution of Gonds includes a large part of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra but they are also to be found in the neighbouring states of Orissa, Bihar and Maharashtra. The Historical records confirm that Gond rulers ruled the parts of these states. However, in these areas Gond rulers were never as powerful as those who ruled the Madhya Pradesh. The Madhya Pradesh dynesties for the purpose of their spatial distribution may be divided into two larger groups. In the first group we may include the dynesties of Garha-Mandla and in the other the dynesties of Bastar and Chhatishgarh. Some historians do not recognise Baster dynesties as belonging to Gonds. We have limited our discussion to the geographical area which was ruled by the Garha-Mandla kings.

According to traditional record the Gond rule started at a time when the great Kalchuri power had waned somewhere in 10th cen-

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tury. For years in the beginning Gond kingdom was tiny principality. It was only in 1523-1563 AD when Sangram Shah ruled the kingdom it grew in sizable dimensions. this is one of the reasons that many historians regard Sangram Shah as the first ruler of the Gond Dynesty.

Gond kingdom was always threatened by the marauding Muslim invaders of North India. The Kalchuris had been replaced by Chandelas and Baghelas and even the kings of these dynasties were warring with each other. The Gond kings had tried to unite an area which was once ruled by the Kalchuries of Tewar. There all the forts are started in the north, north west and west of their empire, no important fort is situated either in the south or in the eastern part of their empire. This was particularly because of the situation of Gond kingdom. The Gond kingdom flourished along upper Narmada Valley. The Eastern and southern part of Narmada Valley was under dense forest cover even up to 19th century. This part of Central India did not fall in the major Central Indian did not fall in the major Central Indian network of roads for a very long time. It was in the late 17th Century any major movements from the south threatened this kingdom.

At this time the forts and the Gond kingdom both had became too old to survive in the emerging new political order which after encompassed the regions for beyond the Indian soil.

MAJOR FORTS AND THE 52 GARHS:

According to Gond traditions Sangram Shah had won 52 forts of Garhs. It is interesting that the list of 52 Garhs does not include the most important forts of Mandla and Chauragarh. It also does not include Ramnagar. The reason is that the Sleeman's list (1837) is mainly based on Abdul Fazal's work'Ain-i-Akbari. Chaurgan was either built or renovated by Sangran-Shah, whereas 52 Garhs mainly represent the administrative units with are without forts. Abdul Fazl did not give the discription or Garhs of Malwa this led many historians to believe that Gond kingdom did not exist in Malwa.

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However, not all but most of the historians believe that there were atleast three major battles between Gond kings of Garha-Katanga and the Sultans of Malwa.

Sangram Shah was not only a great warrior but was also a great diplomat. He had cordial relationship with Baghel king Veer Singh of Rewa. Sangram Shah helped the Sultan of Delhi Ibrahim Lodi by sending back Jalaluddin Lodi a rebel of the Sultan. With this action Sangramshah could get the good will not only of Sultan Ibrahim. but as the history reveals, Afghan chiefs were at the service of Gond kings even after his death. Afghans fought bravely alongwith Gonds with the Moghul invaders.

While concluding the discussion on 52 Garh we may only say that there may or there may not be 52 'Garhs' or forts in the administrative or principalities which were annexed by the Gond king Sangram Shah, Even C.V. Wills (1919) has not given the origin of 52 Garhs'. here we give a passage from his work.

"The source of this legend of '52 forts' is recorded in Tod's Rajasthan. In the first chapter of his Annals of Haravati H.Q. a long extract from Chand, the bard of Chouhan's which tells how in Dwaper or Silver age, the Kashattriya race was extirminated by Parashuram having provoked him by the Impious avarice of Sahastra-Arjun of Haihaya race, king of Maheshwar one Nerbudda. And now, when the warrior race was regenerated, chaturbhuj chouhan was given Mecawati or Garha Mandla as his territory".

FIFTY TWO GARHS OF GONDS:

Sleeman gives the following list of 52 Garhs of Gond:

1. Garha.	2. Madogarh	3. Pacheigarh
3. Singorgarh.	5. Amoda.	6. Kanoja.
7. baghmar.	8. Tipagarh.	9. Raigarh.
10. Partabgarh.	11. Amargarh.	12. Deohargarh.
13. Patangarh.	14. Fatahpur.	15. Nemuagarh.

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16. Bhanwargarh.	17. Bargi.	18. Ghunsaur.
19. Chaurai.	20. Dongartal.	21. Karwagarh.
22. Jhanjangarh.	23. Lafagarh.	24. Santagarh.
25. Diyagarh.	26. Bankagarh.	27. Pabai-Karhi.
28. Shahnagar.	29. Dhamoni.	30. Hatta.
31. Madiado.	32. Garhakota.	33. Shahgarh.
34. Garha Pahra.	35. Damoh.	36. Rehli.
37. Itawa.	38. Khimlasa.	39. Ganor.
40. Bari.	41. Choukigarh.	42. Rahatgarh.
43. Makrahi.	44. Karubagh.	45. Kurwai.
46. Raisen.	47. Bhawraso.	48. Bhopal.
49. Opadgarh.	50. Punagarh.	51. Deori. &
52. Gaur Jhamar.		

Most of the 52 Garh of Gond kingdom are not difficult to locate but some of the Garh's like Ganor (Ginaur), Amoda, Tipagarh, Lafargh, Bankagarh and Partapgarh are not now precisely determined by any historian. Some other Garhs though well determined geographically are not recognised by some historians as the part of Garha-Khatanga kongdom of Gonds. Amongest these are 'Garhs' of Bhopal and its nearby places.

We do not wish to discuss the histirocity of the invasion of Malwa by Gonds which is the basic factor in the accepting or non accepting the Garhs of Malwa under Gond rule.

Once Gonds were defeated by the Asaf Khan their kingdom began to shrink. In the administrative organisation of Akbar, Garh is shown as a 'Mahal' of the Sarkar of the same name in the Subah of Malwa. The sarkar of Garha contained 57 manals and paid revenue of 10,077.080 dams and contributed 5495 horse men and 2,54,500 infantry to the Imperial Army. Speaking of Garha, Abdul Fazl Ain-i-Akbari says 'Garha is separate state abounding with foreests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue

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in mohours and elephants. Its preduce is sufficient to supply fully both Gujrat and the Deccan'. Under the Moghuls there was a continuous decline in the status of the kingdom during the Aurangzeb's region the 'Chahar Gulshan' put the total number of villages in the sarkar of Garha at 759. At least five capitals had a 'Fort'. These capitals were established after Sangram Shah.

'GARHS' WHICH PROBABLY HAD NO FORT DURING THE REGIME OF GONDS:

The remaining 'Garhs' had probably no fort or a fortress but were definitely big revenue centres of Gond kingdom. Each of such 'Garh' might have varying number of village which were controlled by the administrative seat in the 'Garh'. Thus these 'Garhs' seems to be administrative headquatres comperable to district or tehsil headquarter of our times. Their military functions were simple that they contributed cavalry and infantry to Gond kings as well to the emperior through the king.

MAJOR FORTS AND THEIR TYPE.

In all their originality the Gond forts were of stretegic importance. These site and situation was well determined. As per classic classification the major gond forts may be classified as follows:–

S.No.	Category of Forts as per Classic Classification.	Major Fort.
1.	Sthal Durg (Fort built on 1 and)	Fort of Garha.
2.	Jal Durg. (Fort Surrounded by water)	Fort of Mandla.
3.	Giri Durg. (Hill Forts and fortersser)	Singor Garha, Chauragar and other Ram Nagar Mahals.
4.	Van Durg. (Fort built in the midst of Forts)	

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(*The classification and nomenclature, however, differed from Authority to Authority. For details see Chakravarti, P.C. : 'The Art of War in Ancient India. p. 135.)

GARHA–KATANGA.

MAJOR EVENTS OF GARHA:

All the available historical records whether Muslim, Sanskrit pre traditional do not elaborate the events which might have been taken place during the time of Gond kings of Garha. It is also not known when did the fort of Garna came into existence. Since we see a long tradtion of Gond kings who ruled from Garha it is likely that the fort might have been constructed four or five generations back to Sangram Shah. There is sufficient reasons for such assumption. Firstly, Sangram Shah when he came into power constructed or renovated the forts of Chauragarh he had already a fort at Garha, which was not very good in condition and also not strategically useful for the king of his stature. Secondly, the meaning of Garha or 'Garh' in Hindi is a 'fort' and this word has been used in all the old records which proves the place always had a fort atleast from the time of the predecessors of Sangram Shah. Like many other forts, the fort of Garha might have been improved or renovated many times.

CENTRAL PLACE OF THE KINGDOM.

Garha had been the central place of Gond kingdom. In historical records this kingdom of Gonds have often been referred as Garha. 'Garha-Katanga for Garha-Khananga', 'Garha-Mandla' or simply 'Mandla'. Some other wards to denote the dynesty are Garha-Katanga.

In Sanskrit references mostly 'Garha' (Garahes) word has been regarded sufficient whether at the times of these references Garha was the capital or not. This definitely revel that Garha was the most important urban centre of the kingdom in addition to the historical importance. We may devide the Gond history of Garha into two parts.

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When the kingdom of Garha-Katanga got some prominance India was invaded by Babur. At the time of Sangram shah India and even neigbhouring lands had powerful Hindu and Muslim Kingdoms.

WHEN GARHA WAS THE CAPITAL OF GOND KINGDOM

This was the period from yado Rai to Daipat Shah, who shifted his capital from Garha to Singore Garh. He is said to have shifted his capital in 1543 or 1544.

THE SECOND TIME WHEN GARHA WAS THE CAPITAL OF GOND KINGDOM

This was the period from Chandra Shah to Hirde Shah. Hirde Shah after the defeat of Chauragarh Shifted his capital from Mandle to Ramnagar in 1651 or 1652.

BEGINNING OF GARHA KINGDOM

Yado Rai (Yadav Rao or Jado Rai) was the first king of Gond dynesty of Garha-Katanga. Ramnagar inscription in the second sloka refers to Yadav Rai as 'There was Yadav Rai, an ocean of virtues in Garha country. It does not give elaborate description of the first king. In the text of 'Garhesh Nrip Varnanam' the period of Yadav Rai is said to be samvat 215, in the original text it is said to be 'Ban ek Akshi' in another text also original it is 'Sar indu Akshi'. The meaning of both is same I.e. samvat 215. Ganesh Dutt Pathak emphatically stressed that all the Gond kings noted either in 'Garhesh Nrip Varnanam' or in Ramnagar inscription actually existed in historical times. There are two opinions about discussed elsewhere in this work. In any case it is a certainty tht the Yado Rai and his successors ruled from Garha only.

It is not known who built the fort and when exactly it perished. It is however likely that the early rulers ruled a small area and they may not have any well knit kingdon since the area was in dense

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forest the kings must have enjoyed a certain degree of soverignity. Even in the present day there are many tiny kingdom in the world situated in the deep forest. The mightly rules of northern India might have hardly and interest in this remote kingdom.

Since we are not interested here in the geneological details of Gond we see no contradiction in accepting that all the kings after Yado Rai to Sangramshah ruled Garha.

THE FORT OF CHAURAGARH

SITE AND SITUATION:

Chauragarh was the most important fort of Gond kingdom. Situated in 20° 35′N latitude and 79° 55′E longitudes. It is situated 32 kilometers from Narsinghpur town at the altitude of 240 mtr. above the level of river Narmada. This Fort saw rise and fall of Gond kingdom. Chauragarh fort is situated in the inaccessible mountainous regions of Satpuras. It had never been easy to reach this fort. One has to cross river Shakkar to reach the vicinity of the fort. River Shakkar has eroded its vally in a manner that deep revines have been formed. We are not certain about this formation but it is likely that these might have existed during the Gond period. The rivines provide natural barrier during for invaders. After this river there are small rivulets which form the outer fringe of the locality of the fort. It is in this peripheral area we find the remnants of Gondic military checkposts. It is said that once upon a time there were habitations in these areas, presently we fined a secondary forest has grown is this region. There are certain scattered skirts one has to go deep in the forest for about 3 to 4 kilometres and we find an abrup rise in the altitude. The foot hill is covered by dense forest.

Even at the foot hill which is about 100 feet higher than the water level of river Narmada one finds almost no trace of the fort. One has to climb almost 700 feet to cover a distance of about 2 kilometers. The Climbing area has a ver steep gradient. The left and

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right sides have deep slopes. There are no staircases either old or new so one has to climb cautiously. The hills are still covered by thick deciduous forests. While climbing the steep hill we remembered the report of Gazeteer that Asaf Khan had got 1000 elephants. in this fort. Our imagination failed as to how the elephants in the olden days could have ascended these high and steepy hills. However one of us had seen elephants climbing the mountains in Nepal.

Chaur garh was the capital of Sangramshah. Sangramshah ruled like a tiger amongst the central Indian kings of this time. we do not know what he meant by 'Pulastyavansi' but if it means that he was as mighty as 'Pulastya Ravan' there was some content of truth in his 'self' praise.

SINGORE GARH.

Singore Garh was the Third capital after Garha and Chauragarh.

SHIFT IN THE CAPITAL.

Dalpat Shah succeded his illistrious father Sangram Shah. he took over the regns of the Garna Katanga kingdom of Gonds in 1543 AD. Misrha (1986) states in one place (p. 46) that Dalpat Shah shifted his capital from Garha to Singore Garh, in another place he writes (p.32) that Chauragarh was the capital of Gond kingdom during the regime of his father. In fact there are ample evidences that Sangram Shah had made Chauragarh the capital of Gond kingdom. Singore Garh thus remined the capital of Gond kingdom only during the regime of Dalpat shah, whereas his wife durgavati, after the untimely demise of Dalpat Shah realised the importance of Chauragarh and again made it the Treasury Fort although Singore Garh remained the seat of the king. The fort of Singore Garh was thus the seat of the king for a short time but the choice of this fort reveals many facts including the changing geo-strategic importance of forts of medeaval Central India. The change also indicates the power and requirements of Gond kingdom under Dalpat Shah.

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MEANING OF 'SINGORE GARH'

The original of the name 'Singore Garh' has been explained by different authorities in different manners. Bhave citing 240 Sloka says that Dalpt Shah lived in 'Singh Durg'. According to cunningham 'Singore Garh' is the Currupt name of 'Shri Gaj Singh Durg'. This name has been found in an inscription of the fort. One Sati inscription as Tharrka in Damoh district narrates that the father of Dalpat Shah, Amandas (Sangram Shah) ruled from 'Garh Giri Visham Durg'. In 'Damoh Deepak' Dr. Hiralal gives yet another origin of the word. According to Dr. Hirala the region around Damoh was called 'Shri Gauri Kumarika Kshetra; hence a fort in the area was named as 'Shri Gauri Garh' which in its currupt form become 'Singore Garh'. Mishra gives yet another origin he feels that the old Sanskrit name of his fort might have been 'Singhpaur Garh'.

GEOPOLITICS OF RAMNAGAR MAHALS.

Ramnagar was the capital of Gond kingdom during the regions of last famous Gond king of Garha-Mandla. If Sangram Shah was the most important of all the sovereign Gond kings, HirdeSnah was probably the most successful of the tutelary Gond kings. For a tutelary king a fort was not a necessity when he thought of shifting a capital to a new place. It was the situation which had to be decisive for the establishment of new capital. Ramnagar Mahal was thus the result of the geopolitical decision which the king was forced to take once he lost his most important of the forts Singoregarh. The impregnability of Singoregarh had ceased against the cavalries and firefower. Hirde Shah had experienced a coveted victory as well a shame of defeat in the context of Chauragarh. Although a tutelary king of Moghul Durbar Hirde Shah had tried to restore the lost prestige of Gonds by annexing the fort of Singoregarh, a symbol of dynastic supremacy of Gonds. But his attempt was short lived and he had a new experience that forts themselves were no guarantee of royal safety.

Hirde Shah selected a place as remote as possible with a con-

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sideration of accessibility. The place Ramnagar of the time of Hirde Shah was not easily accesible to the cavalry. It was difficult to carry big guns in the area of thick tropical forest and the land of hills escarpements and valleys. Ramnagar itself is situated in a small plain surrounded by hills. It is situated in the southern bank of river Narmada and is 16 kilometers away from Mandla. Mandla had fort even at the time of Hirde Shah and the king probably considered the fort of Mandla as a check post to Ramnagar Mahals. While on the north the Mahal is protected by river Narmada. On the east there is a ridge Called Kala Pahar. In the times of hirde Shah it must have been very difficult to reach Ramnagar even from Mandla. The river is not navigable for long distance only the small boats can be used for the local use. Presently the revenue area of Ramnagar is about 1000 acres but according to historical records (not confirmed) its original revenue area had been 5000 acres four of five villages were also within the perephery of old capital of Gonds.

GEOPOLITICS OF MANDLA FORT

The shift of capital from Ramnagar to Mandla was not another change in the Gond Capital. The change was neither solely due to existence of a fort which is said to have been rebuilt by narendra Shah. The primary reason for such shift was definitely the changing equations of power. The centre of political power, the Moghul throne of Delhi was constantly growing weak. The Challengers for the first time in preceeding centuries were from the south. The people for whom 'Mahakantar' or the Great forests was no barrier. The Maratha invaders were searching new roads to attack the decaying Moghul empires. In their earlier attempts they were not so successful. For instance Krishnaji Savant, a Maratha invader traversed the Gond territory.

This invader from the south was first to cross Narmada with a cavaldar of 15000 and plundered then villages under Damoni fort. Krishnaji Savant was captured by Bakhat Buland in 1699 but he escaped from the prison. The invansion of Krishnaji was an important

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event, Narendra Shah took a lession from it, he knew that the Mahal capitals could eassily be plundered by such invasions, whereas forts were relatively secure. It should be made clear that this concept of safety in 1698 was different than at the time of Hirde Shah in 1651-52. Hirde Shah lived in an era when the centre of Power Delhi was strong.

Hirde Shah was worried over only with the Bundelas with whom he had tradion rivalry. Hirde Shah had already accepted the supremacy of Moghuls and paying tribute to them. In such circumstances he was afraid of the 'subordinate' of his lord. His decision of an 'Interior Capital' was safe as at his time the route to south India was from the far eastern edge of his new capital Ramnagar. Narendra Shah had to face the splinter groups which were basically against Moguls of Delhi. The Marathas were no 'alien' to his lord.

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this work to discuss the significance of site and situation of forts which were either built or thoroughly renovated by Gond Kings. The main emphasis has been put on the forts which were mostly used as capitals. The chosen site of forts had been the deep and inaccessible forests. The consideration of this choice was defence. Many of the important forts are situated on the ridge tops. The difference in the situation of Gond forts and the forts of non Gonds is their exposure. Whereas most of the non Gonds forts of the region can be seen-from a considerable distance the Gond forts remain illusive even when one reaches at its immediate outer perephery. All the major forts have in their vicinity the protection of a long ridge for quite a long time elephants were the parts of early Gond armies, although their use in contemporary warfare was at decline.

The thick tropical forests of Central India around the forts provided ample feed to the elephant army. Nearly all the major forts have big hathikhanas of Elephant stables. The Gonds ruled the

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country at a time when the art and science of Hindus had declined. Even at its Zenith Gond Kingdom was always threatened by the marauding Muslim invaders on North India. The Kalchuris had been replaced by Chandelas and Baghelas and even the kings of these dynesties were warring with each other. The Gond Kings had tried to unite an area which was once ruled by the Kalchuries of Tewar. Their all the forts are started in the north, north west and west of their empire, no important fort is situated either in the south or in the eastern part of their empire. This was particularly because of the situation of Gond Kingdom. The Gond Kingdom florished along upper Narmada Valley. The eastern and southern part of Narmada Valley was under dense forest cover even up to 19th century. This part of Central India did not fall in the major Central Indian network of roads for a very long time. it was only in the late 17th century any major movements from the South threatened this kingdom.

At this time the forts and the Gond kingdom both had became too old to survive in the emerging new political order which after encompassed the regions for beyond the Indian soil.

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HISTORICITY OF RAJGOND KINGS OF GARHA — MANDLA

Shivkumar Tiwari

A false idea running through the writing of numerous foreign writers had been perpetuated in our common understanding that Gonds and Gondwanland are the eternal realities of Central India. Gonds being poor and forest living community have largely forgotton their splendid past. What they remember is in the form of folk songs, and folk tales. They recall one 'King Karna' as an early king of their tribe, they also sing the songs of valour and sacrifice of Rani Durgavati. She is deified in these songs. Our historians discuss the rule of Rani Durgavati some of these even believe in her valour and courage which she exhibited against Moghul attack. However, most of our historians ar skeptical about the very existence of the kings predating her father in law Sangram Shah. For such historians the sanskrit records, literature or even rock inscriptions have dubious reliability. Such people while tracing the history of 'Gonds' find no mention of this 'Tribe' before Moghuls.

The word 'Gonds' and 'Gondwana' was first used during the period of Moghuls. The name for the forest dwelling community was given by non-Gonds. It is therefore natural that the history of 'Gond king' is traceable for the first time only in the historical records of Moghul period.

To solve the problem of historicity of Raj Gond Kings, the following points require analytical discussion :-

1. **Gondwana and Gondwana Land :**

The two words related to earth science often gave an impression

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to the common man that the Gonds lived in the region from the 'Day of Creation'.

2. **Kingdoms Predating to Gond Kings of Godwana :**

Here we give a very short account of documented history which predates the Gond dynasties of Garha-Mandla Kingdom only. Parallel history for other Gond dynasties, which were far short lived is not difficult to find.

3. **The Identity Problem of Gonds before Moghul Period :**

We do not know exactly as to what was the name of Gond tribe before the Moghul Period. It is also likely that like many other forest dwelling communities of India they were simply called Hindus. They alternatively had been called 'Kharpars'.

4. **The Problem of Pre Sangram Shah Period :**

We have some historical evidences of Gond Kings which date back to the Kalchuris. Historians are divided in accepting the 'Historicity' of these sanskrit evidences.

5. **'Karn' as mentioned in the Geneology of Gond Kings**

In many sanskrit texts and also in the traditional folk lores, Gonds are said to the descendents of 'Raja Karn'. (British authors wrote it 'karn').

6. Conclusion

1. **Gondwana and Gondwana Land :**

The general interest in palaeontology popularised the two words amongst scientists of various countries, but the common literate people often did not differentiate the two 'historical time scales'. Whereas the one for human civilizations, cultures and dynastic rules was in centuries, the other describing the events of mountain building tectonic movements and climatic changes ran in million of years.

The country which was ruled by the Gondkings was earlier

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under the rule of mighty kings of Kalchuri dynasty. The territories which the first Gond king annexed were neither uninhabited nor uncivilized part of Central India. Gonds were not the first settlers who made the forested country habitable as one may expect from the term 'Gondwana which has often been used for a part of central India. As I have just said that the word 'Gondwana' came in usage only after the Moghuls, it has not much historical significance in relation either to history or culture of Gonds. The Gonds never call themselves 'Gond' the traditional word for them is *'Koitur'*. The British authors on tribal literature should be credited with popularising the word 'Gond' internationally. The word became so popular even in Europe that scholars from different fields other than humanities and social sciences knew the word. The result was that Alfred Wegener the botanist turned geologist soon coined the word *'Gondwana Land'* in year 1924 in the famous work *'The Origin of Continents of Oceans'*.

The 'Gondwana Land' was coined to denote a hypothetical continent of Mesozoic Era which consisted the parts of Africa, South America, Australia, Antarctica and peninsular India.

Those who knew little or no geology could not have the imagination of the time of fragmentation of continental masses which took place when the ancestors of not only of man but of mammals had yet to evolve. I had myself gone through many books where authors have erred in understanding the geological and human time scales. Alfred Wegener had talked about the Gondwana land of 138 million, years back where-as the entire history of man's evolution is hardly one million years and the cultural history only 5000 years old.

The point for discussion is that the Gonds should not be compared with Red Indians of North America who were not only the first and original settlers of the country but were also the first cultural groups and owners of the country. Here in India, before the one particular tribe was called 'Gond' it was simply the 'subject' of earlier kings. The 'subject' was neither a peculiar nor an isolated

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community in early period. The Gonds took part in the day to day business during the earlier regimes.

2. Kingdoms Predating the Gond Kings of Gondwana :

In the earlier historical period 'Gondwana' or 'Gond Country' as it was termed in late mediaeval period was known as 'Mahakantar', where many small kingdoms thrived. Mahabharat contains a story describing how the name 'Tripura' came in to existence. Tripura or 'Three Cities' were inhabited by Asura Kings which were latter Vanquished by Lord Shiva. A village near Jabalpur now known as Tewar is said to be a modern derivatio of ancient Tripuri. 'Tripura' was thus a small kingdom of some unidentified tribal kings. It may also be the earliest of such kingdoms.

There are ample epigraphic, religious and literary records that the 'Gond Country' has many illustrious rulers in the historical period. The existence of Ashok's Minor Rock Edict at Rupnath proves that his empire embraced this part of Madhya Pradesh. Tripuri is mentioned in coins assigned to latter half of the 3rd Century B.C., on the palaeographic basis. These rare pieces of Copper or Bronze weighing 94 to 130 grains, have on the observe a crescented hill by the side and a hollow cross and legend 'Tripuri' is written perpendicularly from the bottom. The reverse is plain. According to Allan they were not cast but 'Struck with that seal like effect as if the die had been impressed on the hot metal'. After this period, Kushans had extended their empire up to this region. This is proved by two images with inscriptions on them. Samudragupta's (C. 335-380 A.D.) Allahabad Pillar Inscription narrates the victory of king who reduced the kosala empire of king Mahendra and also the kingdoms of forest states. Eighteen such states are mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions of king Hastin, and Dabhal is one of them.

3. The Identity Problem of Gonds before Moghul Period :

The Dabhal or Dahal country was coterminous with the Chedi country in central India with Tripuri as its capital. After weakening of Kalchuris and their subsequent dynasties, the tribal chiefs hitherto

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known by some other name began to form the nucleaus of power, which were called 'Gonds' by other people very lately.

The Allahabad records shows five tribes which ruled north and east of Bhilsa, these were Abhirs, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Kharparikas. According to Smith (1924) Kharparikas had their settlements in Seoni and Mandla districts but a stone epigarph from Batiagarh shows their presence even in Damoh district.

The Kharpars and the Gonds :

It is not a mere co-incidence that the Kharpars were residents of the same geographical area which includes modern Mandla, Seoni and Damoh districts which after the Kalchwu rule came under the Gond Kings. Kharpars, as we have seen were the 'Tribal' people according to Smith. Now the question is where did that ruling tribe go. Did it vanish permanently or it survived as a community with a changed name and identity. Historians of modern India have not yet academically established the relationships of old ruling tribal groups, not only Kharpar but many others, with the contemporary tribal groups. What I emphasise is the fact that the ruling cadre of tribals did not vanish, instead it survived alongwith the other communities. In the process of survival it evolved culturally and socially.

The Problem of Pre Sangram Shah Period :

Most of the British and latter historians question the validity of Pre-Sangram Shah geneology given in Ramnagar inscription, although most of them with their reservations have quoted it. Amongst those who rely on the name of the kings of Pre-Sangram Shah period as given in Ram nagar inscription are only Hall and Cunningham. Cunningham (1924) has noted that the 'Samvat' given in the inscription may be 'Chedi Samvat' if so there will be a further difference of 249 years.

Sleeman (1844) believed that the dates of Ramnagar inscription were reliable on two grounds, firstly many inscriptions of different temples support the geneology, secondly many names are found in the records of contemporary Muslim sources.

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Mishra (1986) believes firmly that the earliest Gond King was Gorakshdas. He makes it clear that the earlier names as given in Ramnagar inscription are fictitious. He finds the earliest reference of Gond kings in Akbarnama where the reference of Gorakshdas is given.

Since Akbarnama is an older historical record than the Ram nagar inscription he concludes that the Royal line of Gond kings started from Gorakshdas. Mishra points out the anamoly of the 14th name of Ram nagar inscription 'Surtan Singh'.

Mishra explains that the 'Sultan' title was first used by Muslim kings in 11th Century whereas the 'Surtan Singh' is said to have ruled sometimes during the 8th Century. Mishra opines that 'Surtan' is the corrupt version of 'Sultan'. Mishra has pointed out that Kalchuris had ruled this part of central India up to the beginning of the Thirteenth Century hence it is historically wrong to accept any Gond Kingdom so near to Tripuri, the capital of Kalchuris.

Before we discuss the existence and relationship between Karn or Lakshmikarn with those of latter Gond Kings, it should be noted firstly that the very concept of 'Gond' as a tribal regality evolved after Akbernama hence Akbarnama gave the names of only those kings whom Moghuls not long ago have begun to term as Gonds. Secondly, Akbarnama is not the history of Gonds or Raj Gonds which would have narrated the early history of a not so importnat ruler of a kingdom which was vanquished by the patron of the writer of Akbernama.

The word 'Surtan Singh' is not necessarily a corruption of 'Sultan Singh' instead the word should be splitted as Sur (Svar = Voice) + Tan (Alap = Range) + Singh (Lion, the surname used by Rajputs). In fact in the olden time kings were deeply interested in music and songs. The nobility of a king was measured by his knowledge in the field of 'Sur' and 'Tan' no wonder that the king's name was Surtan Singh. However, this needs a further confirmation by philologists.

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'Karna' in the Geneological records of Gond Kings :

It is interesting to note that Cunningham (1924), while tracing the history of Gond Kings correlated the name of Gond King of the Ramnagar inscription with the king Karn of the stone epigraph of Tripuri. In this way Cunningham was the first historian at least to recognise the ancestory of Raj Gonds from some Hindu Royal line age. The names given in the stone epigraph of Tripuri gives the details of Kalachuri Kings. Cunningham, however never attempted to prove the descent of Gonds from Kalchuris. In more recent years, Mishra comments on this point :

'Sleeman has noted the stone epigraph built by Raja Kirn. But it has not be noted that Kirn was not a Gond instead he was Laxmi Kirn of Kalchuri descent'.

Mishra has obviously made a mistake because in any Indian language the word Gond for ancestral Raj Gonds was an impossibility as the word was coined much latter. Even if Mishra had not accepted the Kalchuri ancestory of Raj Gonds he should have given an alternative tribal name which was in common usage in those times, but in doing so an independent research was required.

The other mistake in the statement of Mishra is about the suggestion of 'Laxmi Karna' in place of Karna is Kulchuri Geneology. Sharma (1973) does not mention any 'Laxmi Karna' in the geneology of Kalchuris of either Tripuri or Mahismati. This name is not to be found even in the Kalchuris of Saryupara and Kalchuris of Kalyana. Sharma (1973) mentions two Laxaman Rajas (825-850 A.D., and 945-970 A.D.) in Kalchuri dynasty. Three 'Karna' or names similar to 'karna' have been mentioned in the Kalchuri geneology of Tripuri branch. These are :-

1. Karna (1041-1073 A.D.)
2. Yashah Karna (1073-1123 A.D.)
3. Gaya Karna (1123-1153 A.D.)

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Whereas the last Kalchuris survived upto 1153 A.D. Gond geneology assigns its Karnas even in earlier periods.

	Authority	Yashah Karna	Karna
1.	Garheshnrip Varnanam	737-773	916-932
2.	Sleeman (1844)	818-854	967-983
3.	Cunningham (1924)	840-876	989-1005
4.	Ward (1863)	747-783	926-942

It has to be noted that at the times of Kalchuris many 'Samvats' were in use and many archaeologists believe that a period of 200 to 250 years may fluctuate with the difference in opinion.

Conclusion :

We have seen the historical record of the 'Region'. It seems safe to conclude that the tribal groups living as subjects of Kalchuris filled the power vaccum once the Kalchuris and chandelas had faded from the regional supremacy. The Gonds as the ruler had a humble beginning. At the beginning, even if they called themselves 'Koitur' it had little meaning as they bore some other name for sanskrit speaking people. It is probable that they had been called 'Kharpara'. In the process of change 'Kharpars' were not expected to remain 'Kharpars' forever. It is likely that the 'Kharpars' and 'Kakas' were offshoots of old 'Naga' tribes (not to be confused with the Naya tribe of North East India).

The historical records reveal that Raj Gonds even when they had close relationship with the Muslim rulers perferred to follow the Hindu culture. This goes against the general 'tribal psychology'. All over the world when the tribals were enslaved or subjected to work under the masters who had a different religion and culture. The tribals en masse changed their religion. All the African tribals under European influence embraced the Christianty and the remaining under the Arabic or Turkish influence became Muslims.

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I have cited these facts just to enumerate my point that had the Raj Gonds were simple tribal people who by the quirk of time got the ruling capacity in a power vaccum land, would certainly have embraced Islam. It is really strange that even working as tribute paying kings, Gond Kings for many generations venerated 'Hindu Gonds', wrote and sponsored sanskrit works of high academic level.

The Gond Kings would have been benefitted by their Muslim over lords if they would have adopted 'Persian' instead of 'Hindi' or 'Sanskrit' as their court language. The Gond Kings adopted the Royal Seal of 'Gajsardula' in which a lion is shown to capitulate a dwarf elephant in prostrate position. The 'Gaj Sardula' is a very old symbol of Hindu Kings.

Gond Kings worshipped not only many contemporary deities of Hindu Pantheon but they also venerated the older deities like 'Bhairav' and 'Matrikas'. In fact not only these two sects but a number of deities, which now find place in Hindu icons have come only from these tribal religions. In fact it is difficult and rather unnecessary to draw a line between the Gods of Hindus and those of Gonds. With the gradual refinement or the development in the rituals and rites, they were accepted in the larger Hindu folds often a sanskritized version found place in the puranas.

It is this reason that the Gond Kings learnt the sanskrit language and gave it the royal patronage. Sangram Shah wrote 'Rasratanamala' in Sanskrit. He wrote few other books. Other Gond Kings were also well versed in sanskrit. Hirdeshah wrote *'Hridaya Kautuk'* and *'Hridava Prakash'*. The Gond Kings maintained the tradition of sanskrit poetry by inviting sanskrit scholars from Mithila and other places. These court scholars wrote *'Sangram Sahiya Vivek Dipika', Sarva Desh Vritanta', Garhesh Nrip Varnanam', Gajendra Moksha'* and many other poems.

The spoken language of Gond Kingdom for about three centuries was Hindi (and its dielect Gondi). The Gonds did not use Persian in their day to day work even when it was an imperial language

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and the Gond Kings were tribute paying kings.

The sanskrit literature written during Gond Kings is full of Hindu mythological stories. The language has a high grammetical precision and the content has high literary standard.

It is the result of poverty and the British rule that the simple living Gonds wre isolated for decades and were often deceived for the forgetfulness of their heritage. The British historians and sociologists of colonial India were not supposed to discover the historial realities of Gonds or for that matter any other tribal group, which could have proved them as an integral part of larger Hindu stream. Instead of discovering the tribal history independently we also followed the old British writings as it led to no controversy. the illiterate Gond, who is robbed of his history in 'Academic World' is content with his folk tales which he will tell to his curious son.

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MIDDLE CLASSES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

K.S. Lal

In the medieval period, the luxurious life of the upper classes and the poverty of the exploited peasants and workers were seen by all. These two sections of society were so prominent that the presence of the small, self-respecting, friend-of-the-people mdidle class was not even noticed by some contemporary writers. Francois Bernier is one of them for the Mughal period. Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, this renowned French visitor to India, found that in Delhi there was no middle state. A man must be of the highest or live miserably[1]. Similar is the assertion of Tavernier about Burhanpur and Golkunda[2].

Why did Bernier and Tavernier make such observations ? Today most people (except the very poor) consider it a matter of satisfaction or even of pride to belong to the middle class. Ministers, Secretaries, Members of parliament and high officers of Government, counterparts of medieval ruling class, call themselves not masters but servants of the people. Pride in belonging to high class has been replaced by humility in belonging to the middle class, and administraors and politicians, tradespeople and working men, officers and clerks, are all counted among the middle class. But in the Middle Ages ideas of equality, democracy, socialism and Marxism were not there. Consequently, it was not a fashion in medieval India to claim to belong to the middel class. This is probably what Bernier and Tavernier also noted and also declared. In medieval India rulers, nobles and high class people could never think of degrading themselves to belong to any class other than the highest. In that age, levelling would have been revolting to the rich and probably embarrassing to the poor. In Medieval society the ruling class and the subject people were two well recognised strata.

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But what applied to Mughal India applied also to the Pre-French Revolution, Pre-Industrial Revolution, Seventeenth Century France. There were three recognized Estates; the first comprised the Clergy, the second the Nobility and the third the Commoners. However, side by side with these categories was the yeomanry and the bourgeoisie, the "middle state" of Bernier. Did a corresponding middle state of middle class exist in India also, and Bernier missed to notice it, or was there no middle class exist in India alo, and Bernier missed to notice it, or was there no middle class in India at all in the medieval period ?

The above cited statement of Bernier has been lifted out of context by many scholars; prampting some to deny the existence of a middle class in the pre-British period[3]. Therefore, Bernier has to be quoted at some lenght to understand why he said so. He gives a detailed description of Delhi and Agra and some other cities of Hindustan in a letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le vayer dated 1st July, 1663[4]. In his description of Delhi, he writes about its citizens, its houses, bazars, food, fruit etc., and constantly compares them with those of Poris. "In the bazars of the capital city of Delhi", writes he "there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways. But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed, for ahght I know, of the flesh of camels, horses, or perhap oxen which have died of disease, Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home...But it would be unreasonable for me to complain...I send my servant to the king's purveyors in the Fort, who are glad to sell wholesome food, which costs them very little, at a high price I am willing to pay"[5]. Pigeons were exposed for sale, capons were not, "these being wanted for their *seraglios*"...good fish may sometimes be bought, particularly two sorts, alled *sing-ala* and *rau* (Singi and Rohu). The former resembles our pike; the latter our carp....The *Omrahs* alons contrive to force the firshermen out at all times (to sell) by means of the *korrah*, the long whip always suspended at their door....Unquestionably the great are in the enjoyment of everything; but it is by dint of numbers in their

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service,by dint of the *Korrah*, and by dint of money. In *Delhi* there is no middle state. A man must either be of the highest rank of live miserably. My pay is considerable, nor am I sparing of money; yet does it often happen that I have not wherewithal to satify the cravings of hunger, the *bazars* being so ill-supplied, and frequently containing nothing but the refuse of the grandees. Wine, that essential part of every entertainment can be obtained in none of the shops at *Delhi*, although it might be made from the native grape, were not the use of that liquor prohibited equally by the *Gentile* and *Mahometan* law....The say the truth; few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine...[6].

Bernier was only experiencing what Babur had witnessed a century ago. The latter notes in his memoirs that in Hindustan they have no"...good flesh, no grapes of musk-melons, not good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their *bazars*"...And "every artisan[7] there is follows the trade that has come down to him from his forefatheres Bernier did not get food to his liking in the bazar, he could not get good wine, and for both these he hime\self provides correct explanations. What Bernier saw everyday in the bazars was the abctrary ways of the nobles and their unfair use of force to get things at low prices. A hungry Bernier, felt the pinch of non-availability of good food and heady wine in the open market, what he saw was the *Korrah* of the Amirs[8] and the wretched condition of the poor hawkers and fishermen. He missed to notice, at that point of time or in that mood at least, the middle of intermediate class, the accomplished artisans, hereditary Craftsmen, rich jewellers and influntial bankers of sarrafs. Most middle class people carried on with their hereditary crafts, say in printing calico, streching embroidery, or manufacturing jewellery. These worked Mostly at home and did not exhibit their artistic products in show-cases in shops. That is why he wrote what he wrote in a limited context and perhaps under the influence of an empty stomach and thirsty tongue when he could only see the rich Umara grabbing away at the best fish and meat from the poor people with the help of the *Korrah*. There were no standard hotels serving good food in Delhi and Agra

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and other large cities where gentlemen like Bernier and Indians of his class could have dined without worrying about the quality of food. But the Mughal gentry, as he himslef noted preferred to eat at home and the meats in the cooking-joints in the bazar were sometimes adulterated. These were just matters of habit. Bernier's statement is a case of arriving at a major conclusion on the basis of a minor inconvience.

For, there has always been a middle class in society in every age, and medieval India was no exception. Among the Muslims the rich people who provided artisans, weavers, embroiderers and jewellers with raw materials to produce goods on order and paid wages, and merchants who dealt in goods, wholesale and retail, surely belonged to the middle class. There is no doubt that besides the two well-known sections of the rich and the poor, there were many who, in terms of wealth and income, could be placed between the two. There is evidence to show that in the contemporary Muslim society of the west Asian countries ther were three categories of people, the *al-khassa* and the *al-amma* also called *al-raiyya*, and"the people of great Skill, specialists in medicine, architecture and accounting...and merchants who had at least a more than average fortune were also *al-nas*"[9] middle class or (common people ?), a word so often used by Ibn Battuta in the Indian Gustave Grunebaum also says, that "The Muslim shares to a very high degree sensitivity about rank which is so characteristic of the Middle expressing social distinctions through a delicate system of etiquette. Questions of precedence are of considerable importance. Mankind was divided into four orders by the Barmakid Wazir A1 Fazl bin Yahiya (8th C.A.D.)–1. King, 2. Wazir, 3. Aristocracy of Wealth, 4. The middle class...was connected with the above clas by their culture. The rest of the population counted for nothing"[11].

In medieval times India was very much advanced in industry, trade and commerce. Indian textile and other manufactured goods had a market throughout the East and the West. India exported lot of goods and Indian ports served as clearing stations of trade between the east and the West. In industry and manufacture, whether

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it was of cloth, carpet of leather, or it was metal, ivory or gold, India held the supreme position . There were excellent ship building and repairing yards (even for European ships) in India[12]. Mahuan, an interprefer attached to the Chinese envoy Chang Ho who visited Bengal in 1406, writes that "The rich build ships in which they carry on commerce with foreign nations"[13]. Right from the thirteenth-fourteenth century, indeced from ancientimes,manufacturing centres of all kinds of wares were spread all over the country and the State provided liberal encouragement to industry[14]. India's position as a pioneer in manufacture, industry and commerce remained important throughout the medieval period.

There were, consequently, big manufactures and merchants, foreign and Indian, living in the country. According to yahya Sarhindi a large number of Khurasani merchants who lived in Delhi possessed some of the best mansion in 'that prosperous city[15]. Barbosa says that Muslems, settled in Calicut, had large houses and many servants and they lived very luxuriously. About the Muslims at Rander the says, "they were well-dressed, had good houses, well-kept and furnished"[16]. For Later years and Terry wrote : "There are very many provate men in cities and towns, who are merchants of tradesmen, that are very rich"[7]. Della Valle has similar comments to make on the freedom of life in Surat, where there was open exhibition of riches and splendour[17]. Monopolists like Mir Jumla Vijji Vohra and, at a later date, Jagat Seth were renowned for there wealth. And they lived in the elitist fashion. "The exceptional position on the coast is probably to be explained by the provileged status of the Moslem merchants...being free to live well...while the merchants of the interior...led the quiet and unistentations life required by the circumstances of their position"[18]. Muslim merchants were to be found at practically every seaport in India. Jews and Armenians and Parsis were few in numbers, but important in commercial life[19]. The horizons of Muslim freedom expanded in a country where 'every man had a slight tincuture of soldiership.' Urbanization and development of trade and commerce made many industrialists monopolists rich and richer. There was rapid growth of

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towns and cities in medieval period. In the sixteenth seventeenth centuries, India has hundreds of cities with a population of more than 100,000 and cities like Agra, Lahore and Bombay could boast more than half a million people each[20]. Their middle class sections comprised traders, goldsmith jewellers, bankers (sarrafs), architects, scholars, merchants and many other small manufacturers and merchants too possessed gold and silver and their concomitant power. So also was the case with the other sections of middle class Muslims like learned, such as philosophers, physicians, mathematicians, architects, historians or chroniclers, and the Ulema. There were the Saheb-i-Qualam va Saheb-I-Saif (Masters of the pen and the sword) and people belonging to or descended from distingusished families. Soldiers and warriors-neither the Khans or Maliks nor the common troop that is officers of the intermediate grade who in the words of Abul Fazl consumed "The straw and rubbish of strife" and kindled "the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances" too belonged to this class. Other government officials like Quazis and Imams of Quasbas and Sufis also comprised the middle class.

In contrast to the Muslim bourguoise, the life of the Hindu middle classes was different in many ways. They lived under the Muslim theocratic regime and paid the poll tax *Jiziyah* incumbent upon the non-Muslims. There were three rates of *Jaziyah*, 40, 20 and 10 *tankahs* imposed on three classes or income groups–the high, the middle and the low[21]. This in itself is a proof of the existence of a middle class among the Hindus. If Akbar abolished this tax, Aurangzeb reimposed it and the Hindu middle class paid the *Jaziyah* at the middle rate, or probably the high, for all throughthe medieval period they "possess almost exclusively the trade and the wealth of the country"[22]. Pelsaert's description of the Hindu middle class is apt and elaborate. He writes:

"First there are the leading merchants and jewellers, and they are most able and expert in their business. Next there are the workmen, for practically all work is done by Hindus, the Moslems practising scarcely any crafts but dyeing and weaving...Thirdly there are the clerks and brokers: all the business of the lords' palaces and

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of the Muslim merehants is done by Hindus–book-keeping, buying and selling. They are particularly clever brokers, and are consequently generally employed as such throughout all these countries"[23].

The life of the Hindu middle class was not luxurious. Ostentatious living was as dangerous in their case as it was desirable in the case of Muslim merchants and courtiers. Nay, the Hindu "rich men study to appear indigent" says Bernier, and although" the profit be ever so must W.H. Moreland rightly observes that" "they help us to understand the thrifty or even parsimonious, scale of living which characterises so mang of the commercial classes at the presant day[25]. Thus apart from some great monopolists and bankers who belonged to the high class, the tradespeople of the junior rank were denied due regard in society and are mentioned by Muslim chroniclers with a contempt which is conveyed in words like *Dallal, Bania, Baqqal* etc. The treatment meeted out to the lower class of traders and retailers by the rulers during the medieval period shares this contempt. The harshness with which Alauddin Khalji treated the traders, wholesalers and retailers, and made their 'flesh sore', has become proverbial[26]. Pelsaert too says that the condition of shopkeepers was good if they were not made victims of bazar officials. They had gold and silver in their houses but made exhibition of poverty lest they should be used as sponges[27]. In short, their style of living (was unimpressive. This poor style of living) was also and perhaps the most important factor in making the middle class of the medieval period invisible to foreign travellers like Bernier.

This unimpressive way of life was due to many other causes besides fear of being exploited and "sponged by the rich". Ibn battuta, Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzaq, Athnasius Nikitin and a host of others bear testimony to the poor standard of living of the people even if they propertied and non-poor classes[28]. As late as the belonged to early nineteenth century David Macpherson observed: "Born and desiring to pass his life in the same country where his ancestors...were born and passed their lives, whose food is rice, whose drink is water or milk, to whon wine or strong liquor is an object of abomination...whose warm climate renders any clothing,

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beyond what decency requires, intolerable, and whose light clothing is made by himself and his family from the cotton produced in his own fertile fields, whose customs and religion....render utterly inadmissible many articles of enjoyment and comfort...can never have any desire to acquire the produce or manufactures of Europe[1]. James Forbes even goes to the extent of declaring that the balance of trade with Europe was in India's favour because of Indian people's abstemious habits and simple life. "The commodities exported to Europe from India", says he "Far exceeded in value those imported from them thence; the natives of India, from the mildness of climate, and fertility of their soil, want but few foreign supplies, gold and silver have been always carried thither by European traders"[2].

In the process the Hindu middle classes helped in capital formation, even though on a limited scale, which the higher classes failed to do. An important contribution of the middle class especially the Hindu middle class was capital formation in medieval India. Apart from the accidents of war to which Muslims and Hindus were alike exposed, as witnessed during invasions which Muslims and Hindus were alike exposed, as witnessed during invasions of the Mongols in the sultanate period or of Nadir Shah and Aldali in the Mughal times, it seems that the assets of the Hindu capitalist were safer than the wealth of the most powerful Muslim nobleman. The assets of Hindu elites could not be lost as a result of a court intrigue or fall form farour. On the contrary Muslim nobles, may even Muslim kings, used to borrow large amounts from Hindu *Sahukars* who were known to possess wealth. The wealth of the Hindu could pass on from father to son without being divided up. It could not be taken away by the government under escheat. The Muslim officers and merchants believed in good and ostentatious living. The momement they had some money they raised their standard of living and set up herems and establishments in proportion to their wealth. The Hindu was by nature thlifty. Fear of sponging by the government, vept the possecsions of the Hindu capitalist concealed. It was this that made Hindu merchants *Sahukars, sarrafs* and bankers during Muslim rule. In short the poor style of living of the Hindu middle

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clas of the medieval period made if rather invisible. Besides, it was very small in numbers. Traders, shop-keepers, jewellers, architects, all added up to a very small proportion of the population. With its small numbers, its influence was also limited, as against the clout of Muslim Ulama, Chronicles, physicians. But the one chief characteristic of the middle classes was very much present in medieval India. In behaviour, the hall-mark of the middle classes is living with chin up, straight shoulder and chest thrown out, whether the income is less or more and whether it is categorized as lower, middle or upper middle class. The middle class has been found to be the custodian of society's undefined, but ever increasing rights. It was so even in the medieval period. it was generally at the spearhead of any protest movement. It was respected in society, comprised the respectable citizens in the social milieu. One important identification of the middle classes is its representation of the people's rights and its representation of the people's rights and its readiness to fight for such rights. This distinguishes them from the Upper and lower classes.

Conclusion

There were two major classes of society, the rulers and the ruled, the rich and the poor, the haves and have-notes. In between these two, there was a Middle Class. The middle order in medieval India had certin peculiarities which made it different from the middle class of today. It was small in numbers and, therefore, sometimes it escaped notice especially of foreigners. With its small numbers its influence was also limited. Its life-style also made it insignificant. But the middle classes remained custodians of public weal even in the medieval period. The middle class people sometimes used to demonstrate and protest, at others beg or purchase, if they did not actually wrest concessions from the ruling classes. For instance the Bhakti Movement in medieval India was a middle class movement with far reaching consequences.

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SANT PRANNATH AND THE PRANAMI SECT

P.S. Mukharya

Sant Prannath was perhaps the last in the glorious tradition of those *Sants* of Medieval India who worked for Hindu - Muslim unity. Besides, he also laid a solid foundation of the synthesis of all religions for the first time in India. While *Sants* like Kabir, Nanak, Raidas, Dadu etc. have received full attention at the hands of the historians, the historicity and the contribution of Prannath and the *Pranami* sect remains comparatively an unexplored field. Historians have paid scant and inadequate attention to it.

Nature and extent of the source-material :

The primary and original sources of this sect are vast. It has a vast literature behind it in the form of the *'Bani Sahitya'* and the *'Bitak Sahitya.'* The *Bani* or teachings of *Sant* Prannath are collected in *'Kulzamswarup'* or *'Tartamya Sagar'* which means a vast ocean of knowledge. It is in 14 volumes or *'granthas'* with more than 18 thousand verses. The *Bitak Sahitya* contains his biographies (written in verse-form) running into hundreds of verses by his learned disciples. There are seven *Bitaks* about him.

Although Prannath's mother-tongue was Gujarati, he was well-acquainted with Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Hindi etc., His *Kulzamswarup* is a collection fo 14 *granthas* of which four are in Gujrati, one in Sindhi and the rest in Hindi or Hindustani. After his tour of Northern and Central India he was convinced that Hindustani was understood by a vast majority of people. He then began to write in Hindustani. In medieval India he was the first Hindi poet to use word *'Hindvi'* (Hindustani) and consider it as the

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national as well as a link language. This was not merely a theory. He practiced it and his *Bani* or teachings in other languages was written in the *Devnagri* script during his lifetime. All the *Pranami* literature is in Hindustani written in the *Devnagri* script.[1]

The *Pranamis* concealed their literature from the public view for a long time. Before the independence of India it was not opened to those who were not the followers of the sect. The reasons for this are best known to them. Recently it has been opened to the general public. The *Kulzamswarup* was first published in 1965. This had given rise to much misunderstanding about the sect and a proper evaluation has yet to be done by the historians.

It is not possible to go through this vast material for writing this paper as it is a separate subject for research. In this paper a rather sketchy yet connected account of the life and times of *Sant* Prannath based on the secondary sources has been traced. At the same time the original sources have been tapped while dwelling on the broad outline of the *Pranami* sect.

Sant Prannath (1618-94 A.D.) :

Shri Devchand (1581-1655 A.D.),[2] the preceptor and *Guru* of *Sant* Prannath, was the founder of the *Nijanand* sect in Gujrat in the seventeenth century. It was further expanded in the Northern and Central India by Prannath as the Pranami sect with its centres at Jamnagar and Surat (in Gujarat) and Panna (in Madhya Pradesh).

Sant Prannth was the second *Guru* of this sect. He was born at Jamagar in Gujrat on 6 September 1618 in *Kshatriya* family. His birth-name was Mihraj. His father was Keshav Thakur, the Diwan of the Jamnagar State. His mother's name was Dhanbai. He was married to Baiji who always accompnied him in his voyages. After his father's death, he worked as a *Diwan* of Jamnagar State but left it for propogating the *Pranami* message throughout India in line with his *Guru*, Dev Chand. He also visited the Arab countries twice (1646-51 and 1668-72) and understood the finer aspects of the Islamic theology. He was also acquainted with the Christian scriptures

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through the British and Portugese traders in Kathiwad. All these factors led to his broad viewpoint and enlightened outlook. He was convinced that the fundamentals of all religions were the same. If the barrier of languages was removed, it was the same religion. He reverred equally all the religious scriptures. While preaching he used to invite religious discussions and satisfy the curiosities of the public. Several times he had to face the religious controversies of the various learned *Pundits* and *maulvies, Kabirpanthis, Nanakpanthis* and others. Many were impressed and became his followers[3].

Aurangzeb's religious bigotry :

During this time Aurangzeb was ruling India. His religious bigotry turned the territory under him into a veritable hell of persecution of non-Muslims. In 1669 by a *Farman* he ordered the demolition of the Hindu temples and reimposed the *Jaziya* on the Hindus in 1679 which Akbar had wisely abolished. The Hindus were highly dissatisfied with the religious bigotry of Aurangzeb. In Deccan Shivaji had successfully opposed this policy. Its echo was heard everywhere. This anti-Aurangzeb wave had also touched Prannat. In his preachings he vehemently opposed the religious bistory of Aurangzeb. He made up his mind to convince fanatic Aurangzeb about his erroneous ways. He went to Delhi from Gujrat with his followers but could not meet him personally during his sixteen months of stay there. Thus his attempt to convert him not on political lines but with the approach of an humble and courageous student of comparative religion failed miserably. After a vain Search in the Northern and Central India, he at last found in *Maharaja* Chhatrasal (1649-1731 A.D.) in Bundelkhand a bold and warlike prince who could oppose Aurangzeb. They met suddenly at Mau (near Chhatarpur in M.P.) in 1683. At Chhatrasal's request he settled permanently and spent his last years in Bundelkhand spreading his *Pranami* message with Panna as headquarter. He died at Panna on 29 June 1694[4].

Relations of Chhatrasal and Prannath:

The relations of Chhatrasal and Prannath were like that of Shivaji and *Samarth Guru* Ramdas. Prannath having supplied the

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moral and spiritual need to Chhatrasal in Bundelkhand, increased the importance of his political aims. On Shivaji the influence of Ramdas was spiritual rather than political. But Prannath was politically more helpful to Chhatrasal. In Bundelkhand he created a strong public opinion in Chhatrasal's favour by strongly criticising the Hindu reactionary policy of Aurangzeb. He successfully encouraged the public to co-operate with Chhatrasal.

His personality and teachings of non-sectarian and classless society attracted many followeres. Many of them were recruited in Chhatrasal's army. Prannth also used to accompany him in his army compaigns to encourage the soldiers. He also made his financial position strong and sound by giving him the knowledge of diamond mines near about Panna. On the advice of Prannath, Chhatrasal made Panna his capital. He conferred the choicest title of *Maharaja* on Chhatrasal and coronated him for enhancing his prestige in Bundelkhand. He was thus the source of inspiration and strength to Chhatrasal and was the friend, philosopher and guide to him[5].

The Pranami Sect:

Although the *Pranami* sect was founded by Devchand, it was organised into a definite order by Prannath. According *Pranami* scriptures the philosophy of this sect was revealed to Devchand by Lord Krishna himself while he was reciting *Srimad Bhagwad*. According to this sect the world is divided into two parts, *Kshara* (perishable) and *Akshara* (imperishable). But superior to these two parts is one Supreme God, i.e. *Aksharatit*. It emphasises the worship of *Aksharatit* and prescribes meditation as the best form of worship. The unity of God and the theory of *Karma* has been propounded and idolatory discouraged[6].

Fifth synthetic current of the medieval Bhakti literature :

Dr. Matabadal Jayaswal, who has done a pioneer research-work in the *Pranami* literature, is of the opinion[7] that this literature formed the fifth synthetic current of the medieval *Bhakti* literature in

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Hindi. Between 1400-1600 A.D. the following four currents had flowed; 1. *Sant* poetry (Kabir, Nanak, Raidas, Dadu etc.); 2. *Sufi* poetry (Jaysi, Manjhan, Kutban etc.), 3. *Rambhakti* (Tulsidas etc.), and 4. *Krishnabhakti* (Surdas, Nanddas, Mira etc.). In the seventeenth century all these currents had become weak and a new current flowed in the form of the *Pranami* literature. For the first time in India this new current emphasized the integration of India and Indian society through the proper synthesis of all the religious scriptures.

Sarva-Dharm Samanvay : Synthesis of all the religions :

In the seventeenth century the following religious scriptures were prevalent in India amongst the different communities. Bible amongst the Christians, *Quran* amongst the Muslim, and the *Veda, Upnishad, Gita,* and *Bhagwad* amongst the Hindus. Prannath was well-versed in the Hindu scriptures and the *Quran* and was well acquainted with the Christian scriptures. He knew well that without the proper synthesis of all these scriptures, the call of the unity amongst the different communities would become an empty slogan. He, therefore, raised his philosophical teachings on the solid foundation of the synthesis of all these religious scriptures[8].

He saw in India Hindus, Muslims, *Feranghies* (foreigners), Jews, Buddhists and Jains whose fanaticism and contending philosophies found no spritual ground in common and only served to flare the flames of mutual destruction as explicit in this verse[9]:

Hindu Musalman re firangi kai jate, hodi budi jain apar,
Baden so brodh badharia, kari agani udckar.

He defined a; *'Sadguru'* (true teacher) as one who embraces all religions. He was firmly convinced that all of them talked about the same thing. The ignorant alone sees the difference. He observes:[10]

Sastra le chale satguru soyi, bani sakal ko ek arth hoxi, sab
sayano kietmat payi, par ajan Dokhen re judai.

He advised followers of different religions who sing praises of God under different names and put on different clothes not to quar-

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rel amongst themselves as their God is one. He embraced it in a 'Universal Being' as in this verse:[11]

Jude jude nam gavahi, jude jude bhakh anek,
jin koyi jhagdo ap me, dhani sabo ka ek.

In his opinion[12] true piety is to love all alike great and small and take the all embracing Lord as their common protector.

Par Sabab to unko hovhi chota badu sab jiya,
Ek najro dekh he, subka khabind piyu.

Hindu-Muslim unity:

In *Kulzamswarup* he attacked the superstitions and the fanaticism of both the Hindus and Muslims and tried to remove their contradictions. He attempted to reconcile their controversies and pointed out repeatedly that both the *Vedas* and the *Quran* laid stress on the allegiance to the one Supreme God. In these verses[13] he observes that "the *Quran* and the *Vedas* emphasise the same. Both Hindus and the Muslims are the disciples of the same Lord. It is the difference in languages, names and customs that created illusions. I will undo their disillusionment by elucidating various names and signs of the existence of the common God to all of them."

Jo kuch kahya katchb/ne soyi kahya ved,
Dou bande ek sahab ke, par ladat bina paye bhed.
Boh sabo juda pari, nam jude dhare saban,
Chalan juda karliya, tathe samajh na pari kin.
Tathen hui badi urjhan, so surjhaun doy,
Nam nisan jaher karun, jyon samjhen sa koye.

In the following lines[14] he stressed the unity of God and said that "there is only the difference of name and rituals, in fact *Khuda* and *Brahma* are the same."

Nam saro juda dhare, layi sobon judi rasam.
Sab me umat aur duniya, soxi khuda soyi brahim.

In fact he emphasized the equality of mankind and propogated

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religious toleration. He was not against any religion. But he did not tolerate the religious persecution and considered its opposition the primary duty of all. For this reason he did not oppose Islam as a religion but he did not lag behind in encouraging and organising Hindus against the religious persecution of Aurangzeb. He inspired the Hindu kings of his times against this policy in these verses[15] that '0 the Rajas, the Ranas and Raots, the religion is in danger. Run to its rescue. You warriors, rise from the accursed sleep and be on your feet. The sword of the *Kshatriyas* seems to be broken. Religion of the Hindus is endangered. You followers of the true religion, do not abandon it. The Turks are gaining the upper hand. In the three *'Lokas'* (worlds) the land of Bharat is most glorious and in it Hinduism is the best of all religions. The crowned heads of the land are down with shame. The *'Asuras'* (demons) have imposed *'Jaziya'* on the Hindus. They are not even getting food and water. The poor who are unable to pay *'Jaziya'* are forcibly being made Muslims. Lo ! The Bundela Chhatrasal has heard the appeal. He has come forward with the sword in hand and has taken this service upon his head. The God has marked him to be the general and the leader."

Raja nai malo re ranan ray tanon, dharm jatu re koi daudo,
Jago ne jodhare uth khade raho, ninid nigodi re chodo.
Chutat hai re khadag khatriyo se, dharam jat hinduan,
Sat na chodo re satvadiyo, jor bodhyo turkan.
Traloki me uttam khand bharat ko, tume uttam hindu dharam,
Yaki chatrapatiyo ke sin, aye rahi it saram.
A sure logaya re hinduyo par jejiya, bako mile mahin khan pan,
Jo garib na de sake jejiya, taye mar kare musalman.
Bat ne suni re bundele chhatrasal ne aye ay khada le tulwar,
Lai sevare sari sir kheinch ke sainya kiya senyabati sirdar.

Sundersath:

Prannath stood for a casteless and classless society. His precepts

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were not at variance with what he practised. The congregation of his followers i.e. *'Sundersath'* represented various religions and regions of India.

Now we come to that trait of Sant Prannath which is unique and had no parallel in medieval times. To him his followers or 'Sundersath' as he called them were his priceless possessions most endearing to him. He writes[16] that 'one of his eyes is on God and the other of his 'Sundersath'. But for his 'Sundersath' he has no worry'.

Meri ek drsti dhaniyame, duji sath ke mahen,
To dukh ave mohe sath ko, na to dukh mohe kahun nahi.

The following verse[17] in the *'Sindhivani'* composed in the same vein is expressive of singular beauty. He says that "You (God) have suggested me that you will talk to me and give a glimpse when I am all alone."

Yo muke i bujhaiyo, je tun hekli piye,
Ya to se kariyan galdi, didarpan diye.

Sant Prannath interrogates in the next verse18 'how can I be all alone when you have tied other souls with me ? Is there anybody besides you who can look after them ? Therefore I cannot be all alone (.....) This concern about his *'Sundersath'* is somewhat unique and untouched in the medieval times by medieval saints. In the medieval times the emphasis was more on the personal rather than the collective salvation. This was a major flaw in those times. In the modern times the emphasis is more on the collective salvation or *'Sanghamukti'* or *'Sathmukti'*. This is the ideal of the modern times. From this point of view *Sant* Prannath appears to be far ahead of other medival saints and breathes modern consiousness[19].

CONCLUSION:

As we have already seen that Prannath knew well the political conditions of India of his times. That is why through the synthesis of various religions he wished to pave the way for the political, social and linguistic integration of India. In India of the seventeenth century this experiment was unique. It was a significant contribution

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of Prannath to the emotional integration of Indian society.

It was singularly unfortunate for this sect that it neither attracted the attention of the orthodox Hindus nor of the fanatic Muslims. Both the communities were averse to it. Only two of twelve disciples of Prannath were Muslims when they met Aurangzeb at Delhi to detract him from the religious persecution of non-Muslims. It is reliably learnt that to-day there is not a single Muslim follower of this sect. It is, therefore, confined to Hindus only. the followers of this sect are scattered all over India including Nepal. By a conservative estimate the number of them is more than 12 lacs.

Although this sect is not widespread throughout India and the number of its followers is nor fairly large either, yet its importance cannot be underrated under existing conditions in India. Prannath was a fore-runner of Gandhiji in the present century who dedicated his life in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhiji also failed like Prannath but both of them left a deep impression in their respective times and their importance and relevance cannot be belittled despite their failures.

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SHIVAJI AS VIEWED BY BENGALI INTELLECTUALS

K. Mojumdar

No other historial figure has stirred Bengalis imagination so deeply as Shivaji; none has been idolised more in Bengali works either. Bengali intellectuals have not only studied the life and ideas of Shivaji intensively, but have established his relevance to changing times as well. In so doing they kept his message alive while disseminating it far and wide. They portrayed Shivaji as a model for the posterity to follow and as a standard by which to judge it conduct.

The image of Shivaji in Bengali works is one of a *God fearing ruler, just and fair to all,* a devout *Hindu* but never intolerant of other faiths, an everactive administrater, a stern disciplinarian, and yet a *kind and compassionate* king, who exacted obedience and enjoyed love of his subjects in equal measure. He was influenced by traditions, not captivated and adapted some traditions to his scheme of things; he also set altogether new standards of *royal rectitude, efficiency and exertion.*

That none of his generals turned traiter to him, no religious shrine was desecrated by him and no woman dishonoured were unique features of his administration, Shivaji was a contrast to most medieval Indian rulers as much in personal character as in political ethes. In stressing this contrast *Bengali scholors confirmed the uniquencess of Shivaji's place in Indian national life.* The history of the Marathas under Shivaji and the Peshwas is indeed the last chapter of the history of the Hindu glory[1].

Painstaking and prolonged historical researches went into the making of this image of Shivaji. The University of Calcutta, under the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Pioneered histori-

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cal studies on Shivaji and the Marathas on the basis of original source materials. *He set up in 1917 a special Lectureship in Maratha History*–the first of its kind in India–and its first incumbent was *Surendra Nath Sen, then a young Professor of History and English Literature at Robertson College, Jabalpur.* Sir Ashutosh also initiated a scheme of bringing out English translation of Marathi source materials. Thus came out in 1920 Sen's English rendering of Sabhasad's *bakhar,* an indispensable aid to the study of Shivaji and his times[2].

The tradition so set was, "No document, no History"; Bengali scholars reconstructed the history of Shivaji by drawing on a baffingly vast and varied mass of source materials in several Indian and European languages. They were fond of no particular source material as indispensable nor any would reject out of hand as utterly worthless. They indeed did pioneering work in establishing the authenticity of source materials to facilitate unprejudiced researches in Maratha history in later years. They culled crumbs of historically true facts from all known *bakhars,* as they also made worthwhile use of what they knew as biased accounts, Persian chronicles, for example. They compared one European language material with another, and cross examined them with Indian language source materials before confirmig their respective reliability. They analysed events and assessed characters from varied viewpoints, in the process sharply differing among themselves while reserving for their bitterest critics the highest academic regard[3].

For long the knowledge of Maratha history had been a jealously guarded preserve of Maharashtrian scholars, Rajwade, Sane, Khare and Parasnis, for example[4]; the dissemination of the knowledge to the widening non-Marathi academic world was the work of Bengali historians, Jadunath Sarkar and Surendra Nath Sen, in particular. The life long collaboration of Sarkar and G.S. Sardesai in historical researches underscored the fact that the knowledge acquired by one was not worth much until shared with others. Of course, Maharashtrian and Bengali scholars' works on Shivaji and the Marathas differed on many points, but in many respects they were mutually complementary in character as well.

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Sarkar, and more particularly Sen, added a new dimension to the study of Shivaji by by showing how he was viewed by foreigners, mostly his centemporaries[5]. Sen's extensive and first hand researches in Maratha history source materials in Portuguese, French, Dutch, Italian and English languages helped put Shivaji's character in newer perspective than had hitherto been possible with scholars' exclusive reliance on Indian language source materials. A more variegated and fuller personality of Shivaji thus emerged. That Shivaji was respected and admired by even his enemies and adversaries was confirmed by contemporary European accounts.

All Bengali writers on Shivaji, not just historians, challenged later European assessment of Shivaji and, in interpreting afresh his deeds and policies, resurrected his character. They demolished the European-drawn profile of Shivaji as a *leader of brigands*[6] *and installed his image as a nation buider,* a fighter against foreign rule, a harbinger of Indian nationalism. Grant Duff and Vincent Smith came in for consistent attack[7], both exposed as prejudiced against the Marathan either out of their ignorance of wilful distortion of the same source materials as were later used by Bengali scholars[8].

In rewriting the Shivaji-Afzal Khan episode, for example, Bengali historians criticised Duff's and Smith's implicit acceptance of Khafi Khan's biased account of the event and justified Shivaji's assassination of Afzal Khan as a desperate act of self-defence; it was indeed pointless to argue over the morality of the act, for considering the state of relations between the two persons, it was really a typical case of preemptive murder or one of diamond cut diamond, as Sarkar aptly put it[9]; indeed a thorn alone could draw out another thorn. To drive the point home, Charu Chandra Dutt, a retired civilian, cited the killing of Bali in the Ramayana and the discomfiture of Karna and Dronacharya in the Mahabharata as similar instances of political compulsion getting the better of ethical consideration[10].

Dutt was convinced that the English historians' deliberate denigration of Shivaji was politically motivated. No foreign ruler would ever allow any image building among his subjects. Roman

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authors. Cicero and Livy, for example, debunked even Hannibal, later universally acknoiedged as a fervid patriot. The marathas being the greatest impediment to the growth of British *raj*, their history was wilfully misinterpreted by British writers to prove that the British rule restored law and order amidst the prevailing chaos and anarchy, the legacy of Maratha maladministration. Dutt was worried about the Indian mind being influenced by the British misinterpretation of Maratha history. To him Kincaid appeared as having more correctly understood Maratha history than either Duff, Smith or Tod[11].

Shivaji's lack of any formal eduction, made much of by English historians, detracted nothing from his greatness, for, as Sarkar rightly held, it neither made his mind "dull and sterile" nor impaired his "efficiency as a man of action"[12]. Dutt, however, accepted Chitnis bakhar's description of Shivaji as a highly learned man, although admitting that nothing had been found in Shivaji's own handwriting[13].

That a historical character had better be viewed in the perspective of his age and judged by the moral standard then prevalent was emphasised by all Bengali biographers of Shivaji while discussing such events of his career as the killing of the Mores of Javli[14], Shivaji's night attack on Shaista Khan, his Karnatak expedition when he outwitted the Golconda ruler[15] and his short-lived reconciliation with Aurangzeb. In none of these acts was Shivaji troubled by any qualms of consience; he saw no conflict whatever between his deep religious instinct and his keen practical sense. For him political expediency was at times a surer guide to action than moral conviction. Politics indeed was the application of the art of the possible, not always the desirable.

The point was well illustrated by Romesh Dutt when drawing a comparison between the Maratha and Rajput concepts of statecraft. Dutt, a committed civilian turned a convinced nationalist[16], suggested that for the Marathas, end alone justified the means, whatever that could be; for the Rajputs, bad means defeated the good purpose itself. For the one, trickery and chicanery were but normal means of

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diplomacy; for the other, promises broken amounted to self-respect sullied. For Shivaji, Hindu interests alone were the fixed object, neither friendship with any one or enmity with any other. For Jai Singh, absolute fealty to the political master, whatever his religion, was not just a policy to secure a purpose, but a matter of moral conviction, an article of faith[17].

Aurobindo, too, dilated on the contrast, finding the fullest justification for the means Shivaji adopted to realise his object–"ruse, treachery, pillage, assassination". The justification lay in the fact that he was not only inspired but commanded by God to achieve a noble purpose–the establishment of Maharashtra dharma, "the religion of Hindu nationality which Ramdas enunciated". It was as though God manifested himself as Shivaji, the rebel, who, in refusing to "prolong unjust authority by acquiescence", as Jai Singh, also a Hindu, had done all his life, appeared as the emancipator of the Hindus[18]. The two Dutts, Romesh Chunder and Charu Chandra, too, believed in divine inspiration motivating Shivaji's acts[19]. Whether or not Shivaji actually met Jaswant singh to win him over to the cause of Hindu unity against Mughal rule, it was strongly believed that Jaswant Singh's connivance with Shivaji facilitated the latter's attack on Shaista Khan[20].

Bengali historians were not just narrators of characters and recorders of events, but interpreters, analysts and commentators of issues in the entire gamut of Maratha history. They treated their subjects with almost clinical objectivity, indulging neither in blind admiration of their heroes nor carping criticism of their villains. Unlike Maharashtrian scholars, no regional commitments nor religious considerations obliged Bengali historians to either extenuate Shivaji's shortcomings or exaggerate Maratha achievements under the Peshwas. They called a spade a spade, and that at times rather bluntly, as Sarkar did. The resultant controversies in academic circles led to more careful and keener studies on personalities and varied interpretations of issues and events; in the process Maratha history gained immensely.

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In fact, Bengali historians viewed Shivaji as an inspiring character who served a historical purpose; he was a great man by standards of all times, but one who really needed no divinity to hedge his greatness. Sen, a life long student of maratha History and institutions, stressed the point when decrying the increasing tendency in later generation to treat Shivahi and Ramdas as divine incarnations *(avatars)*, which only served as an excuse for general inaction to realise the ideals of the two great men. The Ramadasis deified their patron saint, while neglecting his mission in life: selfless exertion for national reconstruction[21].

Some other examples of such objective interpretation of events would be in order. Coronation was the acme of Shivaji's career, an event of great political and social significance[22]. It legalised both his rule and claim to kshattriya ancestry, besides enlarging his image as one divinely ordained to protect, preserve and promote Hindu intersts. Both Sarkar and Sen rejected the claim as hollow, the more patently so when it was endorsed by Gaga Bhatta under the influence of jingling money bags[23]. The two Dutts, Charu Chandra and Romesh Chunder, however, were sure of Shivaji's Rajput lineage, though the former admitted that Shivaji's family was considered out of the kshattriya social pale for its non-observance of all kshattriya rites and rituals when living for ages in the Deccan–far away from Rajputana, the home of blue-blooded kshattriyas[24].

But then the humble birth of Shivaji, instead of sullying his image, should be viewed as having brightened it : it was the best measure of the dizzy heights he reached. Shivaji, "the original explorer", had inherited none of his successes; all were his own personal achievements, all hard=won amidst daunting difficulties–his birth in a land, wild and sterile, his upbringing without either paternal care or formal education and among people rude and rough, his life perpetually exposed to hostilities of the powerful Bijapuris, the Mughals and the Siddis, and the unremitting, though often unavowed, rivalry of his own kinsmen.[24(a)]

Curiously enough, Bengali imagination credited Shivaji with even

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romantic exploits; while a captive at Agra, he had won the heart of Roshenara, Aurangzeb's "daughter". Bhudeb Mukherji, an eminent Bengali intellectual of the 19th century, wove this fanciful imagination into a romantic drama, *Anguriya Vinimay* (Exchange of rings)[25]. Sarkar, of course, dismissed the story as rubbish, being not only "unhistoric, but improbable" as well[26]. But then, it needs stressing that inspite of his being an "uncompromising Hindu from beginning to end" of his life, Bhudeb extolled Roshenara-Shivaji affair as a mark of universal love *(sarbajana priti)*. In his other work, *Swapnalabdha Bharater Itihas*, Bhudeb envisioned a regenerated India under the Marathas with Muslims in it as an integral element[27].

This is significant because Bhudeb was a prominent leader of the Hindu revivalist movement in Bengal in the 19th century, when Shivaji was glorified as the aptest symbol of Hindu resurgence against Muslim misrule. Of the works that came out at this time portraying Shivaji as the greatest of India's national heroes, the most outstanding was the historical novel, *Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat* by the civilian, Romesh Chunder Dutt[28]. This immensely popular novel enlivened Shivaji's memory and related it to the national awakening that soon began.

Shivaji's relevance to the awakening was a recurring refrain of the numerous Bengali works–history, novel, drama, poems and stories–that came out during the eight decades that preceded Indian independence[29]. During the Swadeshi movement, which brought Tilak to Calcutta, Shivaji had become a household name in Bengal, no more a historical charater only, but a popular hero. To this transformation, one Maharashtrian nationalist contributed greatly–Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, who was closely associated with Tagore and who had made Bengal his home.

It was at this time that Tagore established the indispensability of the study of Maratha history for the development of the nascent Indian nationalism. Tagore rightly said in his brilliant introduction to a Bengali booklet, *Shivaji Maratha Jati* (1909) by Sarat Chandra Ray[30], that of all Indians, the Marathas and the Sikhs alone had a history

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worthy to be called national, the former's being much longer and more inspiring. Maratha history was the story of common people's successes, and not the chronicle of royal achievements which, Tagore deplored, most history books were all about. The wars and conquests of the Mughals and Pathans related in these books provided students with only the "frame" of Indian history, not any "picture", and the picture to be worth anything should mean the deeds of the Indian people. Tales of bravery and heroism abounded in Sikh history too, but it did not have as clear a reflection of an evelving and intensifying spirit of national consolidation as Maratha history had. Even Rajput History, inspiring in itself, could not compare with Maratha history, for it dealt with exploits of individual clans, and not the entire Rajput people. Rajputs did not have a national history in the sense the Marathas had it, and in the way their *bakhars* had kept it on record. Maratha history alone recorded how a nation state was born, how it decayed and ultimately disappeared[30(a)].

The study of Shivaji changed the accustomed Bengali view of the Marathas, bringing the two peoples closer as never before. In the earlier phase of Bengali political awakening, the Rajputs had been held as the ideal Hindu race, not the Marathas; the saga of Rajput sacrifices for the Hindu cause had a far greater appeal on the emotional Bengalis than the successes of Maratha empire builders[31]. Sen found nothing unnatural in the Bengali dread of the Marathas as a race of free-booters; for him, Raghujii Bhonsle I and Bhaskar Pandit were no true heirs of Shivaji[32]. Tilak stressed the same point while congratulating the Bengalis on celebrating Shivaji festival and condemning the sinister design of the Angle-Indian press in projecting Shivaji's successors as persecutors of the Bengalis. Tilak was convinced that Shivaji could be the national hero for all Indians, Muslims no less than Hindus. Tilak's argument was:

... it was not Shivaji but his later successors that invaded Bengal; and ... if the invasion of the people of one province by another in old times may be held to be a valid reason for permanently keeping up the separation of two provinces, then we ask our Angle-Indian contemporaries how the union of England and Scotland is to be maintained or supported[33].

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Tagore was happy that Maharashtra again conquered Bengal though not by sword as before, but by the magic spell of Shivaji's name more than two hundred years after his death. Earlier, Bargi-ravaged Bengal had been forced to acquiesce in Maratha hegemony; now, in grateful remembrance of Shivaji, Bengal would heartily join Maharashtra in realising his dream of uniting the whole of India under a *dharmarajya*. Tagore viewed Shivaji's legacy as India's "price-less heritage"[34].

Hindu resurgence under Shivaji represented a *political* movement against the stultifying Muslim domination, both material and moral; Shivaji launched no crusade against Islam. *Charu Chandra Dutt*, whose admiration for Shivaji bordered on adoration, and whose book, *Shivaji Ramdas*, came out in 1941, when Muslim communalism ran high in Bengal, referred to the point. He held Islamic tradition in high regard, the tradition having contributed to the variety and radiance of Indian culture. He was, as Tilak earlier, fully aware of the Muslims viewing Shivaji as an enemy-a view which the British sought to make political us of. Significantly enough, Dutt referred to Abdul Ali, a well-known Muslim scholar of Calcutta, having declared that had Shivaji been able to set up an enduring state, Hin-dus and Muslims would have been able to lead together a life of absolute pease and harmony[35], Instead of suffering a state of discord and distrust-the result of communal politics in Bengal.

Such was the belief of *Sarat Chandra Ray* too while writing on Shivaji and the Marathas in 1909 when the memory of communal riots in parts of Bengal was still alive[36]. Ray dilated on the happy mingling of Islamic and Hindu cultures in the Deccan, the Maratha homeland. Religious intolerance had corrupted north Indian Politics, not tarnished the cultural life of the Deccan. Shivaji's rise, Ray was sure, was not due to any reaction to the Islamic oppression of the Hindus in the Deccan. Indeed, Maharashtrian life had over the years been greatly influenced by Islamic culture, and Maharashtrian iden-tity rather developed through the influence than swamped by it. Hindu and Muslim traditions formed the tapestry of the Deccani culture, while its administration, though under Muslim rulers, was at

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many a place and time, dominated by Hindu officers. Living cheek by jowl, the Marathas and the Muslims in the Deccan had not allowed any religious frenzy to strain their customary inter-dependent relation. And its best evidence lay in the religious reform movement in the Deccan in the 15th-16th centuries which provided the background to the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji[36(a)]. Shivaji's liberal treatment of the Muslims was his inheritance of the liberal religious tradition of Maharashtra. Even Aurangzeb in some of his letters called Shivaji "Muti-ul-Islam" or a trusted friend of Islam[37].

The religious reform movement–Dharmandolan, in Tagore's words, acted as a catalytic spirit in Maharashtrian society; it inspired a feeling of unity in them. The spirit was still diffused till Shivaji welded it into a force. Maharashtrian unity that he achieved was based on the people's awareness of a common aim to achieve *swaraj* based on *swadharma*. But then, Shivaji's *dharmayuddha* had a political objective; it was not a religious war to vindicate the superiority of Hindu religion and culture by crushing Islam and Islamic culture in his state.

Shivaji was remarkable combination of soaring idealism and hard realism. Swaraj was not just an inspiring dream for him. but a well laid out project, though difficult to undertake and risky to execute. Fully conscious of the risk, he was never deterred by the fear of failure. Instead of an ensconced life of ease and comfort, which his father's official position in the Bijapur state would have assured him or joining the Mughal government as a high ranking *mansabdar*, a position which he was actually offered, he plunged headlong into a course of action which was apparently reckless and doomed to failure. No just spirit of adventure nor even self-interest, but a high idealism motivated him; to him *swaraj* was his sacred mission[38]. Charu Dutt held that Shahji, Jijabai and Dadaji Konddeva dissuaded Shivaji they advised him to look upon the Muslim rule as divine dispensation[39]. This setting up *swaraj* was Shivaji's own scheme, the result of his own conviction reinforced by Ramdas' advice.

Sarkar noted Ramdas' influence on Shivaji[40], but Charu Dutt dis-

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cussed it in great detail. He dilated on the views of Rajwade, Chandurkar and Bhate on whether Ramdas inspired Shivaji to set up *swarajya*, whether the two had the same aim, but each worked independently for years before they met to complete the work on hand, and whether Shivaji met Ramdas only after he had already set up *swarajya*. Dutt's conclusion was : Ramdas and Shivaji had a preceptor-pupil relationship; they had met in 1649, when Shivaji received his initiation form Ramdas and when the latter inspired him to establish *swaraj*. Dutt also saw in the Ramda-Shivaji controversy a reflection of the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict in Maharashtrian politics, the detractors of Ramdas relying on Sabhasad's *bakhar* which makes no mention of Ramdas influencing Shivaji[41].

Dutt seemed to have studied the Maharashtria *bhakti* literature well enough to quote extensively from it; in rendering passages from Ramdas' *Dasabodha* into Bengali, he contributed to the entrichment of Bengali literature. Ramdas was a *karmayogi*, an "activistic mystic", to whom self-less service to the nation was self-realisation itself. Had Ramdas not appeared on the scene, Maharashtra, then under the influence of *bhakti* saints, would have remained, like Bengal under the spell of Chaitanya Deva, suffused with spirituality, but bereft of any political life. Ramdas advised Shivaji the same way as Krishna had advised Arjuna before the Mahabharate war; Ramdas was convinced that the foreign rule, as the Mughal's was, had to be overthrown to set up *swarajya*[42].

Sen echoed the same sentiment in his Bengali booklet, suggestively titled Hindu *Gauraver Shesh Adhyaya* or, *The Last Chapter of Hindu Glory*. He gratefully recalled Ramdas' contribution to the country's political and spiritual regeneration through his influence on his disciple, Shivaji. Ramdas, like Vivekananda later, sought no *mukti* for himself, but worked tirelessly for the deliverance of his common countrymen from economic distress, political servitude and moral torpor. Since their common aim of establishing *swaraj* on *swadharma* made Ramdas and Shivaji work in perfect concert, it was indeed futile to quarrel over the extent of one's influence over the other to establish their relative superiority[43]. *Dasabodha* was not just a piece of

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religious literature but a veritable gospel of patriotism, a political treatise comparable to the *Arthasastra* of Chanakya[44].

Shakti-worshipping Bengalis were moved by Shivaji's veneration of his mother and his chivalry and scrupulous regard for the honour of women. Jijabai, representing the best in Maharashtrian womenhood, inspired Shivaji's intense religiosity, which all Bengali authors on Shivaji highlighted[45]. The two Dutts and Ray waxed eloquent on Shivaji's keenness to turn a recluse-a tendency held in leash by Ramdas and Tukaram[46]. Even Sarkar referred to Shivaji's desire to offer his life at the Mallikarjuna temple at Sri Saila and Bhavani's blessings guiding him in all that he did[47]. To Ray Shivaji was indeed a "Mahatma". But then, religion, for Shivaji, was "an ever fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity, it did not obsess his mind nor rarden him into a bigot". His religious policy was best suited to the composite population of India[48].

Meteoric was the rise of the Marathas as a nation under Shivaji; spectacular was the growth of the Maratha *raj* under the Peshwas; and complete was the fall of the Maratha political power "at the slightest collision with a western power", the English[49].

Personality, of course, influenced the process, but what determined its course was the nature and functioning of Maratha civil and political institutions. Sarkar noted the point, but it was left to Sen to establish it conclusively. Sen drove the first furrow into the virgin field of Maratha administrative history, and for many years he drove it alone. Though published some seventy years age, his two works on the subject still hold the field as required reading for researchers[50].

Shivaji's genius was marked in the polity he built up and in the spirit which he breathed into it. *Prajasakti* or people's support reinforced his rule[51], not spoils of war or brigandage; and so his personal absence from the state at times caused no rumblings of public disorder. That the state was grounded on unstinted support of all classes of people, high and low, struck Bengali intellectuals as a notable feature, considering the abiding and often determining in-

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fluence of caste and inherited social status in Maharashtra politics. Shivaji evoked the instinctive loyalty of the Maolis, Kolis and Ramosis, the dreaded and despised pillagers, turning them into indispensable instruments of his power. He ensured individual commitment to national service by making career open to talent laboriously achieved and not traditionally ascribed; and it was from this commitment that his state drew its main strength. Shivaji was a true national leader who found no community, however low in social status, unfit for national service. Thus, breaking away from accustomed tradition, he set a new, if exacting, standard for later Indian polity.

Himself inheriting disorder and anarchy, he left for his successors an orderly civil government to inherit, and the government had internalised both old Hindu traditions and current Muslim practices. The Main feature of his revenue administration was the state's direct relations with cultivators, thus freeing them from the oppression of the landed gentry. Jagirdari system was discontinued to prevent the growth of local power centres. Inspection of land invariably preceded revenue demand, the payment of which was made usually in cash. Offices were not inheritable and so their holders rendered incapable to grow vested interests in them. Justice was simple and often summary, but humane, capital punishment being rare and provision existing for "some religious penance for convicted prisoners"[52]. Free from state interference, villages functioned as self-sufficient units where panchayats discharged local responsibility for checking local crimes. The honour of the Women was safe in Shivaji's kingdom, but their easy virtues were sternly dealt with. Trial by ordeal continued as a timehonoured practice.

Shivaji had a "clear conception of military organisation, definite plans of military reform and specific opinions based upon past experience"[53]. He welded the individually brave Marathas into an organically well-knit military machine, fit alike for defensive and offensive engagements. He drew on no foreign military model nor relied on any foreign military expert, as later Maratha rulers did. Forts were the sinews of the army, of which the main components

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were the light cavalry and fleet footed infantry.

Original in conception and design, Shivaji's navy secured both the defence of the coast line of his kingdom and supply of provisions to it by the sea route besides facilitating trade with Arab countries[54]. Muslims were the trusty commanders of the ships which engaged the prowling Siddis and predatory Portuguese in many a battle. Shivaji's navy suffered many reverses, especially against the Siddis; it proved no better against the English either[55]; but then, Shivaji's claim to fame, so noted all Bengali writers on Shivaji, rested more on the naval tradition he left as a legacy to his people than on the naval battles he waged.

No doubt, Shivaji's was a one-man rule, an autoctracy, but he was no autocrat, no state unto himself as European monarchs at the time invariably were, he was a *pratipalaka* of his subjects. Himself a product of the religious revolution preceding his birth, Shivaji set up a system based on *dharma*, meaning not just religion, but royal righteousness, the ideal of ancient Hindu monarchy. This idea Tagore amplified in his poem, *Pratinidhi*, in which Ramdas convinced Shivaji that the king should regard himself as a "functionary" in and not the owner of the state he ruled. He should hold the state as a divine charge[54]. *Dharma* was a restraint on the abuse of state power, as much as a spur to state activity.

The moral foundation of Shivaji's *swaraj* was *swadharma*, meaning the purest form of Hinduism, its main feature being *sarvadharma samabhava*. It meant not just tolerance but equal treatment of all faiths in respect of state employment and state endowment to holy men and holy places, for example, Tukaram and Ramdas were no doubt close to Shivaji, but Sheikh Muhammad was not far away from him.

An ideal and a spirit weere Shivaji's legacy to posterity; his successors neither acted up to the ideal nor worked in accordance with the spirit. No wonder, the Marathas failed to build a politically united India on the ashes of the Mughal empire. The failure was their own doing as much as it was due to the external factors

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which they could neither ignore nor prevent. This was painfully broght out by all Bengali writers on Shivaji.

Sarkar attributed the Maratha failure to their endemic caste dissensions which were ideed "antagonistic to national union"[57]. Caste orthodoxy, which became acutely apparent in the Peshwa period, ate into the Maratha polity as a "moral canker", intensifying social alienation of non-Brahmi communities, whose support Shivaji drew his strength from. With inter-caste and even intra-caste disunity sapping the moral foundation of the Hindu society, the Marathas naturally failed to set up an all India Hindu empire resting on that foundation itself. Even a "transcendent genius" as Shivaji[58], in making that attempt, wove but "ropes of sand", Tagore ruefully noted. It was indeed beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the *swaraj* of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally-torn sect over a vast continent like India[59].

With this harsh judgement of Tagore, Sarkar and R.C. Majumdar were in full agreement. That in such circumstances Shivaji could build up an impressive though short-lived, state, at all was indeed preter-human of him, a proof of his "divine gift of genius which baffles analysis"[60]. It was not just by cunning and stroke of good luck that the English got the better of the Marathas; organic defects in Maratha society and polity let them down.

Shivaji had held feudalism is check; Rajaram and the Peshwas, in order to appease the ambitious and feuding Maratha sardars, revived it, thus creating foci of local intrigues and defance of state authority. Not any desirable decentralisation of state power resulted, but ultimate disintegration of the state itself. Sen stressed the point, making light of the caste disunity in Maratha society, thus challenging Sarkar, an all-time colossus in Bengali historical world.[61].

Maratha downfall was also due to a concatenation of circumstances: Shivaji's mantle fell on his son, Shambhuji, whose want of competence as much as character no Bengali scholar deemed necessary to underplay; he was "a profligate, capricious and cruel

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youth, devoid of every spark of honour, patriotism or religous fervour"[62]. He made a mockery of Shivaji's scrupulous regard for women when he "violated a beautiful Brahmin woman" who had come to the king's palace to witness a religious festival[63]. No Bengali historian thought it necessary either to underestimate the disastrous effect of the Maratha civil war when Rajaram and Sahu bitterly contesting for power cast their great forbear's ideal to the wind. The Marathas being a military power needed above all "an ideal to defend, an ideal to fight for"[64]. No such ideal survived Shivaji's death at the early age of fifty three.

"Monarchical despotism" of the royal period having been replaced by "feudal despotism" in the Peshwa period, the Maratha "national army" built up by shivaji degenerated into a "feudal force"[65]. The composition of the force provided a clue to its character and capability. Sen deplored the progressive denationalisation of this later Maratha army. Foreign elements tore into its earlier homogenity; the adoption of unassimilable foreign techniques of warfare while making use of accustomed, but antiquated, weaponry affected its erstwhile efficiency. Lax in discipline but burdened with mistresses, dancing girls and numerous camp followers, it resembled the Mughal army at Shivaji's time[66]. Better disciplined, though comparatively smaller, European army got the better of the unwieldy "Maratha myriads"[67], thus replicating the earlier scene when orderly troops of Shivaji had easily despatched vast Muslim hordes. More calamitous was the moral effect of revived feudalism : it accentuated one's attachment to his own *watan* (fief), extinguishing whatever flickering feelings of patriotism were still left in him.[67(a)]

The economic base of the Maratha state was weak and uncertain. Since the state had no stable means of economic growth *within itself, Mulukgiri* was institutionalised as an indispensable means of replenishing the state treasury[68], depleted by never-ceasing wars. The object was served no doubt, but not without breeding a feeling of insecurity and emmity all around. Raids dried up resources of the region raided, obliged the raider to tear into the territory deeper, thus driving wealth and resources farther and farther. The sack of

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Surat by Shivaji and its economic consequences proved it too true[69].

The "admirable balance between war and diplomacy" maintained by Shivaji and Baji Rao I was replaced in later years by an "excess of finesee and intrigue", "strategem and falsehood" and "absence of manly openness and fidelity to promises"[70]. Maratha diplomacy lost its credibility, its irrelevance to changed circumstances inthe 19th century woefully exposed by the way the English rendered it ineffective. Diplomacy of the later Marathas only laid bare their utter disunity which the English turned to good acoount.

Shivaji's *swaraj* was limited to Maharashtra; in structure it was compact; in spirit, homogeneous. It was a "national state" raised by an "independent, self-reliant people, conscious of their one-ness and high destiny". Not the ruler alone, but the entire nation itself, felt a stake in the glory of the *swaraj*. The peshwas', by contrast, was just an empire, vast in spread, but loosely knit; it had no commonality of interests to reinforce it, but enough potential forces to wreck it from within.

However, no Bengali writer on Shivaji and the Marathas, least of all historians, criticised Maratha policy and polity without an analysis of the temper of the times and the exigencies of the situation which seemed to justify the way the Maratha institutions worked. Such analyses, conducted with care and understanding of Maratha traditions and their psyche established that much of what appeared as their calculated misdeeds was really no more than involuntary mistakes. Neither Sen, nor certainly Sarkar, exculpated the Marathas from the disastrous effects of their *Mulukgiri*, for example, but both understood that the "krieg-staat", as the Maratha state was, it could survive only through military operations, defensive as well as offensive, and that it had to "make war furnish the means of war". For such a state, "peace was death", while "peace is the breath of wealth" - a truism Sarkar justly emphasised.[71]

Chauth was "nothing but a tribute exacted from the weak by the strong"[72]; it was a price to buy temporary respite from immediate depredation, not a payment for any security and protection

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afforded by the suzerain to his subjects. But then, there were both precedents for and parallels to the practice, apart from the justification it had in the very military character of the state itself[73].

Bribery and corruption were not wholly unknown in Shivaji's kingdom, but the public accepted these as normal indulgence for state officers beyond the close watch of the Government[74]. Sens intensive study of Maratha administrative structure convinced him that it had an "excellent set of regulations"[75] which in some respects compared not unfavourably with even those of the English[76]. The fact that the Maratha state, though internally riven, lasted for one hundred and seventy years would disprove Sarkar's contention that it rested on plunder and pillage alone[77]. However, all authorities, not excepting Sarkar, agreed that Shivaji's life was too short for him to achieve greater administrative success. Sen's considered view was that the Maratha decline was due to the abandonment of Shivaji's ideal by the later Marathas, and not due to either internal disunity or foreign invasions[78].

The development and disappearance of the Maratha *raj* hold a lesson, lound and clear : Shivaji's *dharma*-based polity had proved to be the best adhesive of Maratha national unity, while its worst wrecker was his successors' self-aggrandisement or "selfish individualism", as Sen put it[79]. Tagore's understanding of Maratha history convinced him that *dharma*, in the sense Shivaji practised it, could sublimate diffused individual stregth into an organised national resolve; it drew personal potentialities out and fused them all into a common political purpose. Shivaji's successors lost this ideal.

To one more lesson of Maratha history did R.C. Majumdar draw attention a few years before his death : the persistence even today of the same socio-economic factors which had debilitated the Maratha *raj* centuries age. He bluntly drove the point home to those whom he derisively called "modern Hindu politicians and some pseudo-historians" who strove hard to make light of Muslim rulers' oppression of Hindus and their bigotry[80]. Sarkar and Sen were spared the sight of history having been made a handmaid of politics–)a recent development which Majumdar had the misfortune to see and worry about. He stressed Shivaji's

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relevance to post-independence India where the "widening social and economic class distinctions" have been reinforced by the patent lack of a "real national outlook"[81].

True, Shivaji's ideal *Hinvi Swaraj* had but a short life, but such a state is yet to be born in independent India. With "the hot bed of corruption and autocracy" wearing a "mask of popular government", and voted to power by an illiterate electorate, the present Indian leadership, Majumdar averred, would fail in even making an attempt to set up such a state as Shivaji's. For, as Sarkar had seen in the days of Maratha glory, the Indian unity even today is still only "artificial, accidental and therefore precarious". The years that have passed since Shivaji have really made no basic change in the Indian situation, for the same socio-economic factors which had baffled Shivaji and the later Marathas are still insuperable impediments to the growth of an emotionally integrated India[82].

Shivaji strove for a united India based on *swadharma;* India today is a union without unity, the result of a political culture, in the context of which even homage to the memory of a maker of Indian history would appear as but a fatuous observance of a national ritual.

References

I am thankful to Shri Hirendra Narayan Sanyal, Smt. Supriti Sanyal, Shri Prafulla Kr. Maitra for helping me with Bengali books.

1. Surendra Nath Sen wrote a Bengali book, *Hindu Gauraver Shesh Adhyaya* in 1941.
2. Sen, *The Administrative System of the Marathas* (3rd edn., Calcutta, 1967), Preface to the first edn. of the book; also Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati* (Reprint, Calcutta, 1977.). Jadunath Sarkar attached considerable importance to the Sabhasad *bakhar* as a source material. See his Shivaji and his Times (6th edn., Calcutta, 1961), p. 392. Sarkar, however, did not attach any importance to several "nineteenth century romancists misnamed bakharkars", *Ibid.*, p. 22.
3. Sen held Sarkar in great respect, but differed from him in interpreting many an event and issue in the life of Shivaji and Maratha history.
4. Jadunath Sarkar has discussed the contribution of these historians in his *House of Shivaji* (Calcutta, 1955), pp. 276-321.
5. *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* (2nd. edn., Caluctta, 1977).

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6. Charu Chandra Dutta, *Ramdas Shivaji* (in Bengali, Calcutta, 1941), pp. 6-7; Sarat Chandra Ray, *Shivaji Maratha Jati* (in Bengali, 2nd. edn., Calcutta, 1924), pp. 16-17; Sen, *Hindu Gauraver, op, cit.*, p. 100.
7. Smith saw Shivaji as "primarily a fierce robber chieftain, who inflicted untold misery on hundreds of thousands alike, merely for the sake of gain, using without scruple all kinds of cruelty and treachery to attain his wicked ends". Quoted in Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Sarkar found Duff "obsolete" and "erroneous in many points". See his *Shivaji, op. cit.*, p. iii,
8. Sen has discussed at length how Smith had deliberately misrepresented facts to discredit Shivaji. See his *Hindu Gauraver, op. cit.*, pp. 71-84.
9. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp. 72-74; Sen *Hindu Gauraver*, pp. 71-84; Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53.
10. Dutt., *op. cit.*, p. 232.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11, kincaid was criticised by Englishmen as romantic and gullible. Tod viewed the Marathas as "vampires who drained the life blood wherever the scent of spoil attracts them". *Ibid.*, p. 7. However, Dutt noticed some change in British attitude when the Prince of Wales, later George VI, while unveiling the statue of Shivaji at Puna, described him as a "great Indian soldier and statesman". *Ibid.*, P. 8
12 Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 25.
13. Dutt, *op. cit.* p. 177. Sarkar held the *bakhar* as unreliable, *Shivaji*, p. iii.
14. Dutt held that Shivaji caused the assassination of the Mores, but defended the action as essential for the objective Shivaji had in mind. *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 224. Sen and sarker too were convinced that Shivaji was personally implicated in the act. Sen, *Hindu Gauraver*, p. 112. Sarkar regarded it as a "dark episode" in Shivaji's life, it being "an act of premeditated murder for personal gain and not a pardonable homicide done in self-defence or in the heated blood of an open fight". *Shivaji*, p. 44.
15. S. Krishnaswamy, "Shivaji in Tamil Nadu" in Narayan H. Kulkarnee, *Chhatrapati Shivaji Architect of Freedom* (Delhi, 1975), pp. 141-4. Sen held that Shivaji betrayed the Golconda ruler. *Hindu Gauraver*, p. 112.
16. R.C. Dutt was in the I.C.S. from 1871 to 1997, when he took voluntary retirement. He then taught at the University of London before returning to India to preside over the Congress session in 1899. He was a prolific writer in English and Bengali; a fervent nationalist, he exposed the exploitative character of the British economic policy in India; in his historical novels and other works, he sought to make the Indians pround of their cultural heritage. For his life see J.N. Gupt, *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, (Calcutta, 1911)
17. R.C. Dutt *Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat* (in Bengali, Calcutta, 1976). I have used the book as reprinted in the collection of his works in Bengali, *Ramesh Rachanavali*, (ed. by Jogesh Chandra Bagal, 3rd. edn., Caluctta, 1982), pp. 184-88.

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18. Shri Aurobindo, *Collected Works, Vol. 3 : The Harmony of Virtue Early Medieval Writings* (Pondichery, 1972), Section Ten, Conversation of the Dead, Shivaji and Jai Singh, pp. 483-85.
19. C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 186; R.C. Dutt, dilated on intimate relations between Shivaji and Jai Singh, the latter having foreseen Hindu resurgence against the Mughals. *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.
20. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 91. R.C. Dutt dilated on intimate relations between Shivaji and Jai Singh, the latter having foreseen Hindu resurgence against the Mughals. *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.
21. Sen, *Hindu Gauraver*, p. 17.
22. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, "Significance of Shivaji's Coronation 1674" in Kulkarnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-24.
23. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp. 201-14; C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-50, 316; R.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 185.

24. (a) Sarkar, *House of Shivaji, op. cit.*, pp. 109-10.

25. Roshenara was really Aurangzeb's sister. The book came out in 1857.
26. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign* (Reprint, Calcutta, 1989), pp. 96-97.
27. Suhita Saha, Shivaji in Bengali Literature in the context of the national movement in Bengal, in Kulkarnee, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
28. The book is drawn on historical facts and fanciful imagination of the author, whose main object in writing the book was to project Hindu heroism as typified in Shivaji.
29. Suhita Saha. *op. cit.*, pp. 20-31.
30. Tagore's introduction bears no date. Perhaps it appeared on the first edition of the work-in 1909.

30.a *Ibid.*

31. Sen, *Hindu Gauraver*, pp. 101-02.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Editorial in *The Mahratta*, 24 June 1906, p. 293, in Kulkarnee, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
34. "Shivaji Utsav", a poem Tagore composed as an introduction to Sakharam Deuskar's book on Shivaji. The poem is reprinted in Tagore's collection of poems–*Sanchayita* (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 475-81.
35. Dutt. *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.
36. In 1906-07, communal riots took place in parts of Bengal. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India* (Calcutta, 1984), P. 122.

36a. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-22. Maratha families like the Ghadges, Ghorpades. Yadavs Nimalkars Mores, Shindes and Dafles had been powerful jagirdars under

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muslim ruler of the Deccan. Several Muslim rulers had been powerful jagirdars under Muslim rulers of the Deccan. Several Muslim rulers had Hindu wives. Murar Rao and Madan Pandit were powerful ministers in Golconda, while Shahji wielded influence in Bijapur. Hill forts of Muslim rulers in the Deccan were mostly under Maratha jagirdars.

37. C.C. Dutt, op. cit., p. 12.
38. Sen, *Hindu Gauraver*, pp. 103-05. Sarkar, however, says that Shivaji himself never "posed as the liberator of the Hindus all over the country, at all events not till long afterwards". *Shivaji*, p. 32.
39. C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp; 105, 186-88, 195.
40. Sarkar says that Ramdas' influence on Shivaji was spiritual, not political. Shivaji, p. 369.
41. C.C. Dutt., *op. cit.*, pp. 85-131, 347-74.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 85, 117.
43. C.C. Dutt;, *ibid.*, p. 117. But then, Ramdas was no Chanakya in the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya. Madhavacharya in the Vijaynagar court and Richleau in the French court. He was the spiritual mentor of Shivaji, having made him conscious of his political mission, besides. *ibid.* p. 377.
45. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 22; R.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
46. C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
47. *Shivaji*, pp. 291-92.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
49. S.N. Sen, *Administrative System*, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
50. *Ibid.* (Ist. Edn., Calcutta, 1923), and *The Military System of the Marathas* (Calcutta, 1928).
51. C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.* p. 20. The book is a revised version of an endowment lecture (Adhar Chandra Mukherji Lectureship) published by the University of Calcutta and with the personal initiative of Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherji, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University and the Preseident of the Hindu Mahasabha.
52. Sen, *Administrative System*, p. 341.
53. Sen, *Military System*, p.p. 7.
54. C.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 246.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 275; C.C. Dutt., p. 312.
56. Pradyot Kumar Ghosh, "Rabindra Nath Tagore on Shivaji" in Kulkarnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 369.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

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58. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
59. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 375.
60. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 102.
61. Sen, *Administrative System*, pp. 101-02; Also *Military System*, p. xiv.
62. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 315.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
64. Sen, *Military System* p. xviii.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii, 236-40.
66. *Ibid.*
67. The phrase is Sarkar's. See also Sen, *Military System*, pp. 235-40.
67a. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* pp. 110-11; *Shivaji*, pp. 377-78.
68. Ibid., pp. 381-82.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 93-102, 171-74.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
71. Ibid., p. 382; Sen, *Administrative System*, p. 57.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62; Sen, Hindu Gauraver, pp. 112-13.
75. Sen, *Administrative System*, preface.
76. William Sleeman, while making settlement of land revenue in the Saugar and Narmada Territories in the early 1830s, found many good features of the Maratha land system there the replacement of which by new measures of the British did good neither to the local people nor the Government itself.
77. Sen, *Administrative System*, p. 102.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-02.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
80. R.C. Majumdar, "Shivaji's Relevance to Modern Times" in Kulkarnee, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : ELEMENTS OF PROTEST AND CREATIVITY

Ratneshwar Mishra

The emergence of modern ideas and the development of social protest and religious dissent in the nineteenth century have generally been viewed as a consequence of the introduction of European ideas and institutions into India. A number of colonial and administrator historians came forward to emphasise the view that India acquired the idea of liberty, rationalism and humanism through a familiarity with European languages and institutions and that in turn helped them to become critical of their own worn out and injurious institutions. L.S.S. O'Malley[1] and B.T. McCully[2] can be cited as examples. Historians like Percival spear[3], Charles Heimsath[4] and many others followed in their footsteps. Anil Seal wrote, "It is now possible to attack the general problem of this work, how modern politics and its genesis is clearly linked with those Indians who had been schooled by western methods."[5] R.C. Majumdar found that the result of the western impact was that, "A new ideology suddenly burst forth upon the static life, moulded for centuries by a fixed set of religious ideas and social conventions. It gave birth to a critical attitude towards religion and spirit of enquiry into the origin of state and society with a view to determining their proper scope and function." This line of argument served well the theory of civilizing role of British rule. It was indeed part of this argument that the eighteenth century Indian history was characterised as a dark age, the darkness of which could be dispelled through dissemination of western knowledge in the subsequent century. It is hardly of any

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consequence if this impact emanated more from the activities of the Christian Missionaries of exclusively from the spread of western education, the accepted view has been that the social and religious reforms in India were begun as a result of European impact. The purpose of this paper is to examine how dark was the eighteenth century and whether that darkness was dispelled only through dissemination of western knowledge or was there a definite indigenous intellectual tradition that not only marked socio-cultural progress in the eighteenth century but also prepared the way for the regeneration in the nineteenth.

While discussing the life and times of Raja Rammohan Roy, it has been observed about the nineteenth century Indian renaissance that this awakening was somewhat unorthodox for invariably, reniassance takes place by the work of the people of the soil who naturally must be the ones to do this national work in a national spirit. Here, in India, the case was different".[7] Here a group of intellectual British civilians did the pioneering work of unearthing the classics of the East on Indian philology, history, archaeology etc. No Indian was associated with these activities until Rammohan Roy established contacts with them in around 1803. Other Indians followed much later. It had also been argued that the Bengal renaissance had all the characteristics of the European renaissance, viz. revival of antiquity through translations from Greek and Latin into Italian and other European languages, secularisation of all spheres of human activities together with full appreciation of the vital role of science and technology emphasis on humanism which signified the sovereignty of man, and newness or modernity in attitude. But what is missed often is the point that secularisation of human activities and realization of the dignity of man in various aspects of socio-cultural activities found adequate expression in the works of Indians in the eighteenth century or even earlier and mostly indigenously, i.e. quite independent of European influence.

In order to be able to appreciate the works of the Indians in the eighteenth century it is requisite to depict the state of society and culture then. In the words of K.K. Datta. "In fact, the whole of

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the eighteenth century (1707-1813) was a period of transition in which India had to pass through strain and agony, with confusion and anarchy triumphant all round, with tremendous dislocation in administration, with stagnation and repeated shocks in social life where the traditional features were struggling hard to survive, and with rapid decline in her-economic condition."[9] This decline was viewed by the Europeans through magnifying glasses. The Christian missionaries spoke despicably about the Hindu religious system. One of them is quoted to have made the monstrous statement, "All your Gods are nothing else but demons; you will go to hell to expatiate in eternal flames the crime of your idolators."[10] J.A. Dubois, the famous Christian missionary and the author of the book entitled 'Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies' looked down upon Indian life with his particular outlook influenced by what he described as his mission of civilizing the heathens.11 Another missionary Martyn also presented a highly biased picture of Indian society.[12] The famous scottish missionary Duff could see nothing beyound" three hundred and thirty millions of deities" in Hindu religious system.[13] Similarly Charles Grant used words of indictment against Indian morals and culture and urged the introduction of Christinaity and western education to change 'a hideous state of Indian society'.[14] Not only did the Christian missionaries but any number of historians and administrators among the Europeans characterised the eighteenth century of Indian history in almost the similar fashion. To Wilber-fore the Hindu religious system was one grand abomination.[15] Most uncharitable comments came from Marquess of Hastings who wrote in his diary on 2nd. October 1813. "The Hindoo appears a being nearly limited to mere animal function, and even in them indifferent....It is enough to see this in order to have a full conviction that such a people can at no period have been more advanced to civil polity. Retrogradation from an improved condition of society never takes this course." He reiterated in his diary on the 2nd. June, 1814, "Every day more and more satisfies me that I formed a just estimate of those who inhabit Bengal at east".[16] James Mill in his 'History of British India' observed "And we have seen that a system of priestcraft built upon the most enormous and tormenting supersti-

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tion that ever harassed and degraded any portion of mankind their minds were enchained more intolerably than their bodies; in short that, despotism and priesteraft taken together, the Hindus, in mind and body, were the most enslaved portion of human race".[17]

However, there were others among the Europeans who perceived the Hindu society and culture differently. Wilson while editing Mill's 'History of British India', wrote in his preface to it, "With very imperfect knowledge; with materials exceedingly defective, with an implicit faith in all testimony hostile to Hindu pretintious, he has elaborated a portrait of the Hindus which has no resemblance whatever to the original, and which almost outrages humanity."18 In fact religion had not yet become as debased. It still inspired the common people for sacred and fruitful duties, noble feelings and high ideals, and it promoted their charitable disposition and spiritual development. Abbe de Guyon admired the Indians who trampled under their feet the case and pleasured of life and sought after the esteem and admiration of mankind.[19] Craufurd observed about the Hindus that, "Their rules of morality are not only benevolent; and hospitality and charity are not only strongly inclucated but I believe no where more universally practised than amongst Hindoos.".[20] Orme praises the "humane and gentle manners" of the Hindoo who were charitable to the extent of sacrificing their necessities for the sake of strangers even. Similarly Forhes also notes the influence of religion in enabling people to display human instances of self-denial, of laborious and painful exertion, which almost exceeded belief.[21] The Hindus have been exceedingly tolerant people. Grose noticed it in mid-eighteenth century and wrote, "As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos are so signularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to their fundamental tenet of it, of which the purpose is that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the Universe; that all prayers put to Him from man, are all equally acceptable and sanctified to Him....."[22] The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited India between 1768 and 1771, noticed this toleration not only among the Hindus but also among the Muslims and the Parsis.

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He wrote, "These three distinct nations, the Moors, the Gentoos and the Parsees, whose religions are wholly different from each other, exercise the greatest toleration and indulgence in this respect, towards one another; no one is molested on account of his religion."[23] He was surprised to find that the small Jewish community in Malahar got no opposition from any quarter in freely following their tenets.[24] Similarly William Henry Tone, an employee of the peshwa wrote in 1779, "In Poonch, which is the metropolis of the Empire, and the seat of Brahminical authority, there are many mosques and one Christian church, where the votaries of both religions may offer their devotions without any hindrance or molestation."[25]

Amidst this conflicting perception of the Indian society by various Europeans one may find it difficult to know the correct position. Nevertheless, carefully culled out historical materials justify the opinion held by the latter class of Europeans who viewed the Indian society and culture with some genuine concern. True, "there was no far-sighted leader, no clearly thought out and steadily-pursued scheme of national development as under Akbar. No political genius arose to teach the country a new philosophy of life, or to kindle aspirations after a new heaven on earth."[26] But the wise saying of the great Wazir Sadullah Khan was truer still. he is quoted to have said, "No age is wanting in able men; it is the business of wise masters to find them out, win them over, and get work done by means of them, without listening to the calumnies of selfish men against them."[27] Indeed toleration towards other faiths has ever been the most distinguishing features of the Indian religious system. This as well as adaptation to chaning environments and conditions largely characterised Hinduism even in the eighteenth century. Hindus were already known for their large heartendness as they had brushed aside the enmity and embraced into their fold the Greeks, the Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Huns and failing to absorb Islam, established such praiseworthy contact that produced the Bhakti cult and such eminent preachers as Ramanand, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Namdeva, Kabir and Nanak. Any number of illustrations could be cited to establish that the eighteenth century Indian society

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was not devoid of this spirit of religious toleration and adaptability. The worship of Satyapir evolved in the mediaeval times demonstrated the Hindu-Muslim synthesis not only them but continued to have its good effect in the eighteenth centry too. The followers of different faiths had great regard for each other, this is exemplified by the fact that on his death bed Mir Jafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari near Murshidabad.[28] Many Muslim writers wrote on subjects of Hindu life and tradition in that century.[29] It may be worthwhile to examine here the changes that were attempted or occured in different walks of society and culture in the eighteenth century.

To bein with religion it may be conceded that idolatory, polytheism and numerous superstitious characterised the religious scene in India then. These deserved to be denounced and indeed a host of persons, either individually or in gourp, came forward to do so in all parts of India. The Karthabaj and Balrami sects in Gengal, the Satnamis, Appapanthis and Shivanarayans in Uttarpradesh, Charandasis in Rajastan and Virbhrams in Andhra Pradesh may be cited as examples. All of them attacked polytheism, idolatory and caste distinctions.[30] Karthabajas met in congregations twice a year in which caste distinctions were renounced, all the members ate together as equals and addressed one another as brother and sister.[31] The Karthabaja sect was founded by Aubehand in the beginning of the eighteenth century and had among his followers Hindus as well as Muslims. He preached in different parts of district of Nadia in Bengal till his death in 1769 and had among his disciples one Ramsaran pal of the Sadgopa caste who was an inhabitant of Ghoshpara near Naihati. He laid down ten rules of conduct: (1) Do not commit adultery, (2) Steal not, (3) Kill not, (4) Have no adulterous thought, (5) Do not wish for others property, (6) Do not wish to kill, (7) Do not tell an untruth, (8) Do not use bad language, (9) Talk not meaninglessly and (10) Talk not uselessly.[32] Sharply reminiscent of the nineteenth century reformers was Charan Das, who founded the Charandasis sect in 1750. Born in 1703 in Village Dahra in Alwar, he preached worship of Radha and Krishna and admitted men and

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women of all castes as his disciples. The chief seat of the Charan Dasis was at Delhi.[33] Like the Karthabajas, the Charan Dasis also placed a high premium on personal morality. Charan Das laid down that his followers should not (1) tell a lie, (2) revile, (3) speak harshly, (4) disrourse idly, (5) steal, (6) commit adultery, (7) act violently to any creature, (8) imagine evil, (9) entertain hatred and (10) possess conceit or pride.[34] He also referred to Vedic authority for anti-idolatory and anticasteism. He claimed that his attempt was to propagate Vedi truth in simple Hindi for the benefit of the common man. He was opposed to all rituals including the use of tulsi leaves for worship.

There was yet another sect, named Spashtadayaka, which was confined to Bengal and is said to have been founded by Rupram Kaviraj. Its male as well as female votaries lived together in the same math or monastery as brothers and sisters. There was no distinction of caste.[35] Similarly Balrami sect, founded by Balram Hari of a very low caste and an inhabitant of the village of Meherpur in the district of Nadia and considered an incarnation of Vishnu by his followers, did not recognise distinction of caste and opposed idolatory.[36] Ram Prasad, yet another son of Bengal, a devotee of Kali, condemned image worship and rituals and preached monotheism through his devotional religious songs.[37] Another liberal religious preacher was Dariya Saheb, born in about 1700A.D. (d. 1790) at Dharkandha near Dumraon in Shahabad district of Bihar. He was son of a Sufi thinker Piran Sah and was influenced by Kabir's teachings. His sect was called Satyanama. He did not recognise the external formalities of religion, such as worship of idols or incarnations. He renounced caste distinctions and his followers strictly refrained from drinking and taking non-vegetarian food etc.[38] Then there was the Satnami sect which had two branches. One of them flourished in northern Indian under the guidance of Jagjiwan Das[39] and another under Ghasi Das, who had among his followers mainly the chamars of Chhattisgarh.[40] They protested against idolatrous practices. Ramesanehi, an indigenous monotheistic sect owed its origin to Ramcharan, who was born in 1719. A.D. in the

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village of Surasena in Jaipur and who had to seek shelter with the Raja of Shahpur when persecuted by the Brahmans of his village for his strong opposition to idolatry. He died in 1798. He had lay as well as monastic disciples, of which the latter were enjoined to lead a life of celibacy and asceticism.[41] There were quite a few preachers scattered all over India who undertook to reform the Hindu religion and society from within. The sects that they founded were, with few exceptions, either of an eclectic or monotheistic nature, the rest were Vaisnava sects. The founders mostly belonged to non-Brahminical sects. Guru worship was common to all of them.[42] For example there was the Swami Narayan sect, which had its stronghood in Gujarat and was founded by Sahajanand Swami.[43] Similarly sprang up the paltu Dasi and Appapanthi sects. The latter was founded by Munna Das, a goldsmith by caste. yet another preacher was Garibdas. Born in 1717 and influenced by Kabir's teachings, he was opposed to external coremonialism and made no distinction of caste of creed.[44] Such comopolitanism also characterised Sivanarayan Sampradaya, Whose founder Sivanarayan was born in a Rajput family in village Chandawan of Balia district. He was a believer in pure monotheism and was strongly opposed to idolatry. He and his followers laid stress on faith, purity of mind, good character, restraint, equality and followhip as indispensable requisites for man's spiritual elevation.[45] Dariya Saheb Marwari of Marwar (1776-1758) was a liberal preacher, who had followers in Rajputana.[46] Likewise followers of Dedhraj (b. 1771), scattered in Jhajpur, Narno and Gurgaor regarded God as one. The opposed image worship and caste rules. They recognised equal right of men and women in religious worship and raised their voice against purdah. They preached common fellowship of all religions.[47] A number of preachers like Yari Sah (probable date 1668-1725), his disciples Bullah Saheb, Sufi Shah, Sekhan Shah, Hast Muhammad Shah, Keshav Das (probable date 1693-1768), Gulab Saheb (a disciple of Bullah and an inhabitant of Ghazipur), Bhikha (born in 1720 in Khanpur in Azamgarh district and a disciple of Gulab Sahab), his disciple Govinda Saheb of Faizabad and his disciple Paltu Saheb were all very much influence by the liberal doctrine of Sufism and laid great emphasis on mutual

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love and toleration and were opposed to rituals or scriptualism.[48]

Thus, emphasis on rituals and ceremonies, undue influence of a degenerated priesthood especially at important centres of pilgrimage like Benaras[49] and Gaya[50] and growing worship of a large number of popular gods including village deities were some such features of Indian religious life in the eighteenth century as presented a static and perverted picture of Hindu society, yet as has just been shown a spirit of independent enquiry and consequent desire to set the religious house in order had also overtaken the society and what is remarkable is that this spirit was essentially indigenous to Indians. In terms of numbers also the different sects were certainly not very insignificant as most of them had a following of twenty or thirty thousands. They were indeed quite different in their organisation and method of functioning from the religious movements of the nineteenth century and dismissing them as just personal revolts without and social significance misses their real import. They have to be assessed and understood primarily as an expression of a developing trend of protest and dissent in the religious life of developing trend of protest and dissent in the religious life of the people, characterised them by superstitious and tyranny of priests. Their failure or success notwithstanding–and that depended upon various factors including the subsequent socio-economic development–they "testify to the reform movements manifesting in society even independently of foreign influence."[51]

The Indian society, not only in matters of religion but otherwise also, presented a vitiated and impure picture of the accounts of many of the contemporary foreign writers are to be believed, but here again quite a few of them were honest enough to admire the merits of the Indian society Malcolm wrote, "I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country."[52] He particularly praised the Hindu institution of caste that elevated the country to high rank in human society quite early and subsequently sustained

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it well. He also admired the virtuous ties of family and Kindred relations.[53] R. Rickards expressed similar views.[54] Abbe Dubois found that caste bonds kept its members in control. Their faults did not go unpunished or else the same might bring shame to the whole caste.[55] This 'caste authority' also served to preserve social order and morality to a great extent in all parts of India.[56] Even if the manifold criticism of the Indian society by foreigners particularly on account of numerous aberrations that had crept into it due to baneful Hindu caste system is accepted one must also admire the spirit of protest and change that was at work indigenously to wipe off the rigidity of caste rules. The evil effects of caste rules were that inter-caste marrige were not permissible and inter-caste dining was most uncommon, but it had its happy aspect too as caste had much influence in determining the vocational professions of men.[57] Sons were engaged in the profession of their fathers for generations and obviously this helped specialisation in arts and industries[58]. But if the caste mobility has to be the parameter of a dynamic society, still one finds that caste mobility was quite perceptible in the eighteenth century Indian society. Not only mobility but fragmentation and sanskritization also marked the changes overtaking the institution of caste. The examples of change in the caste occupation are very many. a large number of Brahmins worked as coolies in factories at Surat. In Mithila, no less than 68% brahmins participated in cultivation and only 12% lived on priestly work.[59] In Maharashtra tails gave up their traditional occupation and took to dying.[60] The Brahmins were also taking much share in administrative and military affairs and the Rajputs were engaging themselves in business. The Brahmins also became farmers, drapers and shop-keepers.[62] Changes in occupation and some other causes like material position and secular-sanction led to the fragmentation within the caste–system. Many examples can be cited to illustrate it. Kayasthas in Uttar Pradesh, kaibarthas in Bengal, Pancham Banjigarus and Panchalas in Mysore, and Agradanis and Gangaputras in Bihar were forming new subcastes during this period.[63] In South India there were bitter wrangles for privileges between two groups of non-Brahmin castes–the right hand or Ballagai and the left hand or Eddagri. While the

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former included mainly the lower Sudra castes the latter comprised of the lower Sudra castes as well as the trading and artisan classes.[64] Sanskritization was yet another change that overwhelned the social set up particularly in relation to the caste system in India in the eighteenth century. The examples of higher caste claims and adoption of superior caste customs and rituals were numerous. For instance Lingayats in Mysore claimed superiority over Sudras and Jotepandas in Bengal claimed Vaishya status. The goldsmiths and potters started wearing the sacred thread and abandoned the custom of widows remarriage.[65]

This brings us to the position of women in the society, which was not very satisfactory. They were segregated from the company of other sex and had to look after the comforts of their husbands and other members of the family. Adultery of a woman was severely punishable. Purdah was prevalent amon Muslim families. Hindu women also did not usually participate in public festivities.[66] The plurality of wives was widely prevalent among Bengali and Maithil Kulins.[67] Dowry was also prevalent among prevalent among them.[68] Sati, however, was the most deplorable practice that came down from the medieval ages. It was more prevalent in Rajasthan and also somewhat in Bengal.[69] According to a French visitor to Bengal during the period from October 1773 to September 1774, more than twenty women burnt themselves near the European settlements on the river Hougly.[70] Thus the position of women was indeed bad, but it was never as bad as Verelst would want us to believe. He strangely made the remark that "Women in the East are transferred with little ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men seldom await their consent. Were our laws of rape and rules of evidence enforced, on half of the males would incur the penalty of death."[71]

Women in India actually enjoyed a great amount of freedom. They could go anywhere alone, even in the most crowded places, and they need never fear the impertinent looks, and jokes of idle loungers.[72] They even shared the burden of their husbands if they happened to be princes or chiefs.[73] Maratha ruler Ahalya Bai and

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Rani Bhavani of Natore in Bengal were women but very successful as rulers.[74] Hindu women enjoyed great respect in society. This is evident from the fact that marriage in Hindu society was not a contractual relation, rather a sacred bond. A Hindu wife could be put for only one cause and that was adultory.[75] Polygamy was not ordinarily practised by men.[76] Only the Rajas, princes and other high ups practised it, but even then it was looked down upon as an abuse.[77] Even the Bengal and Mithila regions, where polygamy was rather prevalent, an improvement had taken place when the Raja of Darbhanga' prohibited any man on his estates from taking more than five wives; formerly it was usual for men to take a good many.[78] Widow remarriage was not permissible. Nevertheless, Raja Rajballabh of Dacca in 1756 attempted of get his widowed daughter remarried and even obtained the approval of the Pandits of Dravida, Tailanga, Banaras and Mithila for the purpose, but his efforts were finally frustrated by the oppostition of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia and his Pandits.[79] Raja Jai Singh II of Jaipur also attempted to introduce widow marriage in his kingdom but failed owing to his mother's opposition.[80] Similarly famous Maratha general Parashuram Bhau's effort in getting his widowed daughter married failed owing to his wife's opposition to it.[81] These failures notwithstanding a definite inclination for reforms is quite discernible. Even the deplorable practice of Sati was very limited. In southern parts of the Peninsular India Satis were seldom seen. In Central India, ever since it passed under Maratha power, the practice of Sati was rendered rare, in comparison to former Rajput days. Even in Bengal it was far from common.[82] The French traveller De Gennes de la Chancelier who visited Bengal in 1743, observed about Sati, "However, these sorte of spectacles are becoming more and more rare every day, since many Europeans who live in India since several years have not been able to satisfy their curiousity regarding this."[83] Even where women submitted to Sati, it was more 'by a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection' than anything else.[84] Women, in fact enjoyed a great amount of freedom. Though they were generally condemned to depend or men either in the family of the late husband or in parents' family, yet spinning as a source of income was

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open to them in Bengal[85] as well as elsewhere in India.[86]

The society in the eighteenth century in India, like any other period of Indian history, was not devoid of individual brilliance in various realms of not only religious and social reforms but also of intellectual activity. Jai Singh of Amber in astronomy, Shah Waliullah of Delhi in Islamic religion and philosophy, Mir, Sauda and Nazir in urdu, Brajnath Bodajena in Oriya and Bharatchandra Roy in Bengali literatures are a few important names in this respect. Beyond them also the artistic and literary activities were certainly not in a state of decadence, but on the contrary, expressed a very high level of creativity, especially in literature and painting.[87]George Bearce very correctly wrote "From 1740 to 1800 the culture of India was still the lively expression of a society that appears to be master of its destiny....The society at its various levels, aristocratic and popular, produced n both variety and quality an impressive amount of art, music, literature and learning."[88]Trend to ward popular literature, both in form and content gained emphasis during this period, when naturally" the painted, the powered and the obsequous" was rejected. In fact this trend had begun in Bengali and Malayalam literature as early as in the sixteenth century. Kunchan Namhiar's Ottan Thullalukal[89] and Mangal Kavyas in Bengali[90] are initial efforts in this direction. Urdu[91] and Telugu[92] literature are particularly important in this respect.[93] These intellectual tendencies propped up the element of social protest and religious dissent throughout the eighteenth century and it is not at all requisite to speculate as to what would have been the possible course of their development had there been no colonial intervention. If they could originate independently of the European influence, they could have certainly prospered on their own had there been European impact or not. An urge to create a new life and society was always there. The Indians had ever been critical of their own institutions and that consequently led them to embark upon a career of reform in the eighteenth century itself and all their social and religious reform activities together with intellectual attainments anticipated the reform movements of the nineteenth century.

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A REVIEW OF THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MOIRA, MARQUIS OF HASTINGS (1813 AD to 1823 AD)

Lalita Mathur

Lord Hastings succeeded Lord Minto as Governor General of India in October, 1813, and held office for more than nine years, till January 1823. His Governor Generalship is generally considered to be a period of wars and expansion of British dominions in India. The other side of the picture, his internal administration, remained totally neglected by scholars and historians.

This period is highly significant in history. In England, it was characterised by the birth of industrialism. Political, social and economic thought in England had its influence in India and is reflected in the work of Lord Hastings and his subordinates in various fields of their administration.[1] The early years of his tenure (1813-1818) wers taken up by ware and conquests, but once these wars were over, Hastings found time to look into the problems of domestic administration and bring about some kind of order into the newly acquired provinces. The investigation of land tenures, the institution of an elementary police, the first serious attempts to check the brigandage prevailing in British territory, the arrangement and supervision of the local courts of justice took substantial form during these years.[2] In fact, roots of organised government which have since spread all over India, were planted during his time. It is a period when the machinery of government and pattern of administration was being evolved, which in time developed into the framework of modern Indian administration.[3]

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Lord Hastings did not come to India with any political reputation behind him.[4] Yet he is undoubtedly one of the greatest proconsuls sent by England to govern India. As a military strategist, as a statesman capable of dealing with complicated political problems and as an administrator he left an indelible impression on Indian History. Although he was in his 59th year when he assumed office, he showed surprising energy and industry in the dischage of his duties.

Initially, he was strongly opposed to Wellesley's policy of expansion and had spoken bitterly against it in England.[5] He came to India with a determination to follow a peaceful policy of non-intervention, but was later compelled to change his views owing to the dangers from different quarters. In fact, he left in British empire in India much larger than he found it on his arrival. He had two important advantages. Firstly, like Cornwallis, he held the two important offices of Commander-in-Chief and Governor General. Secondly, a more important factor was the disappearance of the French menace. The battle of Leipzig (1813)-the battle of the Nations had foreshadowed Napolean's final collapse in the Battle of Waterloo (1815). At the Congress of Vienna, the French and the Dutch recognised for the first time British sovereignty over the Company's possessions. The French agreed not to maintain any troops and erect no fortifications.[6] Lord Hastings was thus not thwarted in his confrontation with the Marathas by the prospect of French intervention. The ideas and actions of the Governors General of India were largely influenced by the currents of thoughts prevalent in England and therefore provide considerable insight into the development of British attitudes towards India.[7] Had India been wholly insulated from Britain and shielded from the ferment of ideas prevailing there, it would have been possible for each Governor General to formulate his own administrative policies entirely according to the needs of the situation. But such a course was not possible since the men on the spot were controlled by men in Britain, who were themselves subject to ideas prevalent there and their policies therefore had to be shaped accordingly.[8] During Lord Hastings time too we notice that

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on many subjects, particularly revenue problems, judicial organisation and education, long discussions took place between the government of India, the Court of Directors and the Board of Control-very often with no substantial results.[9]

In the early nineteenth century, two themes of policy emerged-one was that of foreign policy which had as its motive the expansion of British dominion in India; the other was the organisation of existing British supremacy and possessions into a new empire.[10] In British India, therefore, a great policy decision had to be made–granted the fact of dominion, how was the new 'Raj' to be administered ? In response to the question, three broad tendencies of thought can be distinguished in the discussions on Indian policy during these years :-

1. The Tory or Conservative view, the chief exponent of which was H.H. Wilson. Without altogether denying the possibility of improvements, the Conservatives recommended extreme caution.[11] They were impressed by the value and strength of Indian institutions; they desired, above all, their restoration and maintenance, seeing no possibility of their early collapse, and they were acutely conscious of the danger of provoking a violent reaction by unwise interference on hasty innovations. They wished to foster Sanskrit and Arabic learning; they opposed Christian missions, and such measures as the prohibition of 'Sati' as playing with fire.[12]

2. The liberal Tory view :- the exponents of which were Metcalfe, Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone. These men accepted the desirability of improvements and the introduction of western values, but they were also convinced of the value of traditional insitiutions and the strength of traditional feeling. Cautious innovation was their watchward and through it they looked to an eventual integration of the old and the new.[13]

3. The radical school :- with its rationalist and religious

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> wings, was the third prevalent influence in contemporary England. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Macaulay and Charles Trevelyan belonged to this group. William Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect were the leaders of the religious Evangelicals. This school advocated bold innovations because they believed prejudice must give way to reason and falsehood to truth. "The light of reason and the light of the gospel once transferred to India would shine of themselves." Indians would convert themselves and a new order would begin.[14]

These schools did not represent distinct parties; they were rather tendencies influencing those who determined policy, whether in Parliament, the Court of Directors, or in the governing class at large.

Through all the discussions of this period can be detected the assumption that western civilisation was on the march, while Indian culture was static.[15] Any changes, therefore, should be made in a westernising direction. Secondly, it should be noted that reform and innovation were now part of the English mental atmosphere.[16]

The decisions that these schools of thought sought to influence were modified not only by opinions but by the force of events, the weight of experience and the prevailing assumptions of the English governing class.[17]

The force of events ruled out any serious attempt to sustain masterly inactivity; in many areas confusion was such that there was virtually no precedent to follow.[18] In many matters, such as criminal law or methods of administration, existing practice offended the humanitarianism, the conscience or the sense of fitness of the west.[19] In other cases, new situations such as the breakdown of authority were such that they called for new remedies and these remedies, where they were not simply restorative, like the attempt to revive village panchayats, were always inspired by western ideas and modes.[20] In sum, a policy like Malcolm's was pursued. At first, the emphasis was on continuity and the necessity of caution, from the time of Bentinck it was upon desirability of innovation without for-

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getting the need for caution. Not until Dalhousie's time was confidence sufficient to drive ahead without caring for the consequences.[21]

Lord Hastings administration formed a sequel to Wellesley's and a precursor to Bentinck's. Much of the spade work of Bentinck's reforms was done during these years. Hastings, like Wellesley, was a grandiose man, ambitious for military fame in India. A one-time companian of the Prince be spent lavishly, lived brilliantly and attracted the admiration of his countrymen in India.[22] His major task in India was to complete Wellesley's work and bring all of India under British rule. Wars with Nepal (1814-16) and the Maratha States (1818) together with diplomatic pressure on other princely States, fulfilled Hastings' ambition, But such wars and expansion met with increasingly severe criticism both in the East India Company and in Parliament.[23] What Hastings felt to be a great political benefit to Britain and India, that is, expansion, was disliked by those who were developing new attitudes about improving india and maintaining the empire there.[24] Some of Hastings critics, reverting to the principles of Cornwallis, charged that his policies were inconsistent with sound financial administration.[25] Others, showing a touch of conservatism, found that his policies had aroused universal "hatred and terror" in the princes and people of India.[26] Still others, who reflected moderate imperialism, would have had Hastings merely maintain the stability of Indian government and the "good character of the British name."[27] To meet such criticism, Hastings endeavoured to claim that he had brought substantial material improvement to India. He claimed that he had strenghtened out the financial and judicial administration of the country, stimulated public works, and improved the education of the people.[28]

Lord Hastings was fortunate to have under him a band of excellent subordinates. Thomas Munro in Madras, John Malcolm in Central India, Monstuart Elphinstone in Bombay, Charles Metcalfe in Delhi and Colonel Tod in Rajputana. These men believed in pragmatic, personal and dynamic administration. While they did not deny that English constitutional principles were intrinsically good,

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they doubted their relevance to the Indian situation, unless modified in their application.[29] The importance of these particular men was that they were not abstract thinkers, but active administrators, who, because the frontiers of British India, were still expanding, were able to exercise considerable authority independently of the government in Calcutta.

When Lord Hastings took over as Governor-General in 1813, the contrast between Britain and India was striking. Britain was a growing nation, in possession of the techniques, organisation and energy which would enable her to become a world power. She was in the midst of a political, social and economic transformation.[30] India on the other hand was politically disunited, culturally rather unchanging, and seemingly unprepared for the impact of the west. She lacked the leadership, technology and organisation which characterised Britain's rapid rise to world importance.[31]

In the field of land revenue administration and the reform of the inherent defects of the Permanent Settlement, commendable work was done.[32] Land has always formed the very root of India's economy. Until the nineteenth century, when large scale industry was in its infancy, more than 80% of the total population of the country was dependent on agriculture. The welfare and prosperity of the people, therefore, depended mainly upon the policy adopted by the government towards agriculture and land revenue administration. Land revenue being the largest source of State income, the way it was demanded and collected had a very important bearing on those dependent on agriculture. If the government was sympathetic, moderate and vigilant, the people could face farming calamities. If otherwise, it recklessly added to the suffering of the masses.[33]

Lord Hastings, on his arrival found, that government had defined its policy without ascertaining the rights of the landed interests involved or the resources of the country acquired.[34] Under the Permanent Settlement it had declared the rights of all Zamindars, taluqdars and other proprietors, as confirmed, but made no attempts to ascertain the basis on which such rights were founded. Collectors

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had been ordered to make the settlement with the Zamindars and other proprietors. The Collectors placed themselves in the hands of kanungos and tehsildars who exploited the party situation to their own advantage and became a party to transfers of landed property fraudulently effected on nominal sums in collusion with the Indian officers of the civil courts. The amount of assessment too was founded on conjectural calculations, determined mostly on the basis of figures supplied by self seeking kanungos and tahsildars. Assessment was excessive.[35] To set right these flaws, two factors to be considered were :-

1. To whom does the soil, from which the revenue is produced, belong ?
2. Under what tenure is it held by its occupants ?

Lord Hastings believed and suggested that the best way to ascertain the total amount of produce was by surveying the whole extent of the land. This would also be the only criterion for assessments by the government. Regarding the mode of collection, he felt that either the government could collect annually from the actual cultivators on an annual estimate of the actual produce, or, the government might realise its rights through the intervention of middlemen whom it might bind by special engagements of such nature as might be deemed proper and secure.[36] In 1822, Lord Hastings proposed to the Court of Directors that a survey should be undertaken and a record of rights prepared as being the only real means of defining and maintaining the rights of the ryots.[37] But for the next 37 years all that was ever done was to refer aggrieved tenants to the civil courts where their chances of success were obviously very slight. Survey of the districts began only in 1834-35, when village boundaries were demarcated and useful statistics prepared, although even then, little was done to secure the interests of the cultivators. In short, Lord Hastings tenure was a period of transition when the old order had decayed and the new one had yet to be established.

Likewise, the judicial administration during the Governor-

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Generalship of Lord Hastings indicates clearly the failure of the reforms introduced by Cornwallis. With much that was good and beneficial in them, these measures had some fatal defects which became more and more conspicuous with the lapse of time. Much work was pending in the courts due to shortage of judges. The Indian officers were kept in subordinate positions, and very low salaries were paid to them. European judges were difficult to maintain due to cost considerations. Hence the working of the judicial courts became inefficient and corrupt.[38] The Board of Control therefore proposed a revival of the native institutions of village headmen and panchayats for local arbitration.[39] But the Bengal government had difficulty in implementing this policy for their village institutions had been more or less destroyed by earlier revenue settlements made in that Presidency. Hence a remedy was sought by (1) improving the pay and position of native judges, (2) by subjecting them to more efficient supervision and (3) by adding to their number. In Madras and Bombay village organisation was in a better state, so the directions of the Home government could be carried out easily.

Lord Hastings influence on the Indian Press and public opinion was also extensive. He was a mai. of liberal and enlightened views. On his arrival in Calcutta, newspapers in all the three Presidencies were under rigorous control, with Madras leading in the matter of stringency of the regulations and Bombay and Calcutta following not too far behind.[40] In 1818 he abolished censorship of the Press and substituted it with some general rules for the guidance of the editors in order to prevent the discussion of topics likely to affect the authority of government or to be injurious to public interest. He believed, that "it is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured; but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect...." Hastings did not have the support of his Council in his liberal measures regarding the Press; in true imperialist spirit, they were prepared to subordinate liberty to the continuance of British rule in India.[41] Indian opinion was also becoming vocal, and in 1816 the first Indian newspaper, "Bengal Gazette", was published by Gangadhar Bhattacharya. Though its ex-

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istence was short lived (only one year), it was the pioneer of Indian–owned newspapers.

The influence of Hastings liberal ideas can be seen most in the field of education. Despite the opposition of his Council he succeeded in establishing in India some of the more progressive views which were now gaining ground in England. He did all he could to promote the education of the Indians, established schools out of his own private means and encouraged their moral and intellectual development.

In the sphere of trade, commerce and finance, the effects of English commercial policy were significant. The Industrial Revolution and the subsequent outburst of invention and enterprise had revolutionised the character of English industry, enabling the country to become the world's leading manufacturer. The other dominant fact of this period was the economic necessity for a largely increased revenue on account of the Napoleonic wars. Thus, while, the nation was being converted intellectually to a belief in "free trade" (as against the earlier ideas of "protectionism"), events caused Great Britain to pass through a period characterised by a higher range of customs duties than ever before.[42] The duties affected practically every form of import and imposed a very heavy burden on English consumers. The period of high duties lasted from 1794 to 1824. Moreover, the Charter Act of 1813 which threw open the East India trade gave a great impetus to private trade between England and India and brought about certain striking changes in the nature of imports and exports after 1813. There was a gradual increase of imports over exports.

A review of Lord Hastings Governor-Generalship shows that his administration, far from being devoid of any important measures of reforms, was one in which various administrative and social problems of far reaching importance had been tackled. It is true that it was only later, in the time of William Bentinck, that major steps were taken in this direction, but at least a beginning had been made and a broad policy had been laid down during his tenure.

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The Company had acquired a vast empire with more than a hundred million people under their direct administration. The rulers were only a handful among myriads of Indians, and although their power depended upon their overwhelming military strength, the continuance of their rule depended upon and its justification lay in, the contentment and happiness they provided and the good will and confidence they earned. Hastings also realised that in carrying out the necessary reforms he must carry the people along with him. The change must be gradual and unobtrusive. Any attempt to force a reform, or any impression that the government intended to interfere with the religious or social customs of the people, might create an upheaval which would not only retard progress but even jeopardise the very existence of British rule in India. Hence a cautious policy was called for.

As a result of Lord Hastings efforts, a marked change for the better did eventually manifest itself. Villages which had been desolate and ruined were repeopled, confidence was gradually restored, wandering bands of marauders and adventurers ceased, revenues increased and general prosperity was introduced. As Princep remarked "the dark age of trouble and violence has ceased from this time and a new era has commenced..."

Although it cannot be claimed that the new order which was established was a perfect one and that it did not give rise to future abuse which required correction, it is seldom that any reform can be final or complete in its operations; and if this is so in smaller affairs, how much the more must it not be the case in a gigantic work of reconstruction, where misgovernment had existed for generations over an immense area of territory ? The imperfections of the resettlement were foreseen at the time and while it was held that the general principles upon which it was based were the best that could be adopted, yet it was also acknowledged that would require modifications at no distant date. The settlement made by Lord Hastings was, no doubt, modified, but it was never undone.

When he assumed charge, British possessions in India were dis-

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jointed and fragmentary; long frontiers had to be guarded and maintained. Communications between different parts were difficult, and rapid access to many provinces impossible. Useful public works were undertaken by him such as the construction of roads, bridges and canals and the improvement of water supply in Delhi and Haryana. All these measures improved things considerably. British authority was in danger of being annihilated, but Lord Hastings' Gurkha and Maratha wars removed all these obstacles.

His work was thorough, far reaching and complete. The period of his administration marks the end of a halting policy, and the dawn of a new order when great Britain finally assumed undivided responsibility for, and supreme control over, the Empire of India.

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EARLY HISTORY OF THUGGEE AND ITS MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS

Jai Prakash Mishra

Ever since the primitive stages in the evolution of human society, plunder with or without violence of different sorts has existed. Its intensity was rather feeble in the primitive and nomadic stage although the struggle for existence was hard, man's needs were few. It was in the agricultural stage that this tendency to plunder became strong and widespread after the establi-shment of the institution of private property both movable and immovable. To add to this there came an increase in the wants of men and their fulfillment was difficult. Men with no private property and having no means of subsistence began to resort to plunder mainly to survive and later as a result of lust for accumulating private property.

This phenomenon, as in other countries of the world, began to take concrete shape in India too. Organised bands of plunderers and assasins began to be active and widespread in India particularly in the Central part of the country. Later, this spread to the North upto Agra and Delhil; East upto Bengal and South upto Travancore Cochin. These were known as the Thugs and their activitie were collectively known as Thuggee. The word 'Thuggee' means cheating and deceiving. The Thugs abstained from blood-shed and used to suffocate the victims with a scarf or handkerchief, after establishing contact wth them and winning their confidence. The basis of the modus operandi of the Thugs is found in their mythological belief in the devotion of the Goddess of Power-Kali. The Thuggee originated near about the year 1295 A.D. during the reign of Jalaluddin Khilji.

During the Muslim rule, it thrived surreptitously in and around

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the kingdom of Indian rulers. It is also mentioned that the Thugs sometimes got the protection from the Indian Rulers when they plundered people outside their territories. The system prevailed unabated in the early period of the British Rule in India when the British had their possessions in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Till the time the British associated with trade and the policy of acquiring territories under their direct rule they had no opportunity of taking note of the prevalance of Thuggee. It was only after the British sway over Delhi, Agra and Oudh was established and they had to maintain contact with Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, that they started noticing the existence of Thuggee During the term of office of Lord William Bentinck, a vigorous and systematic campaign was launched against the system of Thuggee. The Thugs were clever manipulators and always moved about disguised as merchants, soldlier or holy men. They were also past masters in the art of picking up friendship and gain the confidence of strangers whom they earmarked as their victims. They had immense patience and were not disheartened by a few failures to achieve their aim. During their travels people who carried a considerable sum of money in cash on their person to meet their daily needs had no communication with the people of villages and towns through which they passed except for buying foodstuffs and other necessities. They camped outside the habitations under the trees. Their progress during journey was little known to their relatives and friends. For the Thugs, this setting was favourable. They joined some parties in their camps with considerable skill and genial conversation and gained their confidence by offers of help. At an appropriate place and opportunity the Thugs used their scarf to strangulate these unsuspecting travellers.[1]

Besides occasional travellers, there were certain regular travellers who generally fell a prey to these thugs. Army sepoys were one of them. They went home on leave and invariably carried substantial sums of money. They were strangulared by the Thugs and their money was looted. Since those at home did not know when they were due to arrive, but when they did not, relatives enquired about the where-abouts of the deceased. The officers of the army to which

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they belonged thought that they had deserted when they did not report for duty after the expiry of their leave period.[2]

Another type which frequently plundered by the Thugs were the messengers who went from one part of the country to another carrying remittances in gold, silver and precious stones. This was done by people who wanted to save high rate of exchange. These messengers usually assumed the disguise of a beggar in order to avoid the Thugs. But many of them could not escape the ill -fated end at the hands of the Thugs.[3]

Another phenomenon which made the efforts of the Thugs to cheat and plunder people was the existence in almost every village of hermits, fakirs and other so called holymen on the outskirts of the village. In many cases these sanctified hypocrites offered the travellers the shade of their grove, fresh water and food. The travellers used to be impressed by their hospitality and stayed there to fall ultimately into the clutches of the Thugs who were either in league with these men or who were provided place for concealment.[4]

The contemporary situation was admirably described by Henry. H. Spry, M.D. of the Bengal Medical Service in his book 'Modern India' which was published in the year 1837. He writes that the question may be asked how and why the Thugee were allowed to exist and carry on their heinous crimes without restraint. He says that the explanation is easy. A country, which has been a theater of anarchy and misrule in areas remote from the capital of the ruling prince cannot provide internal security and protection of life and property to the entire population of the territories under the Indian ruler whose administration was far from firm and well regulated. In this atmosphere it was easy for the Thugs to escape and evade detection–more so when they got refuge in the territories of a neighbouring ruling prince.[5]

Now we come to the mythological basis of Thuggee. There are two theories which attribute a divine origin of Thuggee. The earliest theory was that a gigantic monster infested the earth and started

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devouring mankind at such a fast rate that the earth was left almost without people. Goddess Kali made war on him and cut him down but from every drop of his blood arose another demon. Thus though Goddess Kali continued cutting down these demons their number continued to increase unabated because from the blood of these fallen demons fresh ones arose. At last the Goddess was compelled to change her tactics. She created two men from her shoulder and gave them handkerchiefs with orders to destroy the demons by strangulation without shedding a drop of blood. The grateful goddess gave the handderchiefs to these two men not merely as memorial of their heroism but as the implements of a lucrative trade in which their descendants were to engage themselves and thrive. They were to strangle men as they had stranded the demons.[6]

A later theory is that the Hindus believed that in the beginning of this world there existed two powers, one creative and the other destructive, always warring with each other. The Thugs believed that the creative power started inhabiting the earth so fast that the destroyer could not keep pace in his work of destruction. The evil consort of the destroyer, Kali, assembled a number of her devotees and demonstrated before them a method of destruction that they were subsequently to adopt. This method was strangulation of a victim with a piece of cloth. She named them thugs. They were then set free to do the work of killing people by strangulation. The number of Thugs subsequently multiplied as time passed. Both these theories subscribed to the belief of the Thugs that they strangulated men under divine orders.[7]

Like the other Indian and Italian robbers and plunderers, the Thugs had a very religious superstitious mind. Colonel Sleeman who did not believe in the mythological origin of Thuggee wrote that all the Thugs, who followed their trade of murder with prescribed method, sincerely believed the they were doing so under the immediate orders of the Goddess who was named Devi, Durga, Kali or Bhawani. Consequently no thug felt the slightest remorse for the murders which he committed or abetted in the course of his vocation. A thug considered the murder committed by him as an offering

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to the Goddess, just as a priest of Jupiter the sacrifice of oxen and a priest of Saturn considered the sacrifice of a child upon the altars of these divine beings. There was no room for pity and the murders committed by the Thug did not trouble him in his dreams nor did the cause him any in his solitude of even in his hour of death. Sleeman further says that it is not true that they–never felt any remorse for the murders that they committed. The Thugs trained their children whom they loved tenderly in the art of the Thuggee. They gave these children in matrimony to families who were also Thugs. When Sleeman asked some thugs how they could deliberately bring up their children as Thugs and give them away in marriage to Thugs, he was told that formerly there was no danger of their even being hanged to death or transported but that now they would wish that their children should learn some less dangerous trade.[8]

They firmly believed that since they were following a divinely ordained profession they were not responsible for the murders that they committed. Since the Thugs considered themselves to be directed by the Goddess and were ardent believers in numerous superstitious observances, they might have originally belonged to a religious sect, whose principal tenet was prohibition of bloodshed. Hence the Thugs started the practice of strangulation. Sleeman who is supposed to be the best authority on Thuggee does not make any mention of this in his accounts. He is of the view that they adopted the method of strangulation as it was the Safest and most convenient method of murder and it enabled them to dispense with arms, by the sight of which the apprehensions of travellers would have been aroused. Moreover this method of strangulation did not leave any trace of the crime at the site of the murder, which might have been noticed by other travellers. But this does not mean that the Thugs never used any weapons. An instance of this was the murder of seven treasure–bearer near Hindoria in Damoh with Swords. These treasure bearers probably did not allow the Thugs to come near them, hence they openly attacked them with swords and killed them. Other instances of bloodshed are also found in Sleeman's accounts in which the Thugs cut and slashed the bodies

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of the victims after murdering them. According to Sleeman the belief of the Thugs that they were guided by divine will may have been an excuse to absolve themselves of the sin of their misdeeds and allaying their fears of such retribution as might be caused by the haunting of the ghosts of their victims.[9]

This mythological basis of Thuggee appears to be quite incredible as far as the Muslem Thugs are concerned. Islam demands the total rejection of all images. Yet, however half hearted, the influence of the Hindu Goddess remained over the Muslim Thugs. The most likely explanation for this mixing of contraries is found in the fact that during the Muslim conquest of Northern India, conversion of Hindus into the Muslim religion was made under the threat of immediate death. The Hindus embraced the faith of the invaders under threat but did not totally remove from their minds the tenets and practices of the Hindu religion not only in their contemporary people but also in the succeeding generations. It might be that some of the original Kali worshipping Thugs fouund more freedom to pursue their ignoble profession even after embracing Islam which made them free from the taboos of Caste system. Thus too even while embracing Islam they retained their old adherence to Kali who would, they expected, forgive their religious defection in a future life, as she influences their present life. Like the Hindu Thugs they believed that good or ill success always depended upon the skill with which their omens were discovered and interpreted, and the strictness with which they were observed and obeyed.[10]

The Thugs did not apparently ever constitute a district caste like Badhaks, but were recruited from different classes of the population. In Northern and Southern India three fourths or more and in Central India about a half were Muhammadans whether pure by race or descendants of converted Hindus. The Muhammadan Thugs consisted of seven class Viz Bhais, Bargote, Kachuri, Halter, Garru, Tandel, and Tathur. These names however are of Hindu and not Mohammadan origin. These are admitted by all Thugs of India, whether Hindus or Muslims, to be the most ancient and the great original trunk upon which the succeeding generations of Thuge were

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at different times and in different places. It is also probable that most of the Thugs were originally Banjaras of cattle dealers and Kanjars or gypsies. These clans of Hindu and Muslim Thugs strictly refrained from having matrimonial relations with other Thugs as is generally the case among the converted Indian Christians. The Kanjars, Hindus or Muslims did not indulge in murder by stangulation as a regular profession for this would have been very dangerous. They moved about with their wives and children and all their belongings and the disappearance of a traveller from the locality where they encamped would naturally excite suspiction. Most of the Thugs resided in villages and towns and many of them were cultivators or tradesmen of artisans. Their periodical excursions for robbery and murder were veiled under the necessity of a journey for some purpose or the other.[11]

Many gangs of Thugs were recruited from other Hindu Castes of whom the Lodhis were most numerous. Other Thugs were Rajputs, Brahmins, Tantis or weavers, Goalas or Cowherds, Kanjars and Sansias, the last two being vagrants and gypsies. Family life of these Thugs was quite normal. Sometimes they kept their wives ignorant of their nefarious trade. Caste rules were observed in matrimonial relations and sometimes the Thugs spared girls in a murdered party and married them to a suitable member of their gang. The fidelity of the wives of these thugs was exemplary and were loving and dutiful wives.[12]

The Thugs were known by different names in different parts of India. These names indicated the methods by which they committed their crimes. In the Northern parts of India they were known as Thugs which stands for 'cheats' and 'deceivers'.[13]

In Southern India, According to Dr. Sherwood they were called, "Phansigars" from the Indian word 'Phnisi' which means a noose. In Tamil language they were called 'Ali Tulucal' or 'Muslem noosers'. In Kanarese they were designated as 'Tanti callerin' which implies 'thieves who were using a wire or catgut noose'. In Telgu they were known as 'Warlu Wahandlu' or 'Warlu Vayshay Wahandlu' meaning people who use the noose.[14]

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There was another kind of Thugs who operated on the rivers in the east of India particularly in Bihar and Bengal. But the fact remains that river Thuggee was not such a big menace as Thuggee on land where the field of operation of the Thugs was vast and their cunningness to avoid detection was almost as great as what they used to fool the travellers to bring them under their influence by gaining their confidence.[15]

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THE ORIGINS OF THE CHAMBAL VALLEY DACOITS

S.C. Sharma

The word Dacoity whenever mentioned never fails to draw our attention, moreover if we happen to hear any of our dear or near falling its victim the news is sure to send a chill down our spines. In the given article the author intends to to trace down the Dacoity menace antecedants from a History student's view.

In dacoity the lives of victims ar often lost. But as Cyrus has said "one day brings the punishment which many day demand", the dacoits also lose their lives in violent manner; although the above phenomenon does not take place according to the laws of sciences.

Dacoity is a crime. The "Robin Hood Syndrome" which some people associate with it, does not reduce its heinous nature. Before directly coming to the origins of the problem which this article intends to analyse in would be reasonable to throw some light on the salient features of the evil.

The dacoits consider themselves much high up in the criminal hierarchy. Unlike petty criminals who are much ignored, detested, insulted and chased, the "Baghis" as the dacoits of Chambal prefer to call themselves are lauded, command much respect, influence, awe and fear. So much so that even the police at times gets eager to provide them comforts once they are in. In region where the dictum "might is right" prevails, such behaviours are not at all surprising once we know that the dacoits operate in strong gangs, possess latest weapons, gadgets, having thousands of sympathisers and informers, and are capable of reducing to pulp howsoever mighty he may be.

Casteism has also influenced the system. For instance upper caste dacoits have been known to be soft on their own castemen and similarly low caste dacoits have favoured their own communities.

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Dacoity has some magnitude of respectability associated with it for instance in 1955, "Bhind-Morena Crime Enquiry Report" mentined the following about Dasyu Raja Mansingh, the legendary dacoit active at that time.[1]

"The case of Man Singh is representative of the peculiar problems of this area. He is reported to be a man with no private vices. Stories are told of him in hushed voices of admiration, of how he helps good causes, kills informers and policemen only when persued, just lifts a few men who have money to spare, respect Brahmins, who give him blessings and occasionally coerces Zamindars to contribute to desirable objects like school buildings. His admirers often remark that he represents the high water mark of dacoity nobly practiced. Officers of Revenue customs and Education Departments could run into him without fear. He could join marriage celebrations attended by hundreds of people. His case illustrates how the natural revulsion again heinous offences can be mellowed by adopting ingenious methods".

Man Singh's death marked the end of a romantic era in the history of Chambals, after him we have much record of murder, wanton pillage and clever kidnappings.

The predecessors to dacoity are Pindari and Thuggee menaces. There are essential differences between the three and nor did one give rise to the other.

A brief glance at the Pindari and Thuggee would bring about the differences between the three i.e. Pindari, Thuggee, and Dacoity. Pindaris were mainly hordes of deserters from the defunct Indian and invading armies of the period 12th to 17th century. The Pindaris indulged in wanton plunder and pillage, They had a lot of political clout with the Indian princes and at times even dictated terms of peace to the latter and even the British. Take for example the terms of peace demanded from the British by Amir Khan a Central Indian Pindari Pathan leader, when his allies the Sindhia and Holkar had suffered defeat in the third Maratha War in 1818. Amir Khan had asked-[2]

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1. a jagir in Rohil-Khand for his son Vazir-ud-Doulah.
2. the grant of a compact territory in lieu of his scattered possessions and of the tribute to which he laid claim from Kotah, Jaipur and Jodhpur.
3. the grant of jagirs to his son by the Rajahs of Jaipur and Jodhpur and Rana of Udaipur.
4. a provision of land or money for his Sirdars.
5. a free gift of three lac of rupees to him.
6. the retention of the control and payment of his troops who had been taken into the British Service, and
7. the grant of a "Sanad" from the British in respect of all the lands held by him of Holkar.

Although a very few were met but still the demands give an idea of the Pindari dare. Nevertheless, Amir Khan was recognized as the Nawab of Tonk by the British.

The thugs did not plunder, used little force and always killed their victims in cold blood. Theirs was a quasi-atanic sect. The dacoits trace their lineage to more respected people i.e. the Hindu Martial races who had been driven southwards by the medieval invaders.

In the late 12th century Prithviraj Chauhan of Ajmer inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Tomar Raja Anangpal of Delhi. He along with his faithful chansmen i.e. the Bisa, Batisa and Chourasia moved southwards and took refuge in the Chambal ravines i.e. Bhind, Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri and Datia Districts.

The Chambal region has seen many crests and troughs of the Tomar fortune. Ferishta has called the last powerful Tomar King Raja Mansingh (1486-1523)- a Prince of Great Valour and capacity".

With his death the Tomar Dynasty of Gwalior began to collapse. The last Tomar King fell with Ibrahim Lodhi in the first battle of

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Panipat. With his death the Tomars were reduced to ordinary land-owners but did not forget the popular slogan" DILLI KABHI TOMRON KI HOGI".

The Rajputs in this region had in them traditional feudal upbringing and they ill accepted their new role of ordinary farmers., They seethed with discontent under the Muslim rule and often created trouble for the rulers. They quite often robbed the imperial treasury on its transit from the region.

Sher Shah Suri was forced to give much consideration to the Chambal region when he made strategic roadways and Chow-kies/fortresses in the region. On the Bombay–Agra road one can today see the various chowkies/fortnesses built by Sher Shah to check crime in the region.

Chambal was relatively calm when the central authourity was strong, but after the death of Aurangazeb, the later Mughals weak, as they were, could not check the violence in the region.

With the Maratha conquest and the placing of this regions under Ranoji Sindhia who had faithfully served Peshwa Baji Rao-I. Begins a new era.

We cannot call the land settlement of Marathas a pillage but it would be nearer to truth if we call it "Distribution of the spoils of war". the Maraths behaved like victors in their contact with local chieftains, usurped their jagirs and alienated them. As a result the thakurs had noth-ing to do but to take to crime.

The British administration had taken pains to propagate the theory that they tried to annul the imbalances created by Maratha land settlement.

For the dacoity problem Lt. Col. Meade puts the full blame upon the land settlement made by Marathas. Writing in 1865-66; in favour of the land settlement made by Sir John Malcolm, Lt. Col. Meade in his capacity as Agent to the Governor General says.

"Though widely different in other respects there is one characteristic common to the Baghies of Rewa, the Boondelas of Bundelkhand and the

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Rajpurts of Gwalior and Malwa viz. a dislike for labour and service away from their homes, so that they do not generally take an active part in the business of tilling the soil, such being as a rule, left to the inferior and servile classes."

"They are throughout the territory generally regarded as local heads of society or of the village communities to which they belong and many of them passess much influence amongst those around them, as the representatives of the ancient families of the respective class, but the condition of many of the Rajputs in the states of Central India is most miserable and pitiable. Deprived of the field for action and excitement of former times, a number of them chief and dependants have no occupation congenial to their tastes, and give themselves upto immoderate use of opium, and to sloth, while their means are altogether inequal to their decent support, those who posses lands or tanks being for the most part irretrievably in debt".

"Though the Marathas have long been predominent ruling powers in Gwalior and Ujjain they are still regarded as foreigners and a strong feeling of animosity and dislike exists towards them on the part of most Rajput tribes".

The numerous settlement, mediated under Sir John Malcoln's authority were principally on behalf of the heredictary claims of the heads of these classes, who having been dispossed of their estates, and in many instances driven to jungles were at that period (under the designation of 'Grassiahs" and "Sondias") the local, as the Pindarees were the general, pests of the country, their whole subsistance being obtained by violence and marauding".

"These settlements secured to them the regular payment by the native Government of the Tankas of cash allowances or the grant of their equivalent in land to which they were deemed fairly entitled, from the district or villages of which they held claims, and which in most instances had been recognised previous to the general state of disorder into which Malwa fell during the latter years of Jaswant Rao Holkar and subsequently, and to them the extraordinary recovery of Province and the general peace that has since reigned within its limits though raids and outrages by some of above classes

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still occasionally occur are wholly to be ascribed".

"These settlement were as beneficial to the rulers themselves as to their states generally for they were at that period notoriously incapaple of coercing or otherwise controlling, these predatory classes; but this fact has unfortunately, though perthaps not unnnaturally, been long since lost sight of by them and the general tendency on their part has long been to regard the said settlement a burden which they would fain get rid of, if such were possible".

"And yet the maintenance of the terms of these mediations, to which the British faith is pledged is undoubtedly still essential to the preservation order in Malwa, for their general adandonment would at once be followed by a return of the troubles and excesses of former times, with which–as has been shown in the cases of even individuals of these classes who have from time to time broken loose–the native Government would be quite unequal to cope, and which nothing but the power of the British Government and fresh mediations of the same description, would finally suppress".

R.N. Nagu IPS who has put in very hard work to produce a "History of Madhya Pradesh Pradesh Police' published in the year 1965. has altogether accepted the British view of the causes of Dacoity menace in the Chambal. He has not taken into consideration fact that post mutiny settlements were motivated to a great extent to reward those who collaborated with the British and punishing those who had anything to do with Freedom Fighters of the First Struggle for Indpendence, thereby creating an army of disgruntled Thakurs.

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INDIAN CULTURE IN THE WEST INDIES

J.C. Jha

It is difficult to give an exact definition of the word 'culture'. perhaps it is the outer expression of the inner genius of a people. The expression of culture varies from country to country, region to region. Naturally, the Indian sub-continent has developed a distinct culture in spite of certain regional variations.

One of the main characteristics of Indian culture has been its long antiquity or continuity : it has evolved during the last five thousand years or more. So many invasions and conquests could not kill the spirit of this culture. In fact, the resilience of this culture has been remarkable. It has not only tolerated foreign elements but also assimilated some of them. Thus Indian food, Indian dress, the style of art, architecture, music, etc, have been influenced from time to time, but the Indian spirit has never been lost.

Starting from the Harappan (Indus) and Aryan culture the influences of the Hellenic, the Turko-Afghan, Iranian and other cultures cannot be denied. The contact of India with the Islamic culture was long and intimate and that shows in the language, painting, etc.

Religion has been the core of Indian culture. Hinduism was for centuries the most potent factor for cultural unity. Since the Vedanta, the cream of the Vedas, and Buddhism spoke of misery in the earthly existence pessimism is said to be an integral part of Indian culture. However, the philosophy of Charvak and othrs and many pieces of art indicate optimism.

The family system, the *varna* (caste) system, the theories of 'Karma' and *samsar* and the individual soul *(atma)* having emanated

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from the *paramatma* (supreme Being), these have been the important features of Indian culture. Polytheism and monotheism have been harmonised in this culture. No wonder many westerners like the first Governor-general of India Warren Hastings, a Judge of the Calcutta supreme court H.T. Colebrooke, the great German scholar Max Muller, theosophists like Col. Olcott, Annie Besant and Dr. Arundale spoke very highly of this culture.

Richard Lennoy appreciates[1] India's capacity for innovation. He refers to the five main aspects of Indian cultureart, the family system, the social system, the value system and the religious institutions.

Being a vast country with climatic, geological and othr variations, India has got many sub-cultures. The culture of the north may be somewhat different from that of the south, that of the tribals distinct from the non-tribals. The varying amount of assimilation and conflicts have also brought in some regional pecularities. In some areas the people are overdressed while in others they are underdressed. Even the *dhoti* (loin cloth) and *sari* (the dress of the woman) are worn differently in the various regions. The variations in the food, the marriage customs, the festivals, etc, are obvious. So long as a tribe (Munda, Oraon, Santal, etc) remains a tribe it retains its pattern of culture, but on coming in contact with the non-tribals it changes a good deal.

Franklin Edgerton rightly says that underlying the variety of climate, daily language, etc, "there is a strong unifying force that allows us to speak of Indian culture in the singular: the complex of custom and belief which shapes the lives of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent".[2]

In all more than 416,000 Indians came to the West Indies between 1838 and 1917 as indentured labourers. British Guiana (now Guyana) was the earliest colony to receive the Indian immigrants. In all 240,000 labourers came there, the average between 1864 and 1873 was 3,692, rising between 1873 and 1883 to 5,414 and between 1882 and 1891 to 4,084.[3] About 80 per cent of the Indians was Hindu.

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Trinidad received about 143,000 Indians. The number of labourers introduced from 1845 to 30 May 1848 was 5,162 only, but between 1851 and 1891 came 88,501.[4] Even though Jamaica is much bigger in size than Trinidad, it got only 36,583 Indians because it was less dependent on sugar. Many of these immigrants died or fled to other countries, only 13,821 surviving by 1908.[5] The year of the highest importation in Jamaica was 1847: 2,438 Indians came. Only about 12 per cent of the immigrants was Muslim.

The smaller Windward islands also received Indian labourers: Granada got about 3,792 between 1856 and 1885; St. Lucia 4,427 from 1858 to 1893; St. Vincent 2,507 from 1861 to 1880.[6] Only 300 Indians immigrated into St. Kitts. According to the 1901 census there were 2,523 Indians in St. Lucia and 2,262 in Grenada. Later many of these immigrants fled to the neighbouring countries.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the British government allowed the French and the Dutch coloines of the West Indies to import Indian labourers. Between 1873 and 1916 Surinam (Dutch Guiana) received 34,304 Indians and in the last four decades of the nineteenth century the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe as well as French Guiana (Cayenne) in the South American mainalnd also got their quota. No less than 42,595 Indian labourers were introduced into Guadeloupe before 1887. Officially 8,882 came between 1864 and 1870. Upto 1870 the French West Indies received 219 men, 72 women and 39 children from the Madras port. Thus 330 South Indians were taken in. Besides, from the ports of the French enclaves in India 10,581 men, 4,046 women and 1,384 children, in all 16,011 Indians emigrated to the French West Indies.[7] In 1859 there were 6.748 Indians in Martinique.[8] Between 1865 and 1870 it received 5,553 Indians all of them from the French ports of India, while French Guiana received 1,906 Indians between 1864 and 1867 from the same ports.[9] In all Martinique received 25,519 Indian Labourers.

In the earlier period of indentured immigration most of the Indians who survived the rigours of climate and hard work returned after an industrial residence of five and later ten years. One of the

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difficult problems during this period was the small proportion of women among the immigrants which led to immoral acts in the depot in India, on board the ship and in the colonies of work and domicile. This had a corroding effect on their basic moral values.

Another problem was the high mortality rate on board the ship because the long voyage involved climatic changes and alien atmosphere.

Barring a few exceptions the Indian immigrants to the West Indies were of the lower castes and of rural areas. A vast majority of them were from northern India, especially from the Gangetic plains. Naturally, their language Bhojpuri, Awadhi, etc.–the variations of old Hindi-became the *lingua franca* of these immigrants and their descendants at least in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam where their number went on increasing. At present about 50 percent of the total population in these countries is Indian.

The idea of colonial emigration evolved by the Europeans was alien to the Indian mind for these immigrants hankered for their own surroundings and traditional values without any interference with their manners and customs. No wonder even though they got a slightly higher wages besides food, clothing, medicines and the back passage to India, many immigrants got repatriated. Upto 1891 about 11,885 labourers went back to India from Trinidad. But with the grant of Crown lands and bounties or bonus to them in lieu of the return passage and the opposition many of the returned labourers faced humiliation in their own society because of the crossing of the seas *(kalapani)* in the later part of the ninetcenth century, many Indians decided to settle in West Indies. No wonder only 1.98 per cent of the Indians returned from Guyana between 1870 and 1890.

The thrift of the Indians was proverbial: they would live a very simple life, take a frugal meal of *dal* and *bhat* (rice) or *roti* (inleavened bread), save as much as they could and buy ornaments for their women and land to cultivate. Many started their own *groceries*. One Moolchand was indentured on the St. Madeline estate in

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Trinidad in 1853 and in 1878 he died a respectable merchant.[10] Another Indian named Ramsal had come to Trinidad to clear his debts in India but later he became very rich and at the turn of the last century left an estate of about a million dollars. According to a Trinidad newspaper this story was true of many Indian immigrants. They had suffered in India and they knew "the value of money and land"; they were thrifty unlike the people of African origin; "they had a traditional fascination for ornaments"; they were "godfearing too and led a peaceful life."[11] They also owned good horses by the late nineteenth century and took interest in horse racing. As early as 1911 and Indian freed from indenture in Surinam owned an estate and employed indenture labourers.

Many of the Indians who migrated to the West Indies had become unemployed or lost their land following the Revolt of 1857 in India and therefore they had been compelled by the circumstances to emigrate.[12] They knew the value of property and grabbed the opportunity of acquiring property in the West Indies. According to the *Sanderson Committee Report* (1910) the Crown land sold to the Indians between 1885 and 1908-9 totalled 69,087 acres.[13] In Guyana the value of landed property owned by the Indians in 1911-12 was $ 972,761. Besides, they owned 13,384 beads of cattle and 3,022 heads of sheep and goat.[14] In Surinam more than 200,000 acres of land were allotted to 3,068 immigrants, for free use, in lease or by purchase. The Indian immigrants in Trinidad bought 22,916 acres between 1885 and 1895 and 31,766 acres were distributed between 1902 and 1912 as government grants. As Eric Williams notes, an Indian getting wages of 25 cents a day buying a piece of land was a proof enough of their "well-known capacity for thrift."[15]

The position of the Indians in the Dutch colony of Surinam differed from that of the British colonies in the West Indies because there was a special department of the local administration for the former as well as the British consul at paramaribo to look to their interests. These showed "watchful interest" in the Indian Welfare.[16] By 1959 the Indians of Surinam formed 35.4 per cent of the total population, only next to the Creoles.

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In 1911 the total population of Surinam was 85,000 of which about one-third (27,000) was Indian including 5,876 under indenture. The largest number of free immigrants happened to be petty land-owners; a considerable number were cattle-keepers, cart-owners, market gardeners, machanics and day labourers. Even a day labourer kept a couple of cows whom he respected if he was a Hindu. As in Port of Spain in Trinidad the milk supply of paramaribo was in the Indian hands and they often adulterated the milk with water. The land transport business was also under their control and a lrge number of Indians owned carts. The Indians owned about 5,000 head of milch cattle, about 2,000 goats and several hundred horses, mules and donkeys.[17] A few were prosperous traders and many petty shop-keepers or licensees of stands in markets.

The use of *bhang* (hemp), *aphim* (opium), ganja (cannabis) and *charas* for smoking could be seen among the frustrated Indians. *Patang* (kile-flying), *gulli-danta*, cock-fighting and other such amusements were brought from North India. Now rum and cricket have replaced them.

Indian food like roti, *sohari, kheer* (rice-pudding) *tarkari* (vegetable dishes) with spices like turmeric *(hardi)* are even now popular. Utensils like *lota* (waterpot), *tharia* (plate), *bati* (cup), *kalasa* (pot) and *balti* (bucket) are even now used in the rural areas. In some regions Indian sweets like *laddu, jilebi (Jalebi), khurma* and *gulab-jamun* are sold. Even *chura* (flaked rice) and *bhunja* (fried rice) are available.

In Surinam, as J.D. Speckmann noted in his *Marriage and Kinship among the Indians in Surinam* (Assen, 1965, p. 222) the Indian words like *mashala* (spices), *urdi* (lentils), *roti dahi* (yoghurt), etc. are freely used. Almost all traditional Indian sweets except perhaps *rasagulla* of Bengal are available in this country.

The Indians in the West Indies recreated the agricultural base which had been the keynote of their rural culture in India. In fact, sugar and rice cultivation had been the focal point of their rural milieu. The English word 'sugar' is derived from the Sanskrit word 'sharkara' and the Hindi word 'shakar' and sugar cultivation was

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perhaps introduced in ancient India much before other countries knew about it. India had also been one of the earliest countries to have begun rice cultivation. In fact, rice and paddy are very much connected with many of the Hindu rituals. No wonder whereever the Indians established their right themselves to grow cane and rice in the West Indies, specially in Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam and Jamaica, the cultivation of wet rice in the lagoons *(Jheel)* was their special contribution.

In fact, the Indians were largely responsible for the "great increase in consumption, and the considerable increase in production of rice" throughtout the West Indies.[18] With the coming of the Indians it became as important crop. First it was their staple food but later it became the daily food of non-Indians also.

In the cultivation of sugar cane and rice the immigrants brought their "age-old traditional Indian skill in irrigation".[19] In Jamaica the 'water'man' on almost every irrigated property was an Indian. The Indians also brought mango (Calcutta and Bombay varieties), vegetables like 'sem', kohra', Karaila', etc. which they grew and marketed.

In the earlier days of indenture the Indians had practically no leader *(mukhia)*, no *panchayat* and their manners and customs were looked down upon. But in the second half of the nineteenth century the higher caste Hindus and among the Muslims the *maulavis* took up the leadership. Moreover, village settlements like Chandernagar, Fyzabad, Delhi, Calcutta and Patna emerged and the traditional village life was recreated. Thus a *Kumhar* (potter) took up the traditional work of making *deeyas, gharas* (earthen pots), etc; the barber, the priest and others also took up their old professions. Many *gwalas* in Trinidad started small dairies and sold milk. Some of them even mixed water with milk as in India and were prosecuted. Others became merchants and grocers. (Unlike the Africans the Indians did not give up their religion and social habits.)

Some Indians, specially those who became diseased also took to begging. among the Madrasis (South Indians) there were many beg-

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gars and squatters in Guyana. Many of them became vagabonds, picking up the putrid bodies of animals from trenches, cooking and eating them mixed with curry. Those who had come from North India, specially from Bihar and U.P., through the port of Calcutta and were generally called 'Kalkatiyas' were generally more industrious, "stricter in religious observances regarding food, fonder of dress and more industrious."[19] The vagrancy and mendicancy of Guyana could be seen in Trinidad. Jamaica also had reports of 'beggary, sloth and drunkenness' among the Indians.[20]

The retention of Indian culture may be attributed to several factors. Unlike during the slavery days when the Africans were treated arbitrarily by the planters the Indians were protected by the elaborate Immigration ordinances as well as by the Protector of Immigrants. Even so, the treatment of the Indians in the plantations was often severe, but this severity did not endure "long enough to cause any great departure from Indian cultural patterns."[21]

The barracks on the plantation did not afford sufficient privacy to the Indian familes. Often a big family had only one room. Even so, the Indians retained the behaviour patterns of the Indian society. But the pressure on Indian culture was great. As Chandra Jayawerdena says with reference to Guyana, the Indian had to face a reorganisation of his labour relations; the Indian culture had to be adopted to the social system of the plantation. Thus the caste system of the Hindus had to be modified.[22] Naturally the high caste Hindu resented the low caste ones acting as drivers and *sardars*. They also disliked the people of all the castes and communities working together, housed together and sharing the same water supply and latrines. In the early days most of the Indians did not like the latrine system and eased themselves in the canefields as they had done in India. This created a lot of trouble.

In Jamaica the Hindu labourers were punished for taking bath in the rivers daily and offering water to the sungod by taking time off the allotted work in the plantations. In almost every West Indian country importing Indian labour their language, dress, religion, etc.

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were jeered at. Indian culture was dubbed "Coolie Culture"[23] and the Indians were called "heathens".

Some acculturation did take place and some Indians were converted to Chrisitianity, but in the three colonies with substantial Indian population Indian culture has been retained. This was partly because the new immigrants reinforced the feeling of the greatness of Indian culture among the old ones. Moreover, the visit of Indian missionaries like the Kabirpanthis, Shivanarayanis and Arya Samajists like Jaimini Mehta and Satya Charan and later Sanatanists like parshuram Sharma and some Muslim Maulavis and merchants created self-confidence among the Indians. The officers sent by the British Indian government like D.W.D. Comins (1891) Sanderron (1909) J. Macneil and Chimmanlal (1913), and Tyson (1938) and the private visits of the Rev. C.F. Andrews also induced the Indians to reinforce their traditional culture.

No wonder the Indian "rebuilt in exact and revealing terms the key istitutions of their native land, its ancestral but over-reaching social order."[24] Y. Malik rightly says in respect of Trinidad, and this is true of Guyana and Surinam also, that the Indians have retained distinctive traditions and customs with regard to marriage, family, kinship, was of life, religious ceremonies, festivals, dance, and music.[25]

In Trinidad Guyana and Surinam, and even in Jamaica race is often conceptualized as an identity of substance. The Indian category is identified by certain characteristics: straight, black hair, brown to fair complexion and so on. It is also based on notions of birth and descent as well as on adherence to a common traditional heritage.

Howerver, in small islands like St. Lucia the Indians as a microscopic minority do not even call themselves Indian or East Indian; they are just "coolies". In Jamaica with Indians constituting about 15 per cent of the population, they continue to be rice growers with a strong tie between the parents and the children.[26]

In the French island of Guadeloupe, the South Indian settlers

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worship the mother goddess (Mariamma), similar to the Kali worship of North India. (In Guyana the two *pujas* are merged into one). In Martinique the descendants of the 10,000 Indians who remained after the second attempt at indenture in 1887, constituted "a self-consciously distinct element in the population" in 1967.[27] By face and complexion or by language, but mainly by endogamy and religion they maintain their separate identity. They have been concentrated in the northern parts of the island cultivating sugarcane. Some of them have taken to commerce and professions also. They continue to worship the village deities. Both in Martinique and Guadeloups, they have temples where they sacrifice animals.

In Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam Indians manifest a distinctive flourishing culture and community and "compete with Creoles for power and status."[28] In contrast, in Jamaica, Martinique, Guadelope, and the Windward Islands they "hardly constitute viable separate entities and are in large measure subsets of the rural lower class."[29] Even so, they displayed around 1972 many of the separatist features–group endogamy, a stereotyped hostility towards Africans and pride in their Indianness. But they do not have the basic religious tradition, family structure, and material culture that Indians in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam have. On the whole, however, Indian culture persists in the West Indies more than in many other overseas Indian communities.

The rise of Indian pressure groups in Trinidad and Guyana like the East Indian national Association and the East Indian National Congress[33] and the rise of the Indian press in the 1920s like the *East Indian Herald* of N.E. Ramchandran the *East Indian Weekly* and the *observer* indicated the revival of Indian culture. The leaders and literary figures of India like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore, Madan Mohan Malaviya inspired the Indians of the West Indies to adore their culture.

Besides, the Hindu and Muslim organisations, Indian Youth Clubs, Debating Societies, Friendly Societies, Cricket teams, study circles, the India club, etc., played a significant role in maintaining

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the separate identity of the Indians in the two Guianas and Trinidad. In 1940 two Indian teams played a first class cricket match in Trinidad and an Indian merchant gave some prizes.[31] In 1942 the Trinidad East Indian Cricket Board of control organised a match against an Indian team of Guyana.[32] A vast majority of Indian immigrants in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam were from Bihar and U.P. in the Gangetic plains of North India-especially from the regions of Agra, Oudh (Avadh) and Bhojpur. In Trinidad upto 1870 about 41 percent came from Agra and Oudh and 29.3 per cent for Bihar.[33] The Indians came to Surinam principally from the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Gazipur and Ballia in Eastern U.P. as well as from the districts of Saran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Shahabad, Patna and Gaya in Bihar.

Those who came from the eastern areas of U.P. and the western parts of Bihar brought the Bhojpuri language, those from western districts of U.P. *(Pachhah)*–Agra, Mathura, Aligarh, Barailly and Farrukhabad-brought Awadhi, Vrajbhasha and other variations of Hindi and Urdu, Magahi (Magadhi) of patna and Gaya districts, Maithili of North Bihar and Hindi (Khari Boli) of Meerut and the surrounding areas also arrived in the West Indies. A sprinkling of tribal languages (Mundari and Santhali), Punjabi and Nepali could also be found. From South India came Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannad.

At present the old and middle aged Indians in the rural areas of Surinam, Trinidad and Guyana mainly speak Bhojpuri with the sprinkling of Awadhi and even the Madrasis have learnt Bhojpuri which has become the Indian *langua franca*. In a village these Indians greet the visitor with 'Seeta Ram, Kaisan haal' (Greetings; how are you ?) Many young men and women of the fourth generation who have taken to the English language, now try to learn Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu.

Indian place names like Calcutta settlement and street names like Agra, Ayodhya, Hyderabad, Nepaul, Ganges, Bengal, Mathura, Benares, Delhi, Bombay, Cwnpore, Lucknow, etc can be seen in several parts of Trinidad.[34] There are also place names like Ramgooly Trace, In Guyana a village is called Rampur.

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Male names like Ramoutar, Ramasharan, Ram Prased, Rama Krishna (Kisoon) and Lakshman (Lachhman) and female names like Sita, Parvati and Lachhamin (Lakshmi) are very common. Even typical Bihari or Uttar Pradeshi names like Katwaroo, Samroo (Somavaru), Mangaloo, Buddhu (Boodoo), Bhikhoo, Kangaloo, Jangaloo, Mootoo, Madhu (Madoo), Haridwar (Hardwar), Ramalagna (Ramalogan), Moonilal and Sitahal (Shivatahal) can be seen in plenty.

In the earlier days most of the Indian immigrants had trash houses with mudwalls as in many rural areas of the Gangetic plains in North India. These immigrant houses had wooden frame and mud floors which were 'cleaned' (lipe) with cow-dong. The West Indians called these houses Ajoupa. Later those Indians who could afford it, built houses on slab-board floor with galvanised iron roof.

In the early 1890's D.W.D. Comins found in Guyana that the immigrants from India congregated round a mulla or pandit, listening to the tales or sacred books read by him. This happened in Trinidad also. On Sundays visits were exchanged between the immigrants of different estates and community dinner was arranged for 100 to 150 Indians at a few places. Rice and curry were served on the platain leaves.[35] The immigrants also amused themselves with their own athletics and sports like *kabaddi*, their own free style ofwrestling, etc and dancing, singing, playing the flute *(bansuri* or *bansi)* and the *sarangi* (Indian guitar) drumming (dholak-beats), etc.

Evennow in Surinam, Guyana and Trinidad one can see *dholak, hurka, dhap, tassa, dhol, nagara* and other drums.[36] There are brass and bronze musical instruments for accompaniments to the drums: *Jhajh* (two brass discs), *majira* (two small cups whose edges are beaten against each other), *dand-tal* (a forty inches long bronze stick beaten with another small curved stick), kartal (two pairs of rectangular wooden pieces) and *tanpura* (a one-stringed instrument. Most of these are in use in Trinidad and Guyana also. But harmonium and chac-chac (maracas) have also become popular.

In the field of vocal music the Indians mostly brought folksongs. Even now they sing *hori, jhumar* and *Kabira* at the Phagwa

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festival around March. *Thumri* and *gazal* are also sung on special occasions. But *rasiya* originating in western U.P. (India) is disappearing from Trinidad and Surinam. Alha-Udal (Roodal), a martial song, is heard rarely. The singing of the Ramayana (Ramain) and *bhajans* (devotional songs) are still very popular.

In Surinam there are several types of Hindu songs–those traditional songs brought from India and often printed in books; the ritual songs and folksongs; and modern *bhajans*. One Chhotakan Lal of Trinibad published around 1973 in Calcutta (India) quite a few of his own *chowtal* songs.[37] In Surinam also some local compositions can be seen.

The *Sohor* is sung at the time of childbirth, *chhathi* and *barahi* (six and twelve days respectively after the childbirth). The *matkor* song is sung on the eve of a wedding when the ceremonial digging of soil is done. The *pachara* is sung in honour of *Dih* (earth), and the goddesses Durga and Kali. There are special songs at the Hindu weddings–some during *imli ghotai* (crushing of tamarind or mango leaf), *bhanvar* at the time of the circumbulating of the ceremonial fire by the couple.

The special *marao* (bamboo tent) made for a wedding has a *vedi* with symbolic designs with colour, rice, etc. In Surinam some designs done with ground rice is called *aipan (alpana)* as in some northern and eastern parts of India but in Trinidad and Guyana these are generally called *chauk*.

In spite of the influence of urbanisation, westernisation or creolisation in the rural areas of Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam during the last four decades the 'family' is still a 'magic' word. Strong sub-group loyalties are built around it. The stable family system helps the Indian business class or the agricultural class to sustain itself.[38] The older males still exercise some authority in the extended family.

Hindu families avoid a marriage even between distant cousins but the Muslims permit cross-cousin marriage. There are some joking

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relationships and a *ghar-damad* (son-in-law living in the house of the father-in-law) is jeered at. The daughter-in-law and the younger brother's wife puts *orhani* (head scarf) in the presence of the elders.

If the Hindus have retained their respect for their scriptures like the *Ramacharitmanas* of Tulsidas the Muslims respect their *Quoran* as the infallible word of the Allah. While the *mandirs* (temples) are the centres of religious and social gatherings of the Hindus the mosques *(masjids)* serve the same purpose. The first Hindu temple was built in Trinidad around 1860. In 1870 there were two temples in Guyana. Now there are hundreds of temples and mosques in these two countries and in Surinam.

In the late nineteenth century the Muslim festival of Muharram (Husain or Hosay) with its *tazia* procession had become so popular that even the Hindus participated in it. It became a sort of an 'Indian national day' or defiance and in 1884 the Trinidad police fired on such a procession. The Madrasi festival of firewalking was also very popular[39] and even the north Indian immigrants took part in it. Comins in his report (1893) said that the Muharram in Guyana was dominated by Hindus even though it was a Shia festival. However, the commissioners who had reported on the Indians of Guyana in 1870 had found this festival better than the *Holi* of the Hindus.[40] In Guyana and Surinam also the Muharram had led to riots. In Jamaica the indentured Indians were allowed two days' leave for muharrum.[41]

Since the late nineteenth century *Diwali,* the festival of lights of the Hindus celebrated around October and the Phagwa *(Holi),* the festival of colour, celebrated around March are the most popular Indian celebrations in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam, In Guyana there is a national holiday on the day of Phagwa, while in Trinidad Diwali is a national festival. In the Aranguez Savannah of San Juan (Trinidad) thousands of people assemble in Holi, playing with dried colour *(abir)* and coloured water in syringes. The National Phagwa Festival Council of Trinidad organizes competitions in which *chowtal* singing groups or music bands, dancing, jumping and merry making

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with complete abandon, take part. *Chowtal* singing contests for bands *(goles)* are held both for the north and the south, special brochures on the significance of this festival are issued and special programmes are arranged on the radio and the television. Even the newspapers carry special supplements on this day.

Sometimes the *chowtal* parties of Surinam and Guyana compete with those of Trinidad for prizes. In fact, the Phagwa procession is dubbed a Hindu Carnival.

The ballads of Gopichand, the Krishnaleela, Rasleela, Harishchandra Sabha and Indra Sabha are no longer popular mainly due to advent of the Hindi cinema, specially the religious movies. However, Ramaleela is still enacted at the time of *dashami* (dashahara) festival around October when in some areas the goddess Durga, the malevolent form of Shakti, is worshipped.

The Eid (Idul Fitra)[42] and Bakrid festivals of the Muslims are observed with due solemnity. Some Hindus also participate in the *Eid-Milan*.

The Muslims and the Hindus had come in the same ships, worked together and lived together. So their social intercourse was free and cordial. But a marriage between a Hindu and a Muslim is not favoured even now. Unlike in India there were no Hindu-Muslim riots in the West Indies in the 1920s, 30s and 40s but a few cases of tension were reported. For example, there was some opposition by the Tackvaeyatul Islamic Association of Trinidad to the building of a temple near a mosque in late 1930 and in 1946 a few communal incidents occurred in Chaguanas.[43]

However, both the communities actively worked for the collection of subscriptions to the Bengal Relief Fund in 1943-44 and they participated in the Indian centenary celebrations in 1938 in Guyana and in 1845 in Trinidad.

Even the Presbyterians in Trinidad gave Indian names to their churches: Aramalaya (abode of rest), *Dharma ka Suraj* (the sun or splendour of moral norm or religion), *Jagat ka Prakash* (Light of the

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world) and *Bhor ka Tara* (Morning star). They also trained the Indians for leadership by setting up church *Panchayats* with *mukhia* (Chairman) and took an active part in the Indian pressure groups.

The Hindu organisations like the Sanatan Dharma Association, the Sanatan Dharma Board of control and later Sanatan Dharma Sabha, the reforming Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, the Kabirpanth Association and the Shivanarayani Sabha on the one hand and the Muslim organisations like the Tackveeyatul Islamic Association in Trinidad and elsewhere played a significant role in the retention of Indian culture in the West Indies. However, the priests, both Hindu and Muslim, played no less asignificant role in this regard. Even the leaders with secular and progressive ideas like Edward Luckhoo, Sidney Jaikaran, H.B.Gajraj and Chedi Jagan of Guyana and A.C. Rienzi, Rudranath Capideo and Basudeo Pandey have helped the retention of this culture in their own way. Legislators like Timothy Roodal and Sarran Teelucksingh and Indian professionals, doctors and lawyers, even though westernized and creolised, have helped the retention of Indian culture in general.

In the post-independence period the number of visitors from India-scholars, the Indian High Commission staff, wrestlers, yogis, preachers, film personalities-has increased. This has led to an unprecedented cultural revival among the Indians. The successive governments of Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam have formally recognised the Indian cultural element in the society. In the university of the West Indies history and cultural anthropology of India are taught on the St. Augustine campus and the students write their dissertations on Indian culture. In short, the future of Indian culture in the West Indies is bright and the Indian segment of the West Indian society has come to stay.

Refereces

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SOME PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE NATURE OF PRODUCTION AND CLASS-RELATIONS ON THE UNECONOMIC FARMS IN WESTERN INDIA UNDER COLONIAL RULE, 1850-1950

Brahma Nand

I. The Concept

The category of "Uneconomic farms" in the context of western India was used by almost all investigators of rural economy druing the early twentieth century. This was also the period when the proportion of such farms rose very sharply. With some variations the term was used, and is still being used, to imply farms which failed to meet the subsistence requirement of the farmer and as a result the owner had to work partly either as a tenant or labourer and if these expedients failed to rescue him, he became dependent on usurer. In the Deccan, George Keatinge (Rural Economy....., pp. 52-53) considered a farm below 40 acres to be an uneconomic holding. This size he argued would differ for different tracts; while 3 acres of garden land could support a family in the Surat district, in the dry tract of the Deccan poor soil of 30 acres would not suffice. According to Harold Mann (Study II, P. 43) an economic holding was one which provided for an averege family at the minimum standard of life. He lowered the limit of uneconomic farms in drycrop regions to lower than 10-20 acres depending the nature of soil (*Study* I, p. 50). Harold Mann found that an overwhelming proportion of holding were operating on an uneconomic basis, accounting for more than three-fourth of holdings in two villagtes studied by him (Study II, pp. 42-43). Taking into account the actual cultivated/operated area

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(and not the owned area), H. Mann found that 60 per cent of the cultivators in one village and 77 per cent in the other village cultivated less than what was needed to support them. The main source of income for these cultivators of very small patches was either agricultural or non-agricultural labour, and agriculture was merely a subsidiary occupation.

For the village of Sarola Kasar in Ahmednagar district, L.B. Jagalpure and K.D. Kale (*Sarola Kasar*, p. 413), took 15 acres as economic holding, and found that 2/3rd of the cultivators had uneconomic holdings insufficient for their subsistence. They either (a) let their land and worked as labourers, (b) cultivated their land and, when not engaged in cultivation, worked as labourers for others, (c) cultivated their own land and also additional land leased in from others on rent, or (d) combined these methods according to their convenience. V.G. Ranade estimated an economic holding in the Konkan region (excluding the coastal tract) to be not less then five acres. For a typical village (Roth Khurd) as many as 76.92 per cent of the holdings were found to be uneconomic. (*Konkan Village*, pp. 21-23). Similar picture was obtained by S. Subbarama Aiyar for a Malabar village. The proportion of cultivators with uneconomic holdings below 5 acres in size was estimated to be 78.3 per cent (*Malabar Village*, pp. 30-37).

J.M. Mehta defined an economic holding as one which yielded an income sufficient to maintain a peasant and his family. The size varied according to the nature of the soil. In garden lands near Surat an uneconomic holding would be less than 2½ acres; for the rest of Gujarat, it will be below 20 acres. In a village (Bhalkad, Petald taluka) in Baroda State 96.5 per cent of the cultivators had uneconomic holding, the approximate proportion was 90 per cent for entire Gujarat (*Rural Gujarat*, pp. 48-49). G.C. Mukhtyar took 15 acres as size of economic holding and estimated that 87.2 per cent holding were below this limit in Atgam village of Bulsar taluka in Surat District (*South Gujarat Village*, pp. 112-114). For Olpad taluka of Surat district, J.B. Shukla adopted 20 acres necessary for maintaining an average family of five as the size of economic holding implying

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thereby that nearly 90 per cent of holdings in the taluka were uneconomic in nature (*Gujarat Taluka*, p. 85). M.B. Desai also endorsed the above estimates for uneconomic holdings and placed the figure well-above 90 per cent for Gujarat in 1942-43 (*Gujarat Economy*, p. 110) J.C. Kumarappa estimated that in Matar taluka of Kheda district (*Survey*, p. 70) about 70.86 per cent of peasant families had incomes below the minimum standard of subsistence.

From the above it is clear thet most of the writers have adopted consumption criteria for defining and identifiying uneconomic holdings. The holdings which did not meet the minimum subsistence requirments for cultivator's family were considered as uneconomic holidings. The second criteria which is less often used but which could be more fruitful in illuminating the economic behaviour of uneconomic farms is production. The net return obtained from uneconomic farms after deducting the cost of various inputs from the value of total production shows negative or only marginally positive farm income. The assumption that production process or uneconomic farms does not yield profit need not imply that no surplus value is created, but it simply meant that such surplus was diverted across other unproductive channels in the form of rent, interest and state demands. Such categorisation is not entirely without problems because a large proportion of the production does not enter market but is consumed at home and the family labour which is the largest item among the cost components remains an unpaid item and generally not assigned any wages at the current market rates. it is, therefore, problematic to submit such items to market calculations which do not enter the market and under circumstances when market does not necessarily influence the economic behaviour of the farm to any considerable degree. (D.R. Gadgil, V.R. Gadgil, *Farm Business*, p. 91; Witold Kula, *Feudal System*, pp. 40-41).

Theoretically, both approaches should give the same result, as low or negative income from production process is reflected in the insufficiency of family subsistence. But here arises another problem. If we wish to obtain an accurate picture of the internal dynamic of

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such farms we must have a vast number of farm budgets which are often difficult to procure. To overcome this difficulty, we have assumed in this paper that all the dwarf-holdings below 5 acres in size are uneconomic holdings, although a small proportion of such farm when favourably located with respect to fertility, irrigation, transport, market and other facilities might function as economically viable units of production. Moreover, we assume that this is the lowest possible limit for estimating the magnitude of uneconomic farms and their actual proportion will be much higher as the unaccounted number of holdings in higher acreage groups will still be uneconomical. They may include even the large landed estates (talukdars in Gujarat, zamindars in sind) which were threatened with disintegration due to increasing intervention of the usury and were operating with recurring economic loss. The range of applicability of this concept is certainly a wider one than assumed by the earlier writers. The proportion of uneconomic farms being very large, the concept is of vital importance in explaining the recurrent problems of colonial agriculture, its persistent crisis, the long-term stagnation and under-development.

II. Estimates of Magnitude

The simple equation of *meerasdars* (hereditary landowners) with emerging rich peasantry and *upris* with tenants or poor peasants, made by Ravinder Kumar, is based on false assumption of homogeneity in the real status of *meerasdars*. (R. Kumar, D.A. Low (ed.), *Soundings*... pp. 25-58) It is not appropriate to use tenurial categories as interchangeable with socio-economic categories, because their social evolutions is not similar. Moreover, the inequitable colonial land revenue policy is assumed to be main cause leading to the process of differentiation among peasantry in Ravinder Kumar's hypothesis. This hypothesis does not stand the scrutiny of empirical varification. There were *meerasdars* of all proportions. As early as 1852, Settlement Reports on Ahmednagar district pointed out that about one-fifth of the *meeras* land was leased out from big

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meerasdars to small ones. It implied that a sizeable fractio of *meerasdars* did not find their own holdings economically viable units to support their families and as a result were compelled to lease in extra land. Almost a similar proportion of meeras land was also cultivated by *upris*. So, nearly two-fifth of the *meeras* land was cultivated by tenants with doubtful economic viability as production units in agriculture (*S.R.B.G. (NS) CXXIII*, pp. 16, 52, 86, 107, 126, 143). I am also not sure about the grounds for Ravinder Kumar's assumption because *meerasdars* no longer exist as a category for enumeration in official records by late ninteenth century.

A random sample of 551 peasant households compiled by Deccan Riots Commission in 1875 revealed on close scruitiny that 64 per cent in poona and 55.7 per cent in Ahmednagar had an average annual income of less then Rs. 100, which was quite insufficient to maintain the family. (*D.R.C. Report*, Appendix *'A'* Bombay 1876). Another inquiry conducted in 1888 found that a very large proportion of cultivators were in short supply of foodgrains in all parts of the Bombay presidency. In some districts, the percentage of cultivators, below subsistence level reached as high as two-third (Khandesh and Belgaum) and even three-fourth of cultivators (Nasik, Kolaba and Ratnagiri), and on an average they had foodgrains to maintain their families for six months only. (*Duffering Inquiry Report* 1888; pp. 30, 37, 42).

A more close and continuous estimate of the evolution of uneconomic farms can be made from 1875 onwards on the basis of increasing proportion of dwarf-sized holding below 5 acres. In 1891, the proportion of holdings below 5 acres was reported to be highest in the Konkan region (59 per cent); in Gujarat these accounted for 43 per cent and in Deccan 17.7 per cent. (*Provincial Reports...* Simla, 1894, para 21). In the worst affected districts (Kheda, Kolaba and Ratnagiri) the proportion reached nearly three-fourth of all holdings by 1920s. For other areas also it was very high. The details are given in Table I.

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Table I

Proportion of Dwarfholdings (below 5 acres) to the Total Number of holdings in various Districts of Bombay presidency

	1874-75	1880-81	1901-02	1921-22	(percent) 1936-37
Poona	17.71	17.66	18.48	47.23	46.00
Ahmednagar	5.52	5.97	5.88	27.10	29.08
Satara	25.15	26.28	25.01	61.46	60.28
Sholapur	3.01	3.41	3.63	20.13	23.84
Khandesh (E)	10.65	9.51	9.26	31.58	42.29
(W)			8.39	12.55	20.57
Nasik	12.93	15.53	14.84	32.70	34.72
Ahmedabad	37.33	37.54	42.71	54.17	55.43
Kheda	57.91	56.37	61.49	76.79	76.16
Panch-Mahals	51.05	47.11	39.43	49.69	59.18
Broach	43.39	44.05	46.13	50.32	59.18
Surat	75.22	74.74	51.80	70.57	68.86
Thana	56.93	57.32	59.65	69.79	69.13
Kolaba	59.45	58.97	67.59	74.65	71.46
Kanara	52.66	53.27	56.69	65.79	72.31
Ratnagiri	56.89	56.2	63.36	73.27	78.22
Belgaum	13.98	14.01	15.34	49.40	52.45
Bijapur	4.28	4.45	4.53	20.81	24.69
Dharwar	8.79	9.94	10.59	38.26	37.63

Sources : Figures for 1874-75 and 1880-81 are from *Annual Jamabandi Reports of the Bombay presidency* for respective years, for 1904-21 are from *Statistical Atlas of Bombay Presidency*, 1906, 1925, Calcutta; for 1936-37 from land Revenue Administration Report of Bombay Presidency.

The evolution of uneconomic holdings cannot be entirely attributed to Hindu Law of Inheritance of demographic pressure, as believed by George Keatinge (p. 53) and many others. As noted in

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Table I, the maximum increase in such holdings took place between 1900 and 1920. As far as customary law of Inheritance is concerned, it prevailed since times immemorial and did not suddenly become operative during 1900-20. Further, there is no evidence of demographic pressure either. The population in various parts of Bombay Presidency either did not increase or increased only very marginally at least upto 1921 (*Census* : 1872-1921). Therefore, demographic factor cannot account for extraordinary increase in the number of uneconomic farms. The process rather appears to be synchronous with the changing agrarian relations and reflects partial depeasantisation in the countryside. In 1876, the proportion of occupancies transferred to moneylenders were estimated around one-eighth in Deccan (*D.R.C.*, para 76). Between 1883-1891, land paying 10 percent of revenue had been sold, 2/5th going to moneylenders; while land paying 17 1/2 per cent of revenue had been mortgaged, 4/7th going to the sowkars. (*Deccan Ag. Relief Act Commission*, 1891-92, paras 12-14). The Famine Commission of 1901 noted that at least one-fourth of the cultivators in the Bombay presidency had lost possession of their lands. (*Famine Commission Report 1901*, p. 108). By 1943, non-agriculturists had acquired about 30.7 per cent of the land in Bombay presidency. (*Statistical Atlas*, 1950, p. 58). There must have been innumerable transfers of land from one section of agriculturists to another which must have accelerated the process further but it cannot be exactly accounted for because we do not have continuous data regarding this. It is clear, however that elemental changes occuring in agrarian relations influenced the evolution of uneconomic farms in a profound way during late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

III. Nature of Production

The underlying features of production process on the uneconomic farms were inertia and stagnation, labour-intensive techniques, preponderance of subsistence crops over Commerical Farming and low level of inputs and technology in production.

Table II

Farm Incomes According to Size of Farms on 557 Farms in Wai Taluka, Satara District (1937-38)

Size of Farms (Acres)	0-5 Acres	5-7.5	7.5-10	10-12.5	12.5-15	15-17.5	17.5-20	Above 20	Total
Farm income (Rs.)									
Below-Minus 50	4	5	5	4	7	1	1	6	33
Minus 50 to 0	20	12	10	16	10	5	1	2	76
0-50	24	34	21	19	17	9	5	5	134
50-100	14	19	23	22	20	10	3	11	122
100-150	4	6	16	14	15	7	6	13	81
150-200	2	1	5	4	4	6	3	7	32
200-250	.	1	4	5	8	2	3	5	28
Above 250	.	2	1	5	4	5	9	25	51
Total	68	80	85	89	85	45	31	74	557

Source: D.R. Gadgil, V.R. Gadgil, *A Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka*, Poona, 1940.

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(i) Inertial Frame of Production: The uneconomic farms were gripped by a terrible inertia and stagnation, and production process was carried on under these circumstances. They had fluctuations and vicissitudes, sometimes even violent vicissitudes, but no perceptible secular trend towards dynamism. Most of the farmers were in the category of negative farm income groups or low income groups. (Table II). In a survey in Wai taluka, it was found that farms below 7.5 acres showed very few cases of incomes above Rs. 200. (D.R. Gadgil, V.R. Gadgil, *Wai Taluka*, p. 99). This implied that there was hardly any scope for extending scale of production. Even if they could show little expansion under exceptionally favourable circumstances, the functional possibilities of their growth were extremely limited. The level of production remained with in the narrow confines of simple reproduction. Even this cycle of simple reproduction was continually interrupted by recurrent famines in the colonial milieau. Since the income derived from these farms was low, per head consumption standard of the families were low. The level of saving and investment was also low. Consequently, the farms suffered from chronic shortage of any form of capital investment. As a result, the level of production could not be enhanced to any substantial degree.

(ii) Labour-Intensive Production Techniques: Production was conducted mainly by labour intensive techniques and intensity of capital investment was miserably low. (J. Mollison, *Agriculture* I, p. 135). The uneconomic farm does not need outside labour. Quite the contrary, it is a source of labour for outside farms. (H. Mann, *Study* 2, p. 133) The availability of the family labour was plentiful. Moreover, it did not had to be paid for. The Chayanovian glorification of the survival of small peasantry by intense self-exploitation is quite unappropriate because even with this overexertion they fail to meet subsistence requirement

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for the family and labour increasing became the major source of their income. The intense self-exploitation by employing more and more family labour implied that the average per acre productivity on small farms could be higher than big farms in some cases but this had obvious limits. (K. Bhardwaj, *Production Conditions*, pp. 11-13). To overcome the chronic shortage of capital, labour was used more intensively as substitute for capital but beyond a certain limit this substitution became unproductive and futile. The labour substitution of capital should not be carried on an infinite scale. However, it reached its extreme limits on small uneconomic farms. The preference for labour-intensive technique over capital-intensive was not a matter of free-will or deliberate choice, but an economic necessity. In fact, the choice was simply not there.

(iii) **Preponderance of Subsistence Production over Commercial Production:** The bulk of the cultivators were too poor to grow anything but the cheapest grains. The drycrops of the least remunerative kind were almost the only crops grown. The chief products of these farms were inferior cereals like jowari, bajri etc. (*B.P.G., Ahmednagar*, 1884, p. 456). The first and the most obvious concern of the small peasant household was to secure the subsistence for the family and that explains the major preoccupation of the uneconomic farms with the cheapest gains. The cultivation of these cheap grains was a consequence rather than a cause of the lack of economic viability of these farms. In periods of recurrent crop-failures and famines the cultivation of these grains gave slight return for the seed and labour expended. The uneconomic farm had in-built constraints on production. Being mostly small in size, owned by the poorest section of peasantry, production was in the first place subsistence oriented. The crops were basically not raised for exchange in the market. (D.R. Gadgil, *Farm Business*, pp. 91-92). On the other hand, the uneconomicfarmer was

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under the constant compulsion of various agencies of surplus appropriation like landlord, usurer and state to produce certain proportion for sale in the market to meet the obligations of rent, interest and land revenue demand. Hence, it would be wrong to assume that the small uneconomic farms were wholly subsistence-oriented. To maintain an equilibrium or even quasi-equilibrium between these dual forces of constraints and compulsions was always precarious. It was always a delicate balance between market and non-market sectors. Cotton was found to be specially suitable as it was mainly a dry crop and did-not require any special extra investment for production. (J.M. Mehta, p. 140).

Not infrequently, the cultivator preferred to grow mixed rows of crops. This was partly an insurance against bad weather. If one crop failed, other might mature at least partially. All the eggs were not carried in the same basket. This was also partly to obviate the necessity of rotation. But, an additional and more important consideration than these might be the economic one. If one crop failed, other may offset the loss to some degree. If both crops matured, it would enhance the cultivator's income significantly. (J. Mollison, *Agriculture I, pp. 42-45)*. It, of course, required additional labour but usually small cultivators had plentiful family labour at his disposal. It does not appear likely that market component was entirely absent from the uneconomic farms but it could not assume primacy over the subsistence component due to the limitations noted above. It meant that market prices did influence production decision on these farms but this influence was counterbalanced to a certain degree by consideration of cost of investment. The cultivator grew only those market crops which fetched him high prices but at the same time involved no extra investment or low investment, and that is why cotton was the most obvious choice. As market did

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not involve a large fraction of the farm product, higher prices did not contribute to the prosperity of the uneconomic farmer. (H. Mann, *The Social Framework*, Chapter 9).

(iv) Low Level of Inputs and Technology: The uneconomic farms were incapable of adopting advanced techiniques. They produced with archaic tools and techniques, and what is more crucial they did not often possess a complete set of traditional tools and had to borrow or hire from other well-off farmers and had to repay either with labour or produce or money. (R.D. Vol. 36/280/11884; 36/1523/1886; J. Mollison, *Agriculture* I, pp. 135-69; G. Keatinge, p. 132). Even when iron ploughs were replacing wooden ploughs and machines were being introduced on large farms, the small farms continued to operate with wooden ploughs and without any machinery. (*S.R. B.G. (NS) DLXXXIX*, P. 5; *DLXXVII*, p. 6, *DXC*, P. 5; H. Mann, *Study II*, pp. 57-59).

The problem of livestock was especially acute on uneconomic farms located in the Deccan region. It often required the labour of 4 to 6 and in some instances even 8 bullocks to pull the heavy Deccan plough. The cultivator of small holding never possessed the necessary stock of plough cattle and had to depend on hired cattle. The member of plough cattle did not register any appreciable increase over long term. (*Ag. Statistics of Br. India*, 1891-1951). The shortage of cattle had at least two harmful consequences for small scale cultivation; firstly, the tillage was often neglected; secondly, the farm was in short supply of manures and acted as formidable barrier in the augmentation of farm productivity per acre. Moreover, the small uneconomic farmers kept inferior quality of livestock. The breeds reared by them were pigmy and stunted. They consumed considerable quantity of fodder, but work output was low. (George Keatinge, *Rural Economy*.

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The irrigation facilities were essential for cultivation of superior commercial crops as well as for enhancing productivity per acre. But the uneconomic cultivator did not possess any irrigation resources of his own. The average cost of sinking a well was Rs. 400 in the Deccan which was quite beyond the range of small cultivator with uneconomic farm. (George Keatinge, p. 112). Even when irrigation canals were opened up in certain areas, they became monopoly of large landowners and small cultivator did not derive any benefits. He was usually deprived of state irrigation facilities through unscruplous manipulation of the bureaucratic network by big and powerful landowners of companies. Even in areas where the small holding could have gained some economic viablity with state irrigation canals, they failed to do so because of unfair competition with large holders of companies. (*M.P.C.C. Report*, pp. 85-87). There is no evidence of better seeds or artificial fertilizers being used on uneconomic farms. (*Royal Commission*, p. 95). As a result of the low level of inputs and technology, the average productivity per acre on uneconomic farms was only about one-third of the advanced farms. (S.R.B.G., X, pp. 106-10).

IV. Class Relations

The nature of class relations prevailing upon the uneconomic farms were far more complex in nature compared to other farms. As a small cultivator, he had to meet the land revenue demand of the colonial state, and because his own holding was insufficient to support his family, he had to lease-in extra land from other landowners as a tenant, and also seek additional employment as wage labourer on the outside farms of well-to-do cultivators. This introduced numerous complexities in social relations of the uneconomic farmers who became intricately intertwined with numerous chains of dependency upon the surrounding social sphere.

(a) **Colonial State:** The land revenue demand of the colonial state was a paramount charge on the holding of the cul-

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tivator and in the eventuality of its nonpayment could result in the alienation of land. (*Land Revenue Code*, 1876). In the initial phase, the colonial land revenue demand was very exorbitant and illiberal. This had drained the countryside of its agricultural capital and accounted for the poverty and distress of vast majority of cultivators. (*S.R.B.G., CXLV*, pp. 148-49_. This had resulted in pauperism and dependence of cultivators on usury, sharp decline in cultivation, depopulation, heavy outstanding balances of land revenue arrears and constant necessity of remissions. (Auckland Colvin, *DRC*, para 10).

It was believed by J.M. Mehta (and also by Neil Charlesworth, M.B. McAlpin and many others) that land revenue burden in terms of real produce per acre was lowered during the second half of nineteenth century owing to persistent inflation. They ignore that revisions during this period relied too much on arithmetical data and were applied with too little regard to the actual condition of the cultivators. (C.W. Carpenter and Mr. Lyon, *DRR*, 1876). The decline in land revenue demand in terms of real produce is to a very large extent illusory, since it is based on price movements which occurred in inverse relationship with harvests. More often price rise was caused by poor harvest and fall in production and therefore, did not reflect agricultural prosperity. In the Deccan region, for instance, on an average peasants received a normal crop once in about three years, the other two being either years of total or partial crop failure. (*S.R.B.G. CVII*, P. 73). If prices doubled during 1876-78 famines or increased 4 times during 1899-1900 famines, it merely reflected peasant's misfortune. (*Prices and Wages* 1862-1919). Hence such price rise cannot be considered a sound criteria for conversion of land revenue burden in terms of real produce. Moreover, cost of cultivation increased simultaneously with price rise, and hence, the rise in land

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revenue rates should have represented a fraction and not the whole of the rise in prices. Also, a margin of profit should have been left for the petty-cultivators during successive revision. On the contrary, the new assessments often absorbed the whole margin of profits and encroached upon the subsistence. (*P.S.S. Report*, 1973, Ch. III). The colonial revenue system which levied from the cultivators the same amount yearly without regard to the outturn of the season, led to borrowing. The ryot was called upon to pay the instalments at inconvenient times. (*RNP*, 1875). The elements of inflexibility and arbitrariness remained a part of the land revenue policy throughout the colonial rule, and for every rupee paid into the treasury, the cultivator probably paid three of four to his sowkar.

(B) **Usury**: The credit activities of usurers had multiplied rapidly with the inception of the British rule. The customary restraints of moneylenders were removed by the colonial legal system, which resulted in increasing rapacity of the usurers. Whereas the prosperous cultivators paid 6 to 12 per cent interest rates, it went upto 36 to 75 per cent in the case of poor and uneconomic farmers. (*Bombay banking Enquiry*, pp. 55, 66-6). As the debts multiplied, they were converted in to mortgage of moveable and immoveable property including land. The acquisition of land by sowkars was increasing as discussed earlier. The sowkar found it to his advantage to keep the ryot in nominal possession of the land and to take the difference between what was produced and what was absolutely required for the support of the cultivator. (*DRC*, APPX. 'A') Jairus Banaji wrongly equated the domination of small peasantry by usury with capitalist domination in general. (*EPW*, Annual No. 1977). This is a wrong notion because (a) the small peasantry is not yet alienated from land, (b) usury inhibits the use of modern machinery and extended reproduction on farms, so essential for capitalism. The

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Table III
Khata of a Cultivator (1863-73)

			Rs. as. p.
Received in cash from sowkar in	1863		10-0-0
		Rs. as. p.	
Compound interest charged in	1863	3-12-0	
	1864	5-2-6	
	1865	7-2-6	
	1866	9-12-0	
	1867	13-2-0	
	1868	18-6-0	
	1869	25-2-0	
	1870	34-8-0	
	1871	47-10-0	
	1872	65-10-0	
	1873	90-0-0	320-2-6
			330-2-6
Amount paid by the Cultivator	1865	10-0-0	
	1868	15-0-0	
	1869	10-0-0	
	1871	25-0-0	
	1874	50-2-6	110-2-6
Balance still due			220-0-0

Source: Deccan Riots Report, App. 'C', Bombay, 1876, p. 240.

sowkars were able to multiply the debt fantastically by charging usurious rate of interest which prevented accumulation of saving and investment and acted as a strong disincentive and barrier in extending the scale of production. It can be seen from a simple glance at the

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Khata of a small cultivator, who took a loan of ten rupees only and having paid Rs. 110 during the following decade, still found he had a staggering debt of Rs. 222 (Table III). The sowkar also resorted to systematic cheating and roguery by tempering documents, not giving receipt, taking payments and denying them in the court, not giving recepit, taking payments and denying them in the court, carrying away whole crops, bullocks, stores of grain and flatly denying knowledge of them in the court. (*DRR* Auckland Colvin Memo. para 37). The colonial law and legal institutions increased the power of the moneylender to an unprecedented degree, who resorted to extreme forms of oppression on the small and uneconomic cultivators including imprisonment as well as appropriation of their produce and property.

(C) **Landlordism and Tenancy:** Most of the uneconomic cultivators had to lease-in extra land and work as tenants to the landowners. The land under tenancy cultivation had reached upto 1/3rd of the total cultivated area by 1936-37. (*Land Rev. Admn, Report* 1936-37, pp. 100-22). There were no rent or tenancy regulation by colonial state for most of the period covered here, so terms and conditions remained customary or contracutal in nature. The commonest form of lease in Deccan and Gujarat was *batai* or cropsharing on *ardhel* basis. Landlord and tenant shared all expenses except tenant's labour and divided the produce equally between them. (*S.R.B.G. DXC*, p. 6; *DXXXI*, p. 8. *M.P.C.C. Report*, pp. 48-49). In case of *jirayat* crops like bajri and jowar, the tenant paid the cost of seeds. In case of fixed grain or cash rents, landlord paid none of the expenses. (*S.R.B.G. DCXLII*, p. 5; *DCXXXIV*, p. 13). The burden of land revenue assessment was invariably passed on the tenant, and in case the tenant refused to pay the assessment, he was evicted in the subsequent year. (*S.R.B.G.*, CCCV, p. 10; CCCLXXXI, p. 12). On fertile soils, landlord

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obtained 2/3 to 3/4 of gross produce as rent. In many talukas of Belgaum and Bijapur, landowners demanded fixed amount of money, usually 2 to 3 times the assessment, in addition to customary produce rent. (*S.R.B.G.* DLIII, p. 16; CCCCXLV. p. 10, DLVII, p. 11, DLX, p. 11) Where fixed rents in grain or cash were paid, landlord paid the assessment. he did not provide seed or cattle or advance or contribute *haks* of the village artisans, nor did he remit any rent in case of crop failure. (DLXXXIV, p. 8) If a tenant could not pay rent one year owing to failure of crops, he paid double the next year or he had to sell an animal or two. It was not customary to remit rents unless a sequence of bad seasons followed. (DXVIII, p. 11, DLLII, p. 16). In Konkan region, fixed grain rents were common. They varied from 16 maunds on superior soils to 6 maunds on inferior soils. The grain rents absorbed 1/2 to 2/3 of produce but agreements were not on crop share basis because landlord did not want to run the risk of any mishap to the crop. (CCXC, pp. 14-15, CCCII, p. 13, CCCCXXIX, p. 9) The tenants in Konkan were at an obvious disadvantage. Under a share tenancy risk and produce were shared by tenants and landowners, while in fixed rent tenancy the risk fell on the tenant only. The former system kept both the parties interested in the process of production while in latter the landlord was a sleeping partner. In Kanara district, the competition for land consequent upon the greater density of population helped the landlords to maintain higher rents. (Dinkar Desai, 1940, pp. 7-9) In Ratnagiri district, rents were fixed by appraisement of standing crops, known as *abhavani system*. Rents were fixed arbitrarily high at the discretion of the landlord. Moreover, tenant was also subjected to forced labour and numerous forms of extra-economic coercion. (A.V. Patvardhan, *Serfdom*, pp. 8-16). In general terms, cash rents moved up slowly in accordance with rise in prices. The pressure of customary rents was also in-

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creasing. Apart from grain rents, fixed amount of money was being demanded in Khandesh and southern districts after First World War. Around the same period a levy of 40 to 50 bundles of straw per acre was also introduced. (*S.R.B.G.* CCXC, p. 15; dcxxiv, P. 7).

(D) **Wage Labour:** The uneconomic farmer was also compelled to seek employment on outside farms as wage labourer. It has been argued by George Keatinge that from 1870 to 1912, money wages of field labourers increased by about 200 per cent whereas real wages increased by 20-50 per cent in Deccan districts. (G. Keatinge, pp. 70-72). K.L. Datta Enquiry Committee and FindlyShirras observed the same upward trend in the movement of wages. These estimates do not properly account for the duration of employment. Further, the uneconomic farmer regarded off-farm employment as socially degrading, as it subordinated him to prosperous farmer who employed him. The participation of uneconomic farmers as wage labourers was limited because of their attachment to their own tiny farms and rented fields, which absorbed a large proportion of their labour time especially during peak seasons. Like Middle peasant farms, uneconomic farms produced subsistence crops with family labour, the latter did not produce under the conditions of social isolation but entered complex social relations with various classes in subordinate position.

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ROHTAK IN REVOLT : A STUDY IN PEASANTS UPSURGE IN 1857

S.C. Mittal

1.1. On May 10, 1857 the great uprising broke out at Meerut. Three days later, it spread throughout the country. To call it a 'product of Indian ignorance or superstition,[1] or a sudden affair resulting from the introduction of new grease cartridge with the fat of cows of pigs seems to be a very simplistic explanation. Of course, the discontent had been long blewing, the greased cartridges only hastened it,.[2] It was the culmination which proved to be the last straw on the camel's back.[3] In fact as the sequence of events showed that it was a pre-mediated, anti-British, patriotic uprising but ill-organised effort.

In this paper a number of pertinent questions have been raised, for example, what were the local issues in Rohtak District which stimulated the great uprising ? What was the nature and character of the great uprising in the district ? Was it a sepoy revolt or the peasant upsurge or was it related with the popular masses ? Which classes took more active part in the uprising ?

1.2. A number of factors contributed to the intensity and extensiveness of the uprising in Haryana region particularly in Rohtak District, which was a part of the North-Western Provinces. With the treaty of Sirji-Angengaon on December 30, 1803, the East India Company had become the dominant power in the northern India. Haryana was included in the Presidency of Bengal with a Resident at Delhi to administer it. Rohtak was also kept under the administration of the resident as 'assigned territory'.

In 1819 the 'assigned territory' was divided in three divisions

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namely the central, northern and southern. Rohtak was included in the northern division. In 1824 Rohtak for the first time was declared as a district which included Gohana, Kharkhuda, Mandoni, Beri, Meham, Bhiwani and Rohtak proper.[4] Again in November, 1834 it was a Subdivision of Agra Presidency and again in February, 1836 it became the part of the newly formed the North-Western Provinces. In 1841 temporarily it was abolished as a district. Part of Gohana was merged with Panipat and the rest part with Delhi. But in 1841 it was again formed. It continued to be a part of the Delhi Division, till the end of the rule of the East India Company. On April 13, 1858 under the notification 606 of the Government of India it was also merged with the Punjab. Further in 1884 it became the part of Hissar Division but later it had become the part of Delhi Division.[5]

At the early stage, General Lake planned to limit the British rule upto Yamuna, Consequently, the territory was divided among various Sardars and Nawabs. In Rohtak, Dujana, Bahadurgarh and Jhajjar's Nawabis were created. In 1857 Dujana was under Hasan Ali and Jhajjar and Bahadurgarh were Abb-ur-Rahman Khan.

2.1.1. The peasants discontents in the Rohtak District were manysided. The establishment of the Dewani in Bengal in 1765 by the East India Company gave stimulation and incentive to the British power in India. They made streneous efforts to gain the political domination and military strength. Significant changes were introduced in the Justice and revenue set-up. The time honoured institutions like the village communities and village *Panchayats* which were characterised by self-sufficiency, stability, the internal cohesion and highly organised system of self-government[6] were abolished by the British. Their abolition shook the confidence of the people. In the later eighteenth century and the earlier part of the 19th century, it gave rise to the popular strength.[7] The nature of conflicts were not always uniformed. At several places it shaped the class between the big landlords and the peasants. The village communities were abolished coercively. However, it remained continued in the shape of '*chaubasi* and *Sarvakhap* even to-day. It is interesting to note that in its existence the *sarvakhap* and agglomeration of Jat clans of the same

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gotras - had a brilliant record of struggle and an all-pervasive influence over every Socio-economic element in the day-to-day life.[8] The *Sarva-khap* was an amalagamated unit of atleast four villages, *Chogama*. There could be other combination to five villages formed a *panchagama* nine formed a *naugama* twenty-four villages have a chaubesi panchayats.[9]

In Rohatak District Meham *Chaubesi* remained strong in its fighting spirit. The influence of *Sarva-khap Panchayats* diminished progressively over the years. However it remained quite strong during the 1857.

2.1:2 Similarly in the North-Western Provinces it was neither the permanent settlement nor the Rajatwari system but the Mehalwari. In Rohtak District the prevailing system was known as *bhaychara* and *kahps* (tapps-Area controlled by a clan).[10] Though the permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis was introduced in Benaras but in North-Western provinces a Summary Settlement was made with the village communities on the basis of Regulation VII of 1822. Later these were modified by Regulation IX of 1833.

During the Great uprising of 1857 the Rohtak District was consisted of 300 villages having an area of 1,340 sq. miles. Its total population was 3,77,013 and 281 persons were living in per sq. miles.[11] As regards the land revenue, though the several summary-Settlement of Rohtak District were completed, yet the First Regular Settlement was completed during 1838-1840, while the Settlement in Jhajjar was completed in 1863 and the Sonepat in 1844. It remained in operation upto 1870.[12] The new land system adopted by the Company produced a wider gulf between the Company's masters and the peasants who contributed 90% of the total population. The British authorities admitted that the early summary assessments of land revenue was 'oppressive' and the methods of assessment and collection were vexatious and extortionate.[13] In the early summary assessments Sadar Malgugar (Muquddams) played an important role who was given some part of the territory in lieu of the cash payment to the Government. Holl Mackenzie, a Secretary to Government

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in Territorial Department, made certain reforms and enacted the Regulation of 1822. At the time of the first Regular Settlement Iambardar used to collect the land revenue. The System remained continued until the Second Regular Settlement. In 1879 there were 1958 *Lambardars* in the Rohtak District and every *Lambardar* collected the 50 landholders. Later in 1879 the post of *Jaildar* started and in 1909 Sufedposh was appointed.

2.1.3 These early settlements increased the demands of the government. While before the advent of the British rule the Government assessment never exceeded from 1/6 to 1/4 of the gross produce, the new rulers fixed government share at more than 1/2 of the gross produce.[14] The assessments were sharply enhanced at freguent intervals. Consequently it stimulated the agrarian discontents. For example, the ceded and conquerred Provinces as a whole (exclusive of Delhi) the land revenue demand rose from Rs. 1, 88, 12, 617 to in 1803-1804 to 2,97,30,997 in 1817-1819 or more than 50 percent within fourteen years.[15] The effects of over-assessment was exacrebated after 1828 by a severe agrarian depression.[16] However, the government gave no serious thought. According to one estimate the increase in the real value from this depression causes over the period 1828-1833 at some 22 percents.[17] Robert Martin Bird, a senior member of the Board of Revenue and a confirmed utilitarian, after nine years (1833-1942) of minute study of the land problem, admitted that the prevailing land revenue system was most defective, corrupt, excessive and harassing to the peasantry.[18] He noted the defects of high assessment and short term settlements,[19] and considered that over-assessment was economically unsound, likely to lead to huge arrears of revenue and the ultimate impoverishment of the peasantry.[20] So this policy of heavy revenue greatly demoralised[21] the peasants, and shattered their economy.[22] This oppressive policy compelled the peasants to flee from their homes.[23] It can be easily said on the basis of various settlement reports that the peasants became furious and over-oppressed. Later, Fanshawe in his Rohtak Settlement Report (1873-1978) admitted the assessment fixed by Mortin Gubbins and others in the Rohtak *Pargana* in 1837-40 was so severe that even

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with the 1860's it would still be impossible to think of realizing a demand based on the incidence of its revenue rates.[24] He further observed "the injudiciously heavy revenues have greatly retarded the progress of the district.[25] However, a comparative relief came in 1842 when a general revision of the Settlement in the Delhi territory was ordered by Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. In Rohtak District its impect was visible. During 1840 and 1847 cultivation expanded in the Gohana Tehsil by a fifth in Rohtak tehsil by a third, and in Sampla by nearly a tenth.[26] It is worthnoting that 'until 1857 Rohtak District was the only one in the North-Western Province to show a clear balance-sheet free of arrears.[27]

2.1.4 The government not only heavily assessed the land revenue, but also imposed land revenue on the land which was awarded free of revenus for religious or charitable purpose or the land which was given to the individual for their services to the state. Actually it was a time-honoured Indian custom which was observed through the ages. Even the Mughal emperors followed the custom. The British government did not accept the Indian custom. However, the revenue free land reached up to one-sixth of the total number of villages in some districts. A Special tribunal was also set up to resumed the tenure. The work was then prosecuted with vigor as part of the general revision of Settlement. By 1840 the government had resumed over 1,750,000 areas of land assesed with a revenue demand of twenty-three lakhs of rupees.[29] In Delhi Division quanity of land resumed was 64,306 areas with Rs. 71,635 (jama). In Rohtak District it was 12,277 areas quanity of land resumed with Rs. 11,891.[30] Naturally it shattered the confidence of the Indian peasants and aroused the feeling of hatred against the government.

2.1.5 The imposition of heavy and harsh assessments created an situation of anarchy among the village communities. The mode of collection of land revenue was extortionate. The methods of tortures were used to get the desired revenue. The peasants had become victims of various sorts of exploitation and coercive processes. The headmen were imprisoned. The collections were made in February

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and September long before the harvest. It was the most unsuitable time. Consequently a number of peasants deserted their homes and were compelled to sale of land for arrears of revenue. In Haryana region in this context, while Gurgaon District was at the top, Rohtak District was second.[31] In reality the sale of land for arrears of revenue was almost wholly economic and political rather than humanitarian.[32] Naturally it excited a spirit of disaffection among the peasants.[33] The enforced sale of land for debt and for arrears of revenue played a significant part in rousing the pettey land-holding classes to revolt in 1857. Perhaps it produced the greatest resentment amongst the agricultural population and a dislocation of social structure.[34] It is generally believed that these efforts proved beneficial to the commercial men and money-lenders who were benefitted the most and who were protected by the government.[35] However, the historian like Eric Stokes differed the view and to him the heaviest land revenue was one of the main reasons.[36]

2.1.6 The large scale deforestation in the countryside brought a vital change and upset the social structure of the rural India. It not only affected their social status, but also brought them in the forepoint against the British government. During 1780 to 1860 extensive deforestation took place.[37] Large nomadic and pastoral populations still persisted in the plains of Haryana region. The British government gave preference to those of the disciplined groups who paid the revenue regularly in place of the nomadic or pastoral tribes. Many of the herdsmen became subordinate agricultural caste.[38] Even they were compelled to pay 'protection rent'. For example, in the Rohtak District Ranghars came in this category. They had bacome the victims of the expansion of the arable of the pioneer peasants and of the colonial revenue system.[39] Huge areas of former grazing land had been assigned to the Jat peasantry at the expense of the nomadic Gujars and Bhattis in the decade before the great uprising. Deprivation of the facilities of the grazing land and the decline of the status and honour in relation to other communities compelled them to revolt against the British.[40] In short the above mentioned economic changes widened the social imbalances,

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created gulf in the village communities and increased the agrarian discontents.

2.2 Similarly, the frequent famines and epidemic also worsened the condition of the peasants. Most of the famines took place due to the scarcity of the rain. In Rohtak district a series of famines had ruined the district during the years 1802-1893, 1812-1813, 1817-1818, 1833-1834 and 1837-1838.[41] While in 1802-1803 the price of wheat was 10 *seers* per rupee, to raise 7.8. *seers* per rupee in 1812-1813. It had become diffcult to get even *Bhusha* (fodder) for the cattle in 1817-1818.

In 1833-1834 there was scarcity even of the grains.[42] To a writer, even the people sell their camel for a paisa and cow for a meal.[43] It had led to bread riots.[44] Similarly the epidemic of 1841 and 1843 caused heavy casualities. In fact the East India Company did not help the poor-victims due to the absence of any definite policy in this regard.

2.3 The fall of the prices also caused hardships to the peasants. The following table gives[45] the clear picture of the sharp decline in the prices.

Table showing the fall in prices of Agricultural Products.

years	Price of wheat per maund	Price of Indian corn per maund	
1841-1851	Rs. 2/-	Rs. 1/-	11/16
1851-1852	Rs. 1/-	Rs.	14/16
1852-1853	Rs. 1/3/16	Rs. 1/-	1/16
1853-1854	Rs. 1/3/16	Rs. 1/-	2/16
1854-1855	Rs. 1/-	Rs.	13/16
1855-1856	Rs. 1/1/16	Rs.	14/16

The above table reveals the sharped decline of the prices during 1851-1856 which compelled the peasants for loans and to sell the land.

2.4 In the sphere of justice the British administration was found wanting. Before the advent of the British the administration of justice

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was simple, cheap, prompt and impartial. The village *Panchayats* played a significant role in this field. But the British judicial set-up was repressive, expensive and arbitrary. Delay tactics were generally applied. There was no proper check on the judges and no provision for appeal. The early British judicial system was neither liked by the people of the country nor appreciated by the efficient and reasonable British administration. Even the utilitarian Governor-General of India Lord William Bentick had vehementally criticized the prevailing system in his famous Minute of 30 March 1832 on the affairs of Rajputana and Delhi. He wrote.[46]

"In fact, there is no law, The people are at mercy and caprice of their immediate superior, who is often times a very young assistant, with little knowledge and discreation and perfectly disqualified for so great a trust..."

The judicial system in the Rohtak District as a part of the North-Western Provinces suffered throughout the Company's rule due to the absence of a complete set of civil and criminal laws, the widespread prevailing bribery and corruption among the Judges, more emphasis on technicalities than the spirit of the laws and absence of interest by the British authorities.[47]

2.5 Similarly it was the attack on their *Dharma* that made the people the enemy of the British. The Christian Missionaries started their Campaign of Conversion to christianity. In these efforts they were actively supported by the British officials. The first Bapatist Missionary in Delhi was John Chamberlain who visited Delhi in 1814 as tutor to the son of Begum Samru.[48] In 1818 a fulfledged mission was started. In Rohtak District, these Missionaries were called as *'Malechha'*. But these missionaries could not gain any success in the Rohtak District. No example of conversions were reported from Haryana villages.[49] However, the events at Delhi effected the people of Rohtak District. On May 5, 1852 Ram Chander (1821-1880) embraced Christianity who was a Kayastha of Panipat. The news of his conversion travelled far and wide. The Hindus and Muslims came in hundreds to Delhi condemn his action. In fact it

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created suspicion and a gulf between the subjects and the government.

2.6 Finally a number of feudal chiefs and sardars could not forget their good old days. They remembered that a number of their estates had been confiscated by the British. In Rohtak District the prominent nawabs were of Jhajjar, Bahadurgarh and Farukh nagar.

3.1 The chief influential leaders of the uprising in Rohtak District were mainly feudal chiefs like Ahmed Ali of Farruknagar, Abdur Reman of Jhajjar and Hasan Ali of Dujana. Other notable leaders were Bisrat Ali an ex-Risaldar and a perasant of Kharkhuddha Samer Khan of Sampla, Babar Khan a peasant leader of Ranghers of Rohtak and Jessi Jat of Meham Chaubasi khap.[50]

Now the pertinent question arise, what was the nature of the 1857 movement in the Rohtak district ? What was its Social basis ? Which classes took active part in the movement ?

If we sutdy the social composition of the casteims and communities of the Rohtak District, one can draw certain hypothesis. The Rohtak Distric was a rural dominated area having 90% population dependent on agriculture. If we glance of 1881 Census it can give some concrete ideas of the Social formation. The attached table (p.3) gives some idea.

The table indicates the dominating groups of the population was jats. It consists 33% which was related to the peasantry. The second biggest group among the agricultrists were Rajputs consist 5.4% of the total population. In fact these two castes were the most active in the 1857 upsurge.

3.2 Among the Rajputs Muslim Ranghars[52] were prominent who had been converted to Islam. They used to call themselves as Chauhan Rajputs. Like the Mewattes of the Gurgaon, they were accustomed to many Hindu habits and rites and customs. Even those days they gave the due importance to the Brahmin priests, wore *pagree* on the Dushera days and believed in Guge Pir and Shakti

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cult. They were pastoral peasants and cattle keepers. One can ask the question why these Ranghars did take part against the British in 1857 ? One of the reasons might be their number in the Bengal army. In fact they were enough in large number in local army like Haryana Light Infantry and 14th Irregular cavalry.[53] Perhaps that is why they supported the Bengal army at the time of great uprising. Secondly, they had become the victim of the socio-economic changing policy of the colonial government. As it was mentioned earlier that the expansion of cash cropping in the early nineteenth century also set the scene for conflict between arable farmers and nomad of pastoalists. These tensions played a vital role in the 1857 uprising.[54] These nomad or pastoralist were regarded in British Police Reports as 'criminal tribes'.[55] They were deprived of the land and consequently became rebel against the government.

3.3. Similarly, the jats, the dominating group also played a significant role in the Rohtak district. It is worth-mentioning that while the Jats of Eastern Meerut were to some extent loyal to the British, the Jats of Rohtak took active part against the government.[56] Perhaps it was due to two reasons. The opening of the Ganga canal in 1854 and extension of the East Jumna canal proved beneficial to the peasants and they had become loyal to the government. However, others existing hostility was deepened by the resentment of the dry-tracts.[57] And they were still subject to a very high land revenue demand which led to the auction sale of their lands.[58] In such dry villages, Jats joined their caste inferiors, the Ranghars and the Gujjars. However it cannot be generalised. Secondly, the *Bhaychara* and the *khap* system were the significant factors.[59] In Meerut and other places villages *Panchayats* and the *kahps* comparatively lost its glory, while in Rohtak district still it persists important role. It proved a comenting force among the Jats.

In short it can be concluded that it was the many sided peasant discontent which stimulated the great upsurge. It was partly due to the socio-economic and religious discontents among the peasantry and partly to the dissatisfaction of the nawabs. The Jats and the Ranghar peasants were the dominating groups who participated

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whole heartedly in the movement. In fact it was a peasant upsurge.

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Table showing the General distribution of castes in Rohtak District in 1881.

(Cut of 1000 persons)

	Biloch	Pathan	Jat	Rajput	Minor dominant tribes	Minor agricultural tribes.	Foreign races.	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
A. Land owning and Agricultural	4	9	330	54	5	44	16	462
	Brahmin	Saiyid	Faqir	Minor Professional Castes	Mercantile Castes	Miscellaneous Castes		
	8	9	10	11	12	13		
B. Professional And Mercantile Caste.	105	2	21	32	99	1		240
	Vagrants	Scavengers	Leather Workers	Weavers and Carpenters.	Blacksmiths and	Potters		Washerman and Dyers.
	14	15	16	17	18	19		20
C. Vagrants Menials and Artisans.	4	72	90	2	33	22		18.292
	Watermen		Oilmen		Other Artisans			
	21		22		23			
	21		22		8.			Total : 991

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NARAYAN SINGH ZAMINDAR OF SONAKHAN-THE GREAT MARTYR OF 1857

R.K. Nayak

Sonakhan is now a large village in the Baloda Bazar tahsil of Raipur district. At the turn of the 18th Century it was ruled by a powerful Zamindar, Ram Rai. R. Jenkins in his report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur writes, "The father of Ram Rai, and the latter himself, though possessing but a small and a poor Zamindari, had long been the terror of Chhattisgarh, from the Khalsa land of which they had dismembered about three hundred villages, besides many others from the neighbouring Zamindars, and at one time had established such an influence from the dread of their incursions that an order from them was obeyed with more alacrity than once from the subadar."

After the third Maratha war, Ram Rai was beaten out in 1919 A.D. by the Britishers. On his submission some of this land was restored.

Before the Great Uprising of 1857 Narayan Singh the son of Ram inherited 3 Talukas in malguzari. Of them, Toondra contained, 12 villages at a rent of Rs. 365-5-3, Wutgaon contained 26 villages at a rent of Rs. 341-14-1 and Nowagaon Kullaree at the rent of Rs. 67-1-4 consisted of 13 villages.

In 1856, the monsoon failed and during the season of acute scarcity the farmers of the Zamindari of Narayan Singh were much distressed due to shortage of seed grains. Makhan a merchant of Kurrode village had lot of grain stores. Thereupon. Narayan singh broke open his stores and took sufficient grain which he distributed among his farmers So honest and daring was the character of

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Narayan Singh that on the 21st August, 1856 he himself wrote a letter to Elliot the Dy. Commissioner, Raipur and informed him of breaking up the stores for the needful.

A few days afterwards, Makhan the aggrieved merchant also appeared before the Dy. Commissioner and lodged the complaint of Narayan Singh. The Dy. Commissioner summoned Narayan Singh from Sonakhan but it was reported by his son that Narayan Singh had gone on pilgrimage to Jaggannath Puri Elliot was already annoyed with Narayan Singh, Therefore, without waiting for his return, he issued a warrant of his arrest and dispatched a party of Police-Sowar to Sonakhan. After some difficulty Narayan Singh was apprehended at Sambalpur on the 24th Oct. 1856, and was imprisioned in the Raipur Jail.

For ten months Narayan Singh remained in jail and when the Great Uprising began in May 1857 the people and the troops at Raipur decided to raise the standard of revolt under the banner of this brave Zamindar, Narayan Singh.

Consequently, on the night of 27th August, 1857 Narayan Singh along with his 3 associates effected escape from Raipur jail by digging up the inside wall of the cell and passed the posts of 4 santries guarding the jail. A reward of Rs. 1000 was declared for the capture of Narayan Singh,. There puarsuit resulted in the recapture of Dayaram one of the associates of Narayan Singh. But Narayan singh managed to reach Sonakhan. The guards were arrested and the investigation of the case was handed over to the officer Commanding the 3rd Reginment stationed at Raipur.

On the morning following the escape of Narayan Singh the papers of his Vakeel at Raipur were attached by Liuetenant Smith Asst. Commission,er Raipur. Among those papers a piece of paper bearing the name of Lance Naik Shmsheer Bahadur of the 4th Company of 3rd Regiment was found. The cross-examination of the prisoner revealed that Shamsheer Bahadur was in contact with Narayan Singh. The Asstt. Commissioner recommended Shamsheer Bahadur to be tried by a Court Martial. The Court of Enquiry, how-

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ever acquitted the prisoners for want of substantial proof. Against the judgement of the Court the Dy. Commissioner, Raipur represented to the Commissioner—Nagpur and requested that Shamsheer Bahadur should not be allowed to remain in the Regiment at least.

The dread of the possible revolt shook the mind of not only the Dy. Commissioner but the commissioner of the Province also, who in his turn reported the matter to the Governor General of India and rquested him for detaining the Madras Columns at Nagpur to meet any exigency in case of a revolt.

Meanwhile, after reaching Sonakhan, Narayan Singh collected strong force of 500 matchlockmen on his side. He also forfeited all the passes leading to Sonakhan and erected strong earth work on the side of Kurrode Girode and other passes leading to Sonakhan On the erection at Kurrode pass the ryots of Toondra Taluk was deployed by him for 3 months.

He also seized arms and ammunitions, where ever they could be found and sent messages all over the tract that the British Rule was at an end. He threatened with death and imprisonment those who incurred is enmity.

Makhan the grain merchant of Kurode, who had lodged complaint against Narayan Singh fearing from revengeful consequences, immediately fled to Sarangarh leaving 25 matchlockmen to safeguard his house. Other wealthier persons of the place also adopted the same course, either they left the place or deployed matchlockmen for protection.

The Dy. Commissioner, Raipur ordered the Asstt. Commissioner Lt. Smith to proceed to Sonakhan and capture the Zamindar. On the morning of 20th Novr. 1857 Lt. Smith collected a Police force consisting of one Zamindar, 4 Dafadars and 53 Sowars and marched from Raipur. He tried to push on as quickly as possible to Sonakhan but his guide led him through a wrong route and on the night of the 21st November, reached a village which was 70 miles from Raipur and 39 miles from Sonakhan. He started next morning in-

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tending to reach Sonakhan in the night but on reaching Kurrode a distance of 21 miles from Sonakhan, he learnt that Narayan Singh had fortified the pass entered by the road with a strong earth work. He found the country in a panic.

At Kurrode Lt. Smith got the assistance of one Balah Pujari, who took them by a hill pass towards Sonakhan in the night and about midnight the party reached Neemtalla, situated about 3 miles from the commencement of hills encircling Sonakhan. From there a spy was sent by Smith who brought information that the pass in the hills before them was fortified and was defended by the force of Naryan Singh. Also that the defile was quite impracticable for cavalry.

Under the circumstances Lt. Smith left the idea of surprising Narayan Singh and determined to collect sufficient men to force the passes.

Messages were sent by Smith to the Zamindars of katangi, Wutgaon and Bilaigarh for assistance. On the morning of 23rd November, Kamdars of Katangi reached him with 17 matchlockmen. The Wutgaon Zamindar also joined soon with 25 followers. Lt. Smith then personally reached the mouth of the pass for judging the strength of Sonakhan. Finding the strength of Narayan Singh superior he withdrew to Neematalla to secure more assistance. He forwarded an urgent requisition to Bilaspur (distant 52 miles) for 50 rank and file from the detachment of infantry at that station. Next day the Bilaigarh Zamindar with his 40 followers also joined Smith at neemtalla, They were immediately posted to guard various passes to prevent supplies and movement towards Sonakhan.

Upto the 29th November, Smith sent out parties all over the region to collect arms and ammunitions for the ensuing fight. The Dy. Commissioner, Raipur realising the precarious condition of his assistant at Neemtala, made a requisition to the Officer Commanding 3rd Native Infantry Raipur to send reinforcement. Upon which, a force of one hundred private and a due proportion of Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers were despatched from Raipur on the mourning of 1st December, 1857 under Adjutent Napier to co-operate Lt. Smith in the capture of Narayan Singh.

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Meanwhile, Smith learnt from one mangloo that he could approach Sonakhan from Deori without forcing any pass, as Narayan Singh on that side had commenced an earth work, which he had no time to finish and that the only natural obstacles were the thick jungles and unbroken sheets of high grass for 10 miles on way to Sonakhan, Lt. Smith determined to try the approach from Deori.

On the night of 26th November, a horse-keeper was sent by Naryan Singh to Smith with a latter informing his determination to fight with the Britishers until death. It was revealed to Lt. Smith that Narayan Singh had a strong force of 500 matchlockmen collected from his region alongwith 7 or 8 Jinjah, (artillery) and with this determination, Narayan Singh had despatched his son Govind Singh with the female members of the family and valuables out of Sonakhan.

Sonakhan.

Subsequently, Smith posted the Zamindar's men at various other passes, and collected 80 men more by the evening of 28th November. Next day he started his march to Deori in the morning at 2 a.m. from Neemtala. He hoped to reach Deori (50 miles) by the evening, but the guides deceived him and led him some 35 miles out of way forcing his half at a village in Sambalpur district.

On the 30th November, Smith reached Deori at a distance of 10 miles from Sonakhan. The Deori Zamindar was the uncle of Narayan Singh, but they had family differences. Therefore, the Deori Zamindar promised help to Lt. Smith against his nephew Narayan Singh.

From Deori, Smith sent messages to Phoolzhar, Kowree, and seoni on the frontiers of Sonakhan to be on guard to prevent the escape of Narayan Singh. On the morning of 1st December, 1857 Smith left all baggage at Deori and commenced his march on Sonakhan with 127 men. When Smith was about 3 miles from Deori its Zamindar informed that by the direct road to Sonakhan they will have to pass at three places where Narayan Singh's men were

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prepared to make a start. He therefore, led Smith by a considerable circuitous route, which avoided these 3 places by crossing the Jonk river twice.

The deceit of Deori Zamindar was Complete and Smith with his force arrived unresisted until within one forth of the mine from Sonakhan. Meanwhile, Narayan Singh had evacuated the village with the remainder of his force. One of his party fired upon Smith's toops from a nullah but Smith headed fast and reached Sonakhan about the noon. Having dismounted the horse Smith with his troops rushed into the evacuated village and Narayan Singh fired upon them from the hall forcing Smith to return. The empty village was then put to fire by the troops of Smith. While doing so, they were again fired by the troops of Narayan singh from the jungle on their left, and forced the enemy to retreat in the cover. Smith immediatey sent message to Katangee Kamdars to advance from other direction to join them. Smith's party meanwhile took shelter at a distance beyond the reach of shots from Narayan Singh, who was sending volley of fines.

As evening drew Smith saw a number of men in the hill and in the trees. The whole night he stayed across the burning village before him and passed the night in great anxiety. In the morning of 2nd December, Smith was joined by Katangee Kamdar's followers with necessary supplies. Narayan Singh originally planned to attack the British, 7 miles beyond. Sonakhan with Jinjhias, but it failed due to deceit or his kinsmen and the jinjhias were deserted in the hills. Also having heared that reinforcement was reaching to Smith from all directions and that his own followers dispersing, Narayan Singh thought the resistance to be hopeless.

He therefore decided to surrender to Smith with an attendant. Smith, immediately on his surrender took him and marched on his way to Raipur. On the way he received the news of arrival of the Infantry of 100 troops under Napier which were sent back. On the 5th December, Smith reached Raipur and handed over Narayan Singh to the custody of Dy. Commissioner, Raipur.

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Narayan Singh was tried and convicted in the Court of C. Elliot as Commissioner under Act xi of 1857 Section VII of Rebellion and waging war against the British Government set-forth in Act XI of 1857, Section I and was sentenced by the Court to suffer the death sentence.

On 10th December, 1857 Narayan Singh was brought to the place now known as "Jai Stambha Chowk, Raipur, where he was changed in the presence of the troops and public. (Please refer Appendix) it was time to show that the personnel of the 3rd Regiment Native Infantry, Raipur broke into rebellion shortly after. And later the Deori Zamindar, who had helped the British against Narayan Singh, fell a prey to the revenge of Govind Singh the son of Narayan Singh, who attacked and killed him.

Sources

(1) Chhattisgarh Divisional Records preserved at Nagpur Record Room

(2) R. Jenkins, Report on the Territories of the Raja of Nagpur (1827)

(3) Raipur District Gazetteer

(4) Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records.

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Appendix

No.286 to 1857

From :

Lieutenant G. Elliot
Deputy Commissioner.

To,

George Plowdon Esq.
Commissioner of Nagpur.

Sir,

I have honour to report that Narrain Singh commonly called Zamindar of Sonakhan having been convicted before my Court as Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857 Section VII of Rebellion and waging war against the Government as set forth in Act XI of 1857 Section_I, and senteced by me in virtue of the above enactment and under the power vested by Circular No. 97 Dated 9th of July last, to suffer death by hanging, the sentence was this morning carried into executions in presence of all the troops at the stations, assembled in general parade, without accident error or other misadventure having occured.

The widest publicity shall be given in the district and dependencies to the Crime of Narrain Singh and its consequences.

I have the honour to be.
Sir
Your most obedient servant,

Dy Commissioner Office,
Raipore Deputy Commissioner
the 10th December, 1837.

Sd/-

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THE CHANGED MASTERS : TOWARDS QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION, 1858 AND CROWN IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

Pramod Mehra

The legacy of English East India Company which reigned supreme over the destiny of Indian people came to a silent close in 1858. The transition of power, silent though systematic, was a product of decades of ill will, frustration and anger of the natives towards their alien masters. The period 1857-58 is a watershed in Indian administrative history as much as it is in the very edifice on which the later part of Indian history was to be recorded. The Revolt of 1857 wrung down the curtain to John Company's rule in India thus paved the way for the assumption of the onerous responsibility of Indian administration by the British Parliament.

Whatever changes that were brought out in the mammoth administrative structure in India was ostensibly to win over the disgruntled majority of the natives' as much as to tighten and streamline the very system itself. Smarting under threats of challenges from the natives the Government in London decided to strike a fatal blow on the Company and tag the Indian affairs to the Crown. The Queen associated her name with the Indian administration so as to impart strength and vigour besides aiming to ensure ready obedience to the Law by her 'native' subjects. It also had an eye on the confused princely heads of the States, on whose support they felt their sailing would be less hazardous. At the same time it was also accepted by all the political parties in Britain that in order to guide the Indian administration and keeping it in touch with the Imperial policy, the President of the Board of Control should be

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taken by a member of the Cabinet who would act as the organ of that body with reference to all matters relating to India, and would be responsible to Parliament and the public.

The British Parliament was equally anxious to lay the foundations of a really good "Government of India". Nearly six months of extensive debates and acrimonious discussions-from 9 February 1858 to 2 August 1858, when the Royal Assent was conferred on the Bill–preceded the passage of the Bill on the "New Government". This was a period, whatever be the psychological compulsions behind it (the Bill), when the Indian affairs constantly engaged the attention of the British Parliament, press and population alike.

The first proposal put before the Parliament for constituting a Council was made in the petition of the East India Company on 9 February 1858.[1] As per this petition, the Council was to be so constituted as to be independent of the Minister. This would enable it to express its opinion on every Indian subject and to impress that opinion on the Minister, whether acceptable to him or not. In case of overruling the Council's opinion by the Minister the latter had to record his reasons for doing so. However, initiative was to lie with the Council. The petition wished to substitute for the Court of Directors as a comparable boy.

At the same time Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, outlined the plan of his Government for the proposed Council on 12 February 1858.[2] In his scheme of things, the Council for the affairs of India was to be appointed by the Crown. It was to consist of eight members appointed for eight years, two to retire by rotation at the end of every second year. Councillors were to be either Directors of the East India Company or those who have served for a certain period in India either in a civil or in a military capacity, or to have been connected with the total administration. There was to be a President whose decision would be final, but in case of differences of opinion with the President, the Councillors could record their dissenting view. In matters involving increased expense out of the Indian revenues, it was obligatory for the President to obtain the

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concurrence of four councillors as a safeguard against being drawn into the arena of party politics and the resultant ambiguities. To exonerate the President from the embarrassment in Parliament because of their presence, members of the Council were to be prohibited from serving in Parliament. The functions and powers of the Secret Committee, which had hitherto governed matters demanding great discretion and secrecy were to be vested in the President, as the responsible Minister of the Crown.

These safeguards and precautions were, however, not foolproof, though the Government made provision for a check on the Secretary of State and the Imperial Government from abusing the Indian treasury, and tried to make the Council independent by giving its members and eight year tenure and the right of dissent, their exclusion from Parliament and the fact that they were to be nominated made for a weak Council rather than a strong one. What Lord Palmerston envisaged in the Council was "assisters" and nothing more.[3] Disraeli rightly thought that the Councillors would have no influence and that "none would be commended, none would be looked on as assiduous and energetic but those who are active to accomplish the purpose of the Government."[4] It was feared that although the members of the Council would be chosen in the first instance from the Court of Directors, the office of Councillor would eventually become a political one, given for party purposes. Even then, contrary to general expectations the proposal obtained the large majority of 145. Palmerston achieved a great victory. had he not been defeated on the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill",[5] there was every chance that India would have been governed by a President from London.

Earl of Derby who succeeded Palmerston as Prime-Minister, had different ideas. With Disraeli as the leader of the House of Commons and Lord Ellenborough as President of the Borad of Control, the proposed Bill on Indian administration ws also to have a newer look. On 26 March 1858 Disraeli outlined Ellenborough's plan for the constitution of the new Council which was proposed to replace the old Board of Control and Court of Directors.[7] This Council was to consist of eighteen persons, nine Crown nominees and the rest

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elected. Even those nominated were to be selected as representing the various aspects of Indian affairs, chosen in the interests of India, without consideration of political bias or influence. Of those elected, five were to be from London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Belfast, and were to be returned by the parliamentary voters of those cities. The remaining five were to be elected from Britons who had resided in India for fifteen years. Only people, who had resided in India or had business interests there, were eligible to vote for the proposed members. When elected, members would hold office for six years.

Although the President was empowered to 'veto' any proposal of the Council, measures were taken to curb this blatant and absolute power. It was made mandatory on the President to assign his reasons for exercising this power. The Councillors, on their part, were to be entitled to record any dissenting opinion in a special minute book maintained for the purpose. This was intended to act as a check on the President. Provision was also made for the Secret Committee. A major departure from Palmerston's proposal was that the Council was divested of control on Indian finances.

The main intention of Lord Ellenborough in proposing an elective system for the councillors was to remove the Government of India as far as possible from the vicissitudes of ignorance or party intrigue.[8] To quote him. "I did, and I do desire to give the Minister who may have charge of India a Council, so independent, so respectable, so influential, and with so great a hold upon the country, as by their support to afford him great strength in resisting the pressure which might be put upon him." He wished to pave the foundation of a Government which should make India happy, strong and powerful and which should connect her with Great Britain forever.

Ellenborough, however, overshot the mark. Whereas Palmerston visualised an extreme point of view, Ellenborough represented the opposite. On its part, the Parliament wanted a compromise plan incorporating the best of both policies. Members were as alarmed by

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the possibility of the Imperial Government's abuse of its prerogatives, especially with regard to finance, as they were of a Council sufficiently independent to thwart the very decisions of the Cabinet Minister, blatant misuse of their position and which would prove to be a clog in the wheel. They wanted the Council to enjoy a certain independence–but not too much of it.

The outcry against the fantastic scheme was widespread.[9] Even the great towns and the radicals whose support the Bill was particularly calculated to command were loud in their disapproval. John Bright, the leader of the Anti-Corn League called it a "claptrap".[10] Lord Palmerston said that whenever a man was seen laughing in the streets he was sure to have been discussing the India Bill. Even the Queen was against it.[11] It was clearly evident that the Bill would not have a smooth sail in the Legislature.

The feeling in Parliament was that both these Bills offered less protection than was given by the Court of Directors to the interests of the people of India. In particular, there could be no security unless a limitation was placed on the powers of the Crown as to the use of the Indian treasury and the Indian Army. "If India was to be justly governed", said Ross Donnelly Mangles, a Director in the East India Company (subsequently a member of the Council of India), it was obviously essential that there should be an independent non-political body to "stand as fender" between the Imperial Government and Parliament on the one hand and India Government on the other.[12] Another Director Sir J.P. Willoughby (later a Member of the Council of India) was of the opinion that the Council should be sufficiently independent and "undeterred by the frowns, and unseduced by the smiles of the Minister".[13] The demand was for a balance of power, a Council composed of able men, possessing knowledge without power, influence without responsibility, complete subordination and perfect independence. Neither the Bill presented by Palmerston, admirable for its simplicity, nor the Bill of the Derby Government with all its complication, provided in the Council an answer to all these prerequisites.

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The fate of the Bill reached a stage of uncertainty in May 1858. This was due to the unexpected turn of events. Ellenborough whose overenthusiasm had stunned even some of his admirers in the later stage was forced to bow out of office following the resentment aroused by the terms of his Despatch to Lord Canning about the Oudh Proclamation.[14] As the Chairman of the Board of Control, Ellenborough had been the central figure for the proposed innovative administration in India and his resignation did have its repercussions in the swift passage of the Bill. His successor, Lord Stanley, however, bore the brunt of his new job stoically. To him fell the onerous duty to blunt the attacks on the Bill and to make it at once amendable and practicable.

Lord Stanley was well aware of the heat generated by the ongoing debates over the Bill. To save the Cabinet from any further embarrassment, Disraeli at the suggestion of Russell, Foreign Secretary, drafted a resolution on the broadest principles which the majority of the House could reasonably be expected to approve. In this was he hoped to ascertain the temper of the House on certain points which he chose not to initiate himself.

The resolution proposed in the House of Commons on 30 April 1858, provided for the post of a Secretary of State responsible to the Crown for the conduct of Indian administration, to be assisted by a Council if not more than eighteen, and not less than twelve members.[15] Some years of service in India was an essential qualification for the membership of this Council. Again it was proposed that some members be nominated by the Crown while others be elected.

Lord Stanley's was thus an equitable compromise between the two previous Bills. Still however, members of Parliament strongly objected to anything approaching popular election. They were at the same time unwilling to have the whole Council nominated. There was also a difference of opinion as to the filling up of vacancies. The resolution was withdrawn. In its place, Lord Stanley introduced "The Government of India Bill" on 24 June 1858.

Stanley's Bill was framed keeping in view the feelings of the

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House and the prevailing political trend well in mind. The principle of the Bill envisaged "transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, the administration of Indian affairs by a responsible minister with a proviso that the members shall be assisted by a Council."[16] This explanation did not satisfy the zeal of the Members of Parliament who were apprehensive about the wide encompassing power and authority that would be vested in the hands of the Secretary of State. They feared that the all comprehensive Bill would strengthen the arms of the Secretary of State to such an extent that he would wield sweeping powers over an empire that would be much larger in area than the mother country (England) itself. He would have the last word in other matters as well as in the financial sphere, he could order the outlay of money without the concurrence of a single member of the Council, much less taking into confidence their views and ideas. With an overburdened economy at hand and with the increasing opposition from the native rulers in India, Parliamentarians such as Gladstone and Russel were vociferous that there should be some moderation and financial check in the proposed administrative system.

Finding so many stalwarts in the House of Commons in favour of such control, and their unanimity in their distrust of the efficacy of the financial review by Parliament which Stanley had contemplated, the Government proposed the insertion of a clause effecting that the Secretary of State was not to be able to dispose of any part of the revenue in India without the consent of the majority of the Council. This significant power to be wielded by the Council was soon to become another bone of contention. During the debate the members also objected to the Crown's unrestricted power over the Indian Army, a power which they feared might be misused. So another Clause No. 55 was added which Gladstone hoped, would assure to Parliament the ultimate control over any future Palmerston.[17]

Thus after five months of heated discussions including two major debates, "An Act for the Better Government of India" received the Royal assent on 2 August 1858 (21 and 21 Vict., C 106). This Act formed the basis of the Government of India from London until

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1920. This Act, thus incorporated all the best suggestions that had so far been made in the Parliament.

This Act made provision for the appointment of a "Council of India" of fifteen members. The majority of them were to be men who had served or resided in India for at least ten years, and had not left the country more than ten years before their appointment. Of the fifteen members eight were to be nominated by the Crown and seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors. Future vacancies among elected members were to be filled up by the Council itself by election in a separate meeting convened for that purpose. All members were to hold office during good behaviour, and were removable only on a petition by both Houses of Parliament to that effect. Members of Parliament were not to be eligible to serve on the Council. They were to receive £ 1200 per annum as salary with £ 500 as pension after putting in ten years of service. It was stipulated that the Council should meet once a week, five forming a quorum. Special meetings could also be convened as and when necessary. For the efficient conduct of business, the Council was to be divided into several Committees. All orders, both that were to be sent to India and those to be made in England were to be submitted to the Council or retained for the period of one week except in the cases of orders which could be sent without previously intimating to the Council but for which too the Secretary of State had soon after to give reasons. In the event of a majority decision against an order of the Secretary of State, the latter must record his reason before rejecting the decision. The same privelege was granted to members who could record their opinion in a minute book maintained for that purpose. Such a pattern that had within it the dictum of "give and take", envisaged a better chance for amalgamating wise counsel from a Council headed by the Secretary of State. Harmony, not aggression was the watchword.

Parliament, however, did not wish to make the Council so strong as to thwart the power of the Secretary of State and prevent him from conducting affairs which the Cabinet and Parliament might agree were on Imperial importance. It was, therefore, decided that he

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could overrule the Council, and the initiative of any fresh line of action rested with him. The functions previously exercised by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors were to be continued. Negotiations with Indian States or foreign powers, answers to very confidential despatches from the Government of India, and all matters relating to peace and war, were to be regarded as 'Secret' and the Secretary of State would be solely responsible for the handling of such affairs. In dealing with such questions he was empowered to act without informing or consulting the Council. He enjoyed the sole right of bringing business before the Council, and choice of methods for submitting it. He was further empowered to summon it at such time, and in such a manner and with as much or as little notice as he should deem it fit, provided at least one meeting was convened every week. He had two votes; moreover he was sole adviser to the Crown as the exercise of its prerogative.

Parliament also reserved certain powers for itself. Expenditure on military operations beyond the Indian frontier could not be made without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. It was to be informed of military operations undertaken by India. Loans etc. could not be raised without its approval. Besides, the Secretary of State had to give an annual report of the accounts and a statement of the moral and material progress of India for Parliamentary approval.

The responsibility of inaugurating this new system of Indian Government fell on Lord Stanley, President of the Board of Control who was designated as the Secretary of State for India. In his conduct of the Indian administration, Stanley showed great dexterity, in defatigable industry and real business acumen. His success in administration was generally recognised and appreciated.

The "Act for the Better Government of India" incorporated the best provisions of the previous proposals and was a "wise and well digested measure ripe with experience."[18] The finalisation of this Act was a legacy not just of one person, one session or one event. It carried with it the wisdom of many a mind and an endevour and perseverance, perhaps unmatched in the Parliamentary history of

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Britain, its success lay not in party forums or divisions of vote but in a mentality that could accomodate disagreement and debates alike, culmination in moderation and conciliation.

In creating the Council of India, it was the Parliament's intention to furnish the Secretary of State with the best possible advice for the conduct of Indian affairs, and to erect a buffer between the Parliament and the Imperial Government, including the Secretary of State, on the one hand and the Government of India on the other. Final authority, howerver, was vested in the Secretary of State as he alone was responsible to Parliament for the conduct of Indian administration. At the same time the Council, by various devices such as the life tenure of its members, self election and financial powers was made sufficiently independent to exert a restraining influence on the Secretary of State. In all respects where Imperial questions were concerned or where Parliament was deeply interested, the Bill provided that the conduct of Indian affairs by the Cabinet Minister would be critically and effectually reviewed. The triumvirate was thus established–the Parliament, the Cabinet and the Council to act as a counterpoise to each other. This was calculated to provide the best safeguard for Indian interests. Thus it was thought that by this Act of 1858, a balance, lacking in previous proposals would be attained.

References

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2. Ibid., pp. 1277-92.
3. Lorne, Marquis of, *Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1892) pp. 185-186.
4. Hansard, Volume CXLXVIII, P. 1704.
5. "Conspiracy to Murder Bill' was introduced in the Parliament with the object to punish those who contrived the assasination of foreign princes on English soil. This measure, desirable as it was, was unpopular in England, because some Frenchmen talked abusively of Englishmen as protectors of murderers, and even called on the Emperor of France to invade England. Parliament refused to be bullied even into doing a good thing, and the Bill being rejected, the Palmerston Ministry resigned.

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6. Ashley, E., *The Life of H.J.T. Viscount Palmerston*, Volume II, (London, 1892). pp. 142-147.
7. Hansard, Volume CXLIX, pp. 818-833.
8. Imlah, Albert H., *Lord Ellenborough, A. Biography of Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough, Governor General of India* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 251.
9. *The Times*, 6 April 1858, p. 7.
10. Imlah, *op. cit.* p. 250.
11. Martin, T., *The Life of H.R.H. the Prince Consort*, Volume V (London, 1880), pp. 200-203.
12. Hansard, Volume CXLIX, p. 2066.
13. Hansard, Volume CL, p. 2046.
14. "Oudh Proclamation" issued by Lord Canning in March 1858 declared that the lands of talukdars would stand forfeited to the Government except those who would prove their loyalty. The intention behind the "Proclamation" was to restore the estates to talukdars after a thorough inquiry, but this was not understood by the talukdars who abandoned their policy of neutrality in so far as their support to rebels during the Revolt and actively indulged in the guerilla warfare till the end of 1858.
15. Hansard, Volume CXLIX, p. 860.
16. Ibid., Volume, CLI, p. 316.
17. Morley, J., *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1918), p. 593.
18. Benson, A.C., and Esher, Viscount, eds, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Volume III (1854-61) : Disraeli to Queen Victoria, 24 June 1858, p. 373.

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"POLITICAL IDEAS OF MAHARSHI SHRI ARVIND–A STUDY INTO HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE"

G.D. Shukla

Maharshi Shri Arvind was one of the most outstanding titanic personality of the renascent India. He embodied the spirit of the Indian renaissance more fully than any other Indian. He exhibited deep and profound knowledge of the soul of India. This is the reason why great personalities like Romain Rolland, Dilip Kumay Roy and many others have hailed him as "the prince of Indian thinkers', 'the greatest living yogi of India' and also as 'the guiding star of this our earth' and 'the prophet of our age' and so on. Dr. Haridas Chandhari has rightly paid him the tribute as 'an amazingly creative personality with a deep insight into the past, a firm hold upon the present and a prophetic vision of the future'.

Maharshi Shri Arvind was indeed a versatile genius, a great poet, a greater scientific thinker and one of the greatest seer and patriot. He had great concern for the welfare of not only the Indians but also the whole mankind. It is this important concept of Shri Arvind's poltiical ideas that has richly contributed to the Indian renaissance and to the emergence of the nationalist tradition in the Indian political thought.

For the correct and critical understanding of Maharshi Shri Arvind's political thinking, it is essential as well as inevitable for one to remember that the fundamental thirst of Shri Arvind's inner being was mainly spiritual and not political. He plunged into politics for the sake of the higher and nobler purpose and not for its own. It was through the continuous practice of yoga and divine

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grace that he came to firmly believe that the mission of India was to spiritually lead the mankind and show it the path of a new creative synthesis of the march of human civilization. And if India was to play this heroic role decisively he argued that she must first shakeoff the bondgage of slavery and become free, united and strong. Shri Arvind, thus, placed before his countrymen the lofty ideal of a free and independent India instead of the liberal goal of colonial self-government. He valued national independence not as an end in itself but as a means to a higher end. He necessitated the independence of India for the triumpth of her ancient spirituality. He wanted to transform India into the best friend, philosopher and guide of the whole human race. He, therefore, warned the Indians against submitting to the temptation of changing India into a westernised state. He pleaded, thereby, for the preservation of India's ancient spiritual heritage. He was strongly convinced that the world today needed a strong independent India to deliver the message of spirituality.

In this context it is significant to note that unlike many Indian liberal political leaders of the Indian National Congress of the time, Maharashi Shri Arvind considered India as the dear mother. He was immensely attracted and impressed as well, by the concept of 'Vande Matram' revived by Shri Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who gave him the vision of Mother towards India.[1] To Shri Arvind, India was not simply the stretch of land bounded by the Himalayas in the north and girt in by the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea on the east and the west respectively. To him, India was a real living and lively spiritual entity. It was not a mere intellectual concept but it was a Mahashakti, the supreme power of evolving spirit in humanity. He visualised India as the extra-ordinary power of a great spiritual conception. He strongly believed that the existence of India solely depended upon the fidelity of her children to this great spiritual conception.[2]

From the above discussion, it becomes crystal clear to us that Maharshi Shri Arvind had the passionate love and devotion for mother India. This led him to jump into the surging tide of

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nationalism through the medium of politics. However, he did not cling to politics any longer. He devoted himself to the tremendous task of awakening and inspiring the people of India to rise to the occasion and put before themselves the noble cause of liberating the motherland from the clutches of the foreign power viz., England. Then, he withdrew from active politics and retired to the peaceful but spiritually powerful resort at Pondicherry. There, he wanted to busy himself in preparing, through the practice of Yoga, the suitable spiritual climate and condition for the realisation of India's divine destiny. It is important to bear in mind here that Shri Arvind's withdrawal from active politics and his ultimate retirement to the French headquarter at Pondicherry were logical consequence of his spiritual approach to politics. He did not abandon politics due to any feeling of helplessness or disappointment.[3] He had simply change the manner and method of influencing them. He firmly believed that the achievement of more political independence and strengthening of India's socio-economic conditions would not overcome the anomalies and maladjustments from which his countrymen i.e., the people of India, were suffering. If indian was to be elevated to the cause of the welfare of the whole human race, he thought that more deep and swift, fundamental and foreceful remedy had to be found out. And that was, according to Shri Arvind, the awakening of the spiritual power lying dormant in the soul of India and raising her to the status of full spiritual leadership of the world.[4] Thus, he left politics and retired to the peaceful isolation with a specific purpose to devote himself exclusively to the development of Yoga and thus prepare the necessary background for transition from the rationally self-aware human species to the integrally luminous superman or the divine man.[5] Shri Arvind was very well convinced that spirituality was the most urgent and effective medium of influencing politics in the case of India. This peculiar as well as particular concept of Shri Arvind regarding spirituality did not in any way connote withdrawal from life or decry the world as unreal or illusory. It mainly sought to raise the mankind to a higher level through the descent of Supermind in the life of a man.[6]

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The poltical ideas of Maharshi Shri Arvind seem to be chiefly corresponding to the three main phases of his life. During the first phase i.e., the period of his thirteen years' stay at Baroda (from 1893 to 1906 A.D.), he worked from behind the political scene of India. On one side, he bitterly criticised the Indian National Congress for its narrow and nominal aim and faulty and futile method. On the other side, he was equally at war with the British Government through anonymous letters and articles published in the Indu Prakash. Simultaneously, he was busy preparing the background for an armed insurrection by secret organisation. It was here that he attended the Barisal Conference in 1906 wherein he experienced electrifying effect of the national cry of Vande Matram and also the barbarian inhumanity of the British Raj. Thus, the Barisal incident forcefully unsealed the fountain of his spiritual powers. His sharp pen shot leaping tongues of flame. It roused and inspired his countrymen. Their awakened ardour and enthusiasm fed and throve upon the deseparate errors of the disraught and un-nerved bureaucracy.[7] He assumed the leadership of the nationalist group in Bengal and earned the name of 'the prophet of new nationalism.'

During the second phase of his life i.e., from 1906 to 1910 A.D. Maharshi Shri Arvind went to Bengal to carry on open propaganda against the British government for the relisation of the ideal of complete independence. It was a crucial period of an open and active participation in politics and also of an acute suffering and uncommon sacrifice on the part of Shri Arvind for the deliverance of the motherland.[8] He thoughtfully formulated and ceaselessly followed the highest goal of selfless service and supreme sacrifice for the cause of the motherland which lasted till the end of his life in one form or the other. This clearly indicates Shri Arvind's foresighted provision of the mission of his life. Thus, this span of time came out to be a turning point in the life of Shri Arvind. He passed through the stage of spiritual development which ultimately led him to the propounder of new nationalism i.e. spiritual nationalism.[9]

In the last phase of his life i.e., from 1910 A.D. onwards, Maharshi Shri Arvind retired from an active poltical life and settled

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down at Pondicherry to devote himself to yoga and literary and philosphical work. He became the apostle of the ideal of human unity and prepared the necessary background for the descent of the supermind. In other words, it was in complete obedience to call from the Almighty God that he withdraw from the main stream of the national struggle and went into seclusion to work from their for the freedom of the motherland by different means and in various ways. He had deep conviction that India was bound to attain freedom and unity which were necessary to the world and also that this goal/aim could be best achieved and preserved through yoga.[10] Further, he declared that "it is to make yoga the ideal of human life that India rises today; by yoga, she will get the strength to realise her freedom, unity and greatness; by yoga, she will keep the strength to preserve it. It is a spiritual revolution we foresee and the material is only its shadow and reflex."[11]

Maharashi Shri Arvind appreciated the work of the Indian National Congress and compared it to a well of living water in deserts more than Saharan and a proud banner in the battle of liberty.[12] At the same time, he was equally bitter in detecting serious flaws and defects in its aims, methods of work and leadership. He ruthlessly criticised the Congress in the sense that "its aims are mistaken, the spirit ..... is not the spirit of sincerity and whole-heartedness, ... the methods, it has chosen, are not the right methods and the leaders.... are not the right sort of men to be leaders; in brief, that we are at present the blind led if not by the blind, at any rate by the one eyed."[13] He further remarked that the National Congress was not really national and had not attempted to become national. The above remarks of Shri Arvind reveal to us the gulf that separated him from the Congress leadership of those days. He strongly believed that no Congress leader of those days sought to revive the sense of manhood and national self-respect in the people and to promote genuine fellow-feelings and patriotism among the masses. He pleaded that the only way to rouse the masses and stimulate interest in the national movement was to work for the goal of national independence and the depend upon self-help for its realisation. Thus, he

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placed, before the people of India, the ideal of complete independence and made them conscious of the moral degradation involved in subjection of foreign rule.

Maharshi Shri Arvind urged that the constitutional methods adopted by the Indian National Congress were not the right methods for achievement of complete independence as well as for invoking the spirit of nationalism in the people. He further remarked that the Congress's policy of making prayer, petition and protest was in no way conducive to the fulfilment of national needs of the time and therefore it was an outdated one. He also held that as the Indian interests were radically different from those of Great Britain, it was next to impossible or impractical for the British to share power with Indian so long as they could help it.

Maharshi Shri Arvind forcefully asserted that the spirit of the Indian National Congress for the accomplishment of the national goal was not sincere and devoted one. He charged the leaders of the Congress for making haphazard efforts to remove the yoke of the English. He believed that the congress leaders were utterly selfish and pitiably lacked the longing for poltical emancipation of India.[14] He also added that they blew the trumpet of loyalty of the British Crown and regarded British rule as a divine blessing. The Congress leaders, as a matter of fact, had stopped criticising the British government the moment they were admitted into counsels or wooed with offers of honour and preforment and started defending it most enthusiastically.[15] Shri Arvind critically analysed the sorry state of affairs prevaling in the Congress and conclucded that its main cause was the neglect of proletariat which was sunk in ignorance and overwhelmed with distress. He lamented that the organisation of the Congress was a middle class one and remained selfish and disingenuous in its public action. He asserted that the Congress was making no efforts to elevate or enlighten the proletariat. It is significant to note that the nationalists under the leadership of Shri Arvind became a force to be reckoned with in the political life of Bengal. The nationalists were able to rouse and enlighten the thitherto indolent and sleepy proletariat. Thus, from the

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above detailed discussion, we find that the greatest difference between the old Liberals of the Congress upto 1915 and the Nationalists, as cited above, lies in the different relationship which the two blocks/groups adopted towards the proletariat. Shri Arvind wanted to bring the proletariat class upto the level of the Brahimins by their spiritual development. He ardently wanted them to feel the divine fire that lay dormant in them. Thus, he perceived the necessity of educating and enlightening the massses of the country and thereby making the freedom more fruitful and meaningful too.

Maharshi Shri Arvind vehemently criticised the British policy of exploitation of the Indians in every walk of life. He was unsparing in his denunciation of the British misrule in India. He himself wrote firing articles in 'Indu Prakash' under the caption of 'New Lamps for Old' and tried his best to awaken the people of India from their slumber and arise to action. He thereby wanted to undermine the faith of the Indians in the superiority of the British poltiical organisation. He pointed out that the British did not necessarily represent the best in the occidental culture and civilization. He compared the British poltical organisation to that of the French to the advantage of the latter.[16] He convincingly observed that the Indians were far more nearly allied to the French and Athenian poltical organisation than to the Anglo-Saxon one and therefore the Indians did not care to purchase an outfit of political ideas properly adjusted to our natural temper and urgent requirements but eke out their scanty wardrobe with cast-off rags and threadbare leaving of their English masters.[17] He further argued that the administrative system as introduced by the British government in India was not at all suitable in any way to the condition prevailing in India. At the same time, he betterly opposed the British system of education in India on the ground that it had killed the very soul of India. He also rebuked the British officials for their arrogance and rudeness in their behaviour towards the people of India.

Maharshi Shri Arvind developed positive technique to liberate India from the slavery of the foreign rule. He proclaimed complete independence for India free from every kind of political control of

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England as the goal of the Indian nationalist movement. He also planned the scientific programme of action for realising the same. Accordingly, he rejected the moderate policy of the Indian National congress on the solid ground that it was futile and unworthy of the self-respect of India. He also refuted its constitutional method as there was no constitution in India then. Lastly, but not in the least, he strongly pleaded for the passive resistence. While he was in the services of the Baroda State, he did not or rather could not take an active and open part in national politics. He confined himself to the secret revoluntionery propaganda and organisation to prepare an armed insurrection. It seemed to him that resort to an armed revolt was the only way to achieve the political goal of India. i.e., achievement of complete independence and national self-development.

Maharshi Shri Arvind had accurately evaluated the British character. He strongly believed that if the British government will realise the gravity of Indian spirit of resistance and revolt against itself, it will immediately make peace with the Congress and willingly transfer power to the people of India. In that way the British government would earn the goodwill of the Indian people and at the same time secure their commercial interests.[18] Thus, Shri Arvind wanted to use the weapon of violence as a means of achieving national freedom. He stood for the necessity of secret revolutionary propaganda and the best preparation for an armed insurrection. It seems to us that he never abandoned his firm belief in the fact that every nation is entitled to win its freedom even by violence. He was, thus, never pacifist and maintained his close relations with the revolutionary forces even from Pondicherry for few years, atleast after settling there.

After his relase from the Alipore Jail in May, 1909, Maharshi Shri Arvind retired from politics and devoted all his time and energy to spiritual exercises and perfection of his system of internal yoga. He came to the conclusion that the regeneration of India was not possible without the revival of her ancient spirituality and it was possible only through Yoga that she would derive strength to regain her unity and freedom. His doctrine of passive resistance included the programme of paralysing the governmental administration

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by non-co-operation, boycott of government and government-aided schools and colleges, boycott of government courts of law and settlement of cases of dispute by arbitration outside, boycott of British goods and withdrawl of all the help to the government in any form.[19] He further pleaded for social boycott of those (Indians) who acted otherwise. If the British government resorted to violence to curb and crush the national movements, he appealed the people of India to meet violence by violence.[20]

The concept of nationalism as propounded by Maharshi Shri Arvind contained certain outstanding characteristics of its own in addition to the general merits of the same as advocated by the early patriachs of the Indian National Congress like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and many others. His concept of nationalism signified love for the moterland with a deep religious passion. Herein, he was inspired by the idea of kindling in the Indian people a consciousness of its own genius. He had true vision of India and he was fully confident that he would awaken national awareness in the people of every strata of society. His vision of nationalism meant strenuous efforts to awaken the very soul of India. Thus, he preached a higher and loftier type of nationalism as he himself was very eagar to make India conscious of her spiritual past and be herself and not Europe.[22]

The above detailed and critical analysis of the poltical ideas of Maharshi Shri Arvind helps us to evaluate, in proper historical perspective, his contribution to the modern Indian political thought in ways more than one. He was the first philosopher thinker of India to place before his countrymen the great ideal of complete independence without any kind of control by Great Britain. He made them realise the degradation and humiliation involved in subject ot foreign rule. He galvanised the people's movement into truly rational as well as national one by enthusing a deep sense of service before self and sacrifice for the motherland into the masses of India. He also highlighted the futility of dependence on the good will and sympathy of the British people and their parliament. He laid utmost stress on the inevitability of developing the undying spirit of self-

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help among the people of India. He even went to the extent of propagating the doctrine of passive resistance much ahead of Gandhiji's non-violent, non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements and inspired the people to accept the principles of swadeshi, national education and settlement of disputes by arbitration outside the government courts of law. Moreover, he was never unimindful, at any stage of his life and career, of the welfare of the whole humanity. He desired the freedom of India not for the sake of India alone but for the good of the whole human race. This moto of his mission is best attested by his address in the open letter to his contrymen on the eve of his departure from Calcutta in 1910 as follows:

> "Our ideal of patriotism proceeds of the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is a unity of brothers, equals and freemen that we seek, not the unity of master and serf, of the devourer and devoured."[23]

Maharshi Shri Arvind always upheld the view that however little it might have appeared on the surface of human consciousness and however important it might have been in consciously shaping the history of mankind, the ideal of human unity has evidently been a part of nature's eventual scheme and must come out. It goes without saying that he had firm faith in the fact that the freedom and unity of India were necessarily inevitable for the welfare of the whole mankind. He further added that free and united India was bound to play an important role in strengtheing the bonds of human unity and welfare. Thus, we find in the glittering personality of Maharshi Shri Arvind, an uncommon combination of all the prominent characteristics of a great political thinker and the greater yogi or the greatest Mahayogi who never failed to inspire the people of India to make ceaseless efforts for a free, democratic, dedicated and divine national life.

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ANNIE BESANT'S POLITICS IN INDIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR : A STUDY OF HER POLITICIAL IDEOLOGY

Raj Kumar

Annie Besant propounded an ideology in India based upon the deeper fundamentals of the oriental and occidental political ideas.

Politics in India during the first world war changed from that of pettion and protest to a more vigorous plan of action. Indian aspirations were crystalized into a definite scheme of self-government.

This paper attempts to analyse the nature and character of Annie Besant's political ideology in India during this crucial period of Indian history.

The significance of Annie Besant's ideas in Indian politics has been studied in the context of the social, economic and cultural backgrounds. In this exploratory quest for understanding her political ideas, the social, economic and psychological dimensions have been examined to unravel the complexities of her thoughts in the context of the political climate in India during the first world war.

I

Annie Besant was a rebel and militant child of the Victorian age. She was born in London on 1st October 1847. She imbibed religious tendencies from her very religious Irish mother and scepticism from her father who was a doctor in London.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century in England she worked as an educationist, a Unionist leader, birth control

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agitator, an anti-imperialist, free thinker and a socialist leader. Her association with Charles Barandlaugh and Bernard Shaw during the above period of her work and activities was deep and profound. During her hectic political career Annie Besant became restless. She studied, researched and reflected. In her search for truth she embranced Theosophy on 21 May, 1889 to find the ultimate truth of life.

Annie Besant arrived on the Indian scene in 1893. The country, in common with many other nations, was faced with the problem of adapting and adjusting her cultural heritage to a set of new rapidly altering conditions brought about by immense technological innovations and advancements in the West.

Annie Besant realised that the Industrial Revolution had launched the West upon a wild cultural adventure whose like, measured in turmoil, rapidity of change, population growth, war revolution and the exploitation of resources, the world had never before seen. Among developments of particular significance in politics were two innovations of the modern world: political parties and ideologies. Let us take retrospective look at the problem of ideologies and social classes in order to understand Annie Besant's political ideology in the proper historical perspective.

Every social system tends to produce its own belief system of ideology-that is, a body of defensive and conservative beliefs supporting the established goals of the society and explaning away any deviations from those goals as temporary and transient lapses.

We are told ideologies developed dialectically out of the conflict between objectively distinct social classes. The objectively distinct classes were said to develop out of relationships to property and production. This idea worked fairly well in explaining European politics.

The historical European ideologies that surfaced were those of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism. They were indeed to products of social classes. But more than that they were products of

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the way the social systems of 19th century Europe led the three classes-the medieval aristocracy, the middle classes and the working classes-to compete against each other for political power and popular following. The mere presence of an industrial order was not by itself sufficient to produce social classes and ideologies like those native the 19th century Europe. This was seen from the American example, where a rampant industrial society developed without producing the class system or the ideologies typical of Europe.

In both cases a form of imperialist was at work, holding down nations in a self-perpetuating pattern of cultural stagnation just as it held down the lower classes inside nations.

The class revolution of the times was genuniely universal. It was anti-imperialist and it caried the same imperatives within nations as it did between them. The traditional goal of ideological poltical in Europe was revolution or counter-revolution.

Nineteenth-century 'Capitalism' in America and twentieth-century 'Socialist' in Russia and China did not really represent difference types of utopianism. Both revolutions aimed at affluent materialist utopias. In the process both suffered considerable violence and injustice. It meant that the advanced industrial nations of East and West were all going through a transitional era in which the goals of the past had lost their relevance and new goals were emerging in their places. With all these built-in situations of diametric conflict, the result was a culture in which every one of the fundamental institutions was capable of being detonated at any moment and of sending explosions throughout society like a pack of fire-crackers ignited by a spark.

East and West were both preoccupied with achieving the conditions of an urbanized mass consumption society. The result was a cultural crisis that pervaded the institutions of the most advanced societies and promised to spread throughout the entire world.

As a result of the British impact, the process of the cultural collaborations and conflict had set in India. The pulls of caste, of

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community, of religion, and consciousness of one's heritage conditioned poltical thinking and action.[1] They seemed to have influenced the growth of political consciousness in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The earliest phase of the interaction of Western ideas and traditional Indian society was marked by such features as eclecticism, mutual tolerance and appreciation of the beneficent role of British Raj. The belief began to gain ascendancy that for India's progress, the introduction of Western liberal institutions was the only panacea. There was also a mild descent from the traditions, but sufficiently marked. Gradually the uncritical appreciation of British rule was short-lived. The fear of Christianization led to the reorientation of attitudes.[2]

There followed search for identity, and correspondingly, glorification of the Indian past: and these processes of introspection resulted in the reaffirmation of traditional values and institutions. It seemed as though there supervened some sort of cultural conflict and collaboration. In its struggle for cultural identity, colonial India looked back to its own tradition, to its own institutions and values.

While in one sense the Indian elite was forward looking into far as the process of wasternization was concerned, in another sense, it was socially and religiously conservative. This dichotomy was sharpened when in this period beame socially conservative, but poltically radical.[3]

Annie Basant entered active Indian politics in 1914. She looked for a new political order that would be tranquil and yet dynamic. She desired it to be a fusion of all that was best both in the Western and Indian cultures, and attempts to develop the Indian political ideology on such blending of the two cultures.

II

Politics in India during the first world war changed from that of petition and protest to a more vigorous plan of action. Indian aspirations were crystalized into a definite scheme of self-govern-

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ment. Annie Besant influenced in bringing about such a radical change in the Indian politics. What were the factors which impressed her to work for such a change?

Annie Besant stepped on the shores of India at 10-24 a.m. on November 16, 1893, we are told, "under the Rishis directions in furtherance of their great plan for a new spiritual impetus to meet the needs of the world".[4] She was to reawaken her true Motherland to knowledge of her age-old purpose. She condemned British imperialist and advocated liberty for India. She sought after Indian ideals which would flower into the national life. She said that every country had its own ideals and the nature of thought was their generations seed. The nature of the national life that grew up from them and sent forth the branches and brust into blossoms, were the products of the National Activity.[5]

Man is created by thought: and what a man thinks, that he becomes. So also is with Nations. India, Annie Besant explained, 'flowered out into a civilization unrivalled in the depth of its philosophy, in the spirituality of its Religion, and in the perfection of the Dharma of orderly and graded individual and National life, expressing as none other has ever done that balance, that equilibrium which is yoga, that which saved her, when all the contemporaries of her splendid Nationalities have been carried away by Time's tremendous rapids. India shared their past but they did not not share her future.[6] India's secret was her culture or the ideals which created it.

But what according to Annie besant were basic characteristics of a sound political ideology for a nation ? She said, "A national ideal to be useful must be in harmony with the national character, and must grow out of the national part. it must be a native of the soil, not an exotic."[7] Every nation, she said, had its own line of evolution, and any attempt to make it follow the line of evolution of another nation would be disastrous, even if it could be successful, as a matter of fact, any such attempt was doomed to failure, because it clashed with the world-plan.

Hence a political ideology of a nation, she urged, should

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saturate itself with the past of the nation, distinguish clearly between "root principles" and "passing manifestations" of them, identify itself in thought and feeling with that nation and hold up before it the ideal which appealed to all that was best in national feeling and strengthen and reinforce all that was noble in the national intelligence. It should seek to eliminate defects, "to lop off excrescences, to moderate exuberances, but should work within definite limits, not seeking to change its particular types, but to evolve that type to its highest possible expression".[8]

From the point of political history, ideas about the nature of the state and society were equally important. Throughout the ages different views about the duties and rights of the individual and the state had been practised. The nobler ideal that was spreading amongst men was:

"We live not to assert our rights but do our duties, and so to make one mighty unit where each shall discharge his functions for the common good of all".[9]

India's ancient system was founded on duty. But India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a strange compound of conflicting theories and ideas. it was a strange compound of an ancient nation ruled practically by a modern people. Under such circumstances, she thought, it was part of the necessity of the case that some amongst the people themselves should translate the popular grievances and point out the popoular deficits, so that a prudent policy could be followed and those who had the power needed to be instructed in the knowledge of the wants of the people.[10]

Annie Besant, stood for the ideal of ancient India and regarded it as thousand-fold loftier than the mushroom civilizations that had grown up in later days. Nonetheless she admitted that "we must deal with the country as we have it, and that where you are pushed into western methods you must adopt your own methods somewhat, so as to meet the new conditions, so as to deal with the new ways of thought".

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The nature and character of the British administration in India were determined both by political ideas prevalent in the United Kingdom and by the structure of the Government of India. The attitude of Englishmen in India was thus described:

The missionaries of English civilization in India stood openly for a policy of assimilation. British was to stamp her image upon India. The physical and mental distance sepearating East and West was to be annihilated by the discoveries of science, by trasplanting the genius of English laws and English education.[12]

It was the attitude of English liberalism in its clear, untroubled dawn and its most representative fiture in both England and India was Macaullay.

However, the Government ideology differed remarkably:-

"It was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed in whatever hands the goverment of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour of not the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword.[13]

Annie Besant refused to subscribe to the view that India was conquered by sword, and was held by sword. She believed that India was conquered by her own sons siding with Britain against local hereditary enemies, state against and, by playing off local jealousies against each other, she conquered each state in turn.

III

Annie Besant's politics during the crucial years of the first world war were to organise the Madras Parliament in 1915 and to begin a number of organizations like 'Young men of India' and 'sons of India' in order to create social and political awakening. Through her Weakly The Common Weal and daily The New India she started a rigorous campaign for self-government of Home Rule for India. She emphasised the need for awakening the youth of the country, the use of national dress, national art and manfacture, national lan-

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guage and classics and following Indian ideals and not hybrid and sterile ideas of an anglicised Indianism.

She wanted the Indian leaders to strike when the iron was hot. She told her country men in England that price of Indian cooperation in the war was India's freedom. She advocated the idea that England's need was India's opportunity.[14]

Annie besant suggested measures for improvement to the Congress progrqamme and activities and she castigated the British rulers in India, who: 'ate the salt of India and and trampled her right underfoot'.

She was interned by the Government in 1917 and finally in 1918 she was condemned by the Moderate Indian leaders for her critical attitude toward Montague Chelmsford reforms. She was also abandoned by the Extremist leaders because of her growing appreciation of the Reforms.[15] In 1918 she stood isolated from the mainstream of Indian politics.[16]

But Annie Besant undoubtedly made a definite contribution to Indian Political ideas and life. She appeared on the political scene in India in 1914 when politics seemed inert, colourless, lacking, so to speak, flint and iron. She gave a new angle, a new style to Indian politics and her contribution was manysided.[17]

She glorified the past of India, was intolerant of the British methods of government, stood for self-government for India, condemned the violent means used by the Extremists and had implicit faith in the Moderates' constitutional methods. Different strands worked in her and she was radical in politics, eclectic in religion and patriotic to India's cause while being loyal to the crown.

IV

Annie Besant's political ideology was based upon India's religious, social, economic and national aspects. The influences which shaped her political views were the spirituality of India, the Indo-British friendship and her new found idealism in theosophy for the

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establishment of a Commonwealth of Nations and a World Empire on the basis of equality, love and brotherhood of man. It would thus be seen that her political ideology was both wider and different than the two main political ideologies prevalent in India during the war viz, moderate and extremist.

It was wider in the sense that it always thought in terms of the salvation of the whole world and not merely of India. Through the awakening of India she wanted to elevate the whole world. India was a means but not the end. She thus thought in terms of establishing a Commonwealth of Nations and a World Empire.

Annie Besant thus evolved a political ideology, which was based upon her deep understanding of the Eastern and Western Cultures. Her political ideology had a social as well as a religious background. She insisted on the preservation of India's ancient tradition and culture, seeking only to adopt the western democratic culture to suit the changed Indian conditions.

To her the science of politics was an aspect of the Divine Wisdom whose principles were firmly based on the bedrock of humanity's spiritual oneness and not on expediency.

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THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR LEGISLATURE AND THE LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT

A STUDY IN FIRST PHASE - 1915-1919*

K.N. Sinha

Local bodies in some form or the other have been an outstanding feature of the Indian polity from the Vedic times till the expansion of the British colonial rule in India which not only brought the economic ruin of the country but also led to the gradual disintegration of these institutions. In 1882 the local self government policy of Ripon was the beginning of an attempt to give an organised form to these bodies with a shadow of power and responsibility but despite the claim of Ripon's liberalism, these bodies neither presented any element of democracy in their structure nor were in any way effective in substance. A local bodies in this province were governed by the local self government act of 1883. Hence, since the formations of the legislative council in this province (1913), its non official members had often been asking the Government to improve the existing act.

In fact this issue of much public importance brought open confrontation between the Government and the representatives of the landlords and the local bodies in the legislature because to be an office bearer of these institutions was a status sysmbol for the non-officials. The classes of the land-holders and the lawyers were generally occupying important positions in these institutions. Hence, the representatives of these classes in the Council were keen to make these institutions as effective and powerful as possible. The powers falling from the hands of the Provincial Government into the

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hands of these institutions were actually to be exercised by these classes. As such, the non-official members, particularly belonging to these classes, pressed the Government to make these institutions really effective. Their opposition played an important role in the growth of Local-Self-Government in this Province.

Under these circumstances, since the formation of the Council, the non-official members had always been asking the Government to improve the existing act. On a number of occasion they had drawn the attention of the government to various flaws in the existing law and the way they were being misused.[1] On March 9, 1916, M.R. Dixit had asked the Government if it would give an opportunity to the public to express its opinion on any amendment to the Local-Self-Government Act and the Municipal Act whenever such amendments were to be made. He suggested that a committee of officials and non-officials should also be appointed at that juncture for suggesting necessary reforms and alterations before such bills were submitted to the Government of India for their clearance.[2]

This suggestion of Dixit did the job and when the Local-Self-Government Bill was prepared by the Government, it was referred to a committee of officials and non-officials. It was then sent to the government of India which returned it after consideration. Now the Bill was referred to a small committee of official and non-official member of the Council and was presented in the *Council on March 7, 1917.*

The object of the Bill was to widen the basis of election, to give local bodies power of taxation, to give them some degree of financial independence and to relax the control of the Government to that extent.[3]

However, in the Council it was felt that though the bill was good in principle, it had serious drawbacks in matters of details. C.M. Thacker pointed out that the Bill did not constitute a real step in the advancement and progress of Local-Self-Government in the province. Though the Bill had widened the basis of election by giving franchise to persons owning holding land but it did not con-

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tain the exact qualifications of this new class of voters and hence, it was not clear from the Bill as to how far the franchise was actually going to be widened. Moreover, *mukaddams*, who were Government servants had also been given right to vote. He objected to this provision. An apprehension was voiced that these *mukaddams* might misuse their position to influence the voters which might also affect the election results.

Hence, when the Government moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, this move was unanimously opposed by the non-official members. They argued that since the Secretary of State for India was likely to announce a scheme for new reforms for the country which was also to deal with the problems of the local-self governing institutions, the consideration of this Bill be postponed till that announcement. Moreover, C.M. Thacker emphasised that the present Bill did not constitute any real step towards the progress of local self government in the province. R.V. Mahajani also voiced his dissatisfaction regarding the Bill and observed that the bill was much short of public expectations which had been aroused by the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission made nearly ten years ago.[5] For M.R. Dixit, "Disappointment" was the only word which would adequately express the feelings of the educated classes of this province about the petty nature of the reforms which were embodied in the Bill.[8]

In view of this unanimous opposition of the nonofficial members of the Council against the Government motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee, the Government was obliged to withdraw it. The President of the Council also remarked that it would be better to wait for the final announcement of the Secretary of State with regard to the constitutional reforms and he permittd the withdrawal of the motion.[7]

This retreat of the government before the unanimous opposition of the non-official members was welcomed with cheers. In its editorial comment the *Hitavada* remarked.

"The future historians of the C.P. Legislative Council will no

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doubt pause with bated breath to recount with admiration and appreciation the great and glorious events that took place in the last sitting of our local Council. Can any other provincial legislative body point to an instance when the all powerful bureaucracy, as it is called, was made to smother with its own hands at the bidding of non-official members, a measure to which it had devoted years of thought and labour ?"[8]

At this time, the Government of India announced its Resolution on the Local Self Government. This Resolution contained two important principles viz. (1) the local bodies should be made as representative of the people as possible and (2) secondly, their authority in matters entrusted to them, should be real and not nominal and that they should not be subjected to unnecessary government control. However, it also gave a large measure of discretion to the provincial governments matter of putting these two principles into practice. The Government of India had also suggested that the Chairman of the municipalities should not be a nominated person.[9]

Besides there, this Resolution of the Government of India also recommended that the *panchayats* should be developed by special legislation. They also called for an effective beginning to be made in this direction. They recommended that the principal village official could be associated with the *Panchayats* but it should not to be obligatory that the village headman was to be the president of the *panchayat*.

Hence, it was decided to appoint a committee to draft a new local-self-government bill to give effect to the policy of the Government of India as declared in their Resolution on Local-Self-Government.[10] The provincial government deputed C.A. Clark who was on leave in England to study the working of the local goverment boards in England. This action was taken on the basis of a suggestion made by the Secretary of State to the provincial governments to depute an official from each province to do this job.

On the basis of the suggestions made by this Committee a bill

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was prepared and was published in the C.P. Gazette of the 17th May, 1919. Main features of this Bill were as follows:

(1) At least three-fourth of the members of each body were to be elected and not more than one-fourth were to be nominated by the Commissioner. No official was eligible either for election or nomination.

(2) The franchise was broadened.

(3) Provision for territorial representation was also made.

The power of nomination given to the Commissioner was to be used to give representation to those interests and communities which might fail to get representations through election. Such persons whose presence on the board was considered desirable in the public interest but who might not like to subject themselves to the worries and uncertainties of election campaign, were also to be nominated by the Commissioners.[11]

This Bill was welcomed by the non-official members of the Council and they gave their "united blessings to this new born child".[12] The Bill was referred to a Select Committee and its recommendations were presented to the Council on November 20, 1919. A novel feature of this Bill, as approved by the Select Committee, was the provision for the establishment of local government boards in the Province.

However, before this report could be taken up for consideration the Provincial Government received the report of an Informal Committee appointed by the India Office to Examine the working of the local self-government in England and to advise on their adoptability in India. One of the recommendations of this committee was that it was not desirable to establish local government boards in India. The Secretary of States also felt that the proposed liberalisation of the system of local-self-government involved "a real risk of decreasing efficiency". He argued that the presence of a strong body of official element within the local bodies and strict external official control over their finance were much responsible for their proper working.

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Hence, he recommended that no haste should be made to establish in the type of local-self-governing institutions found in advanced and democratic countries of Europe.[13]

These recommendations of the Secretary of State necessitated reconsideration of what formed one of the principal features of the Bill. It was, therefore, decided to refer back the report of the First Select Committee to a Second Select Committee which was directed "to consider the report of the India Office Committee and then to report on the various amendments that were already before the Council."[14]

However, this Second Select Committee came to the conclusion that the local government boards should be established in the province. It re-endorsed the views of the First Select Committee.

This opinion of the Second Select Committee was forwarded to the Government of India which was unwilling to accept it. They pointed out that the creation of local government boards would not be in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Houses of the Parliament. However, later on the Government of India notified that they approved in principle the establishment of local government boards. On receipt of this communication the Bill was again referred to the Select Committee for further consideration.

The recommendations of the Select Committee were presented to the Council in its meeting held on August 23, 1920. While introducing the Bill, M.C. Gowan remarked, "When this Bill is passed into law, the Central Provinces will have the distinction of being the first province to give practical effect to the Government of India's resolution on Local Self Government of the 16the May, 1918."[15] The Bill was discussed in the Council and barring a few, most of the amendments, moved by the non-official members were accepted by the Government. The Bill was adopted.

The passing of this Bill was welcomed by the non-official members of the Council. According to C.M. Thacker, this Bill, on the whole, kept up the" tradition of the provinces as being the most ad-

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vanced in India in matters of Local Self Government". He admitted that though there were defects in it, but the new Council which was to come into existence soon would not only be a better representative of local interest and needs but would also possess greater power and thus be in a position to remove them.[16]

One of the Bills which being an ancillary to the Local-Self-Government Bill always shuttled along with it, was the Central Provinces Village Sanitation and Public Mangement Bill. The aim of the Bill was to increase the resources of the District Councils and to use these additional resources for sanitation and public management of villages in the C.P.[17]

This Bill had been moved on December 10, 1917, immediately after the Local-Self-Government Bill was introduced.[18] It was withdrawn on March 7, 1918, soon after the Local-Self-Government Bill was withdrawn.[19] It was re-introduced and was sent to the Select Committee on July 22, 1919[20] and was adopted on March 13, 1920.[21]

Another important legislative measure which was allied with the Local-Self-Government Bill was the Village Panchayat Bill of 1919. The Central Provinces Village Panchayat Bill was introduced on November 17, 1919, during the term of the Second Council.

It may be noted here that the non-official members of the Council were demanding the introduction of *panchayat* system since the formation of the First Council. On August 25, 1915, B.D. Shukul had asked the Government about the steps it was proposing to take "with a view to constitute village *panchayats* on the principle enuonciated by the Government of India in their Resolution on the Local Self Government dated the 28th April, 1915."[22] Again on August 16, 1916 Jawahir Singh had also observed that in view of the great interest shown by the public and the press with regard to the creation of village *panchayats*, Government be pleased "to consider the advisability of appointing a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire and report on the possibility of creating village panchayat in rural areas."[23]

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However, on both occasions the Government evaded this demand. This compelled the non-official members to move a resolution in the Council for the introduction of *panchayat* system in the villages for the purpose of village management. The resolution, moved by Nathmal, on November 13, 1916, recommended that the Chief Commissioner should appoint a committee of officials and non-officials "to consider the question of introducing in selected areas, the system of management of ordinary village affairs by a panchayat of the villagers," on the basis of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization on the subject and "to draw up a scheme thereon with due regard to the special circumstances of the Province."[24] In a forceful speech, Nathmal, while moving his resolution, observed that the people were not wrong in plainly telling the Government they were not satisfied with the progress of local self-government in the province. They had been looking forward for the last forty years the beneficant effects of Lord Ripon's policy. They had hoped that every village and town would be trained in the art of local-self-government, exercising any power that might be assigned to them and to realise that responsibility which Government, even in the smallest shape, would place on them. This would have, in course of time, enabled them to exercise powers when that was entrusted to them. Since this could not be done in a day some scheme which should be prepared which might prepare them for this purpose in due course and the best course would be to cover the whole province with local bodies.

It was also argued that almost every village was being regularly visited by several officials like policeman, the forest guard, the revenue peon and others of smaller magnitude to deal with the villages problems. The villagers had "become the sport, as it were, of these petty officials." Hence, if the villagers were to be saved from this tyranny of the officials and ruinous litigation, the best way to do so was to make the village "a unit under the aegis of the British government and then Self-Government and everything else would prosper."[25] This resolution was strongly supported by other non-official members of the Council with the result that the Government had to yield and accept the resolution.[26]

As a result to this, the Government appointed K.S. Jatar as an officer on special duty and directed him to proceed to Madras, U.P. and some

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other provinces to collect information about the working of village *panchayats* and to prepare and submit a scheme likely to meet the needs of this province. Jatar submitted his report in 1917[27] and, shortly after this, a committee of enquiry of officials and non-officials, was appointed with instructions to visit villages in selected districts and to enquire and ascertain the views of villagers on the proposals. After due deliberation this committee recommended unanimously that the *panchayats* should be established on an experimental basis in suitable villages to be specially selected in each district for this purpose.

These proposals were put in the shape of a draft Bill to be placed in the Council but just about this time the Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self Government dated the 16th May, 1918 was published. This Resolution was a definite pronouncement of the Government, after due consideration, presented a draft Bill before the Council in November, 1919.

However, this Bill was not acceptable to the non-official members because it did not contain any clear scheme to introduce *panchayat* system in the villages. Hence, the Bill was described by them as "limbo of vagueness." M.K. Golwalkar pointed out that though the avowed object of the Bill was to give the rural population political and administrative education, still the scheme contained in the Bill was "not sufficiently bold." Over-caution was writ large on the face of it.[28] For C.M. Thacker the public could not but "look upon this Bill with regret, disappointment and distrust."[29]

Though the non-official members were not satisfied with the provisions of the Bill, still they allowed the Bill to be passed. They knew that this was necessary, if the Local-self-governing institutions were to make any progress in the rural areas of the Province. They almost followed the dictum that some thing was better than nothing. According to C.M. Thacker, "There in not the least doubt that if the Bill is not passed, the Local Self Government will not make any headway. That is a matter which has weighed with us in coming to the conclusion that it should be passed in this Council."[30]

(Based on the author's ICHR Project–Role of the CP & Berar legislature in Freedom Struggle.)

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF CONGRESS RAJ IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR : 1919-1937.

D.E.U. Baker

On 14 July 1937, amidst widespread rejoicing, members of the Indian National Congress formed the first Indian government in the Central Provinces and Berar. This brought to a climax their efforts to undermine British rule in the province by winning the support of large and representative sections of the population. Thus, when Congressmen won a majority of seats in the provincial Assembly in 1937, they could claim that they, and not the British rulers, were the leaders of the people, and that British rule should give way to Congress Raj.

The substitution of Congress Raj for British rule perhaps appeared unlikely to nationalists in 1919. Rough terrain and poor communications hampered the movement of men and ideas, while newspapers were few and reached only a fragment of the population.[1] It must have been difficult, too, for Congressmen to conceive of united action against the government in a province that comprised two linguistic regions–one, in the north and east, where people spoke Hindi or a dialect of that language, and the other, in the south and west, where people spoke Marathi. The territory of Berar made the prospects of united action more remote still, for Berar had its own identity and interests, and her leaders resented their forced attachment to the Central Provinces.

Problems of a political nature posed further barriers to Congressmen in 1919 as they set out to mobilise the people against British Rule. The Hindi and Marathi middle classes were both involved in

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political activities, but these activities had developed along separate lines and had reached different levels of maturity.[2] Also, the Marathi middle class fervently supported the nationalist cause under the guidance of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a leading political figure in the Marathi areas of western India. By 1919, however, Congressmen all over India were yielding their allegiance to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, because they believed that he alone could drive the British from the country. To such men, the existence of local loyalties to Tilak was a barrier to the realisation of this wider vision.

By 1937 Congressmen in the Central Provinces and Berar had overcome many of these hurdles. They had won the support of wide sections of Hindi and Marathi society, and had gone far in persuading the Marathi middle class to accept the leadership of Gandhi. At the same time, Congressmen, acting within the framework of the national Congress, had drawn the province into the nationwide struggle against the British. In 1937 the electorate openly declared its support for these activities by returning Congress members to the Assembly in large numbers, thus enabling them to form a government.

The reception given the new ministry also demonstrated the support which the Congress had won by 1937. On 14 July the ministry under the leadership of Dr. N.B. Khare of Nagpur was sworn in at Government House.[3] For weeks afterward enthusiastic crowds feted the ministers at receptions in Nagpur and in country areas. in Nagpur itself euphoria for the ministry reached a heady climax at the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly on 30 July 1937. Thousands of people welcomed the Congress ministers and legislators as, clad in khadi and Gandhi caps, they left the premier's bungalow for the Assembly, preceded by bands and national flags. And as the procession moved, the crowd moved too, accompanying it on its triumphal way up Sitabuldi hill, below the fort with its memories of the defeat of 1818, and on to the Assembly. There another huge crowd welcomed the procession, and the ministers and members passed inside to be sworn in and take their place on the government benches. One observer spoke for a province and for his

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country when he averred that

> the procession of Congress members to parliament was a demonstration to the public that Congress Raj has been established...[and that] Dr. Khare...was the centre of a semi-religious ceremony.[4]

How did this extraordinary event take place ? How was it that voters in a sprawling and remote Indian province, which in 1919 had posed such barriers to unified action against the government, had by 1937 elected a Congress ministry in place of the British government that had dominated the region for over 80 years ? In so far as the solution lay within the province itself, the present paper attempts to provide an answer to this question.

I

Congress leaders, drawn largely from the middle class,[5] laid the foundations of Congress Raj by drawing on the forces of social and economic dislocation at work in the province between 1919 and 1937. The economic dislocation engendered widespread discontent, while social developments created new hopes and fears among the people, and hastened the collapse of the more static way of life that the province had enjoyed before 1919. Congressmen utilised these forces of discontent and change to enlarge their following, and, in so doing, weakened the foundations of British rule in the province.

Congress leaders made good use of the economic dislocation in the province to widen their following after 1919. Apart from isolated pockets of secondary industry, the province was entirely agriculatural, and was thus at the mercy of the climate and the forces of the domestic and foreign markets. So far as the climate was concerned, it was remarkable that, except for comparatively short periods, from 1919 to 1937 the province endured a devastating succession of frost, drought and flood. The province also suffered from the world-wide slump in prices, especially of cotton, during the recession of 1920-21 and the depression of 1930-34. And as these years coincided with the periods of climatic misfortune, they were

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precisely the years when Congress leaders won the strongest support for their attack upon the government.

Economic distress affected all sections of society and thus created ideal conditions for nationalist activity. In the towns, the middle class faced rising prices and rents and a worsening employment situation, while economic misfortune reduced the income which they derived from land.[6] In consequence, members of this class responded magnificently to the call by Congress leaders to join them in agitation against the government. For agitation gave the middle class an outlet for its grievances against the government, and also enabled its members to strive with their leaders to control the fortunes of the province, which to a large extent were their own.

In the towns, too, and particularly in Nagpur, high prices, insecure employment and declining wages affected the working class, which comprised factory and railway labour, the lower Hindu communities and the Harijans.[7] As a result labour began to organise, and the lower and depressed communities endeavoured to improve their lot. As this consciousness developed, Congress leaders identified with labour, and took up the cause of the non-Brahmin and Harijan communities. In this way, they created a base of support among these groups thereby challenging the government's efforts to partonise them.

In rural areas as well, Congressmen made political capital out of economic disruption. At various times between 1919 and 1937 the landless faced shortages of food, high prices and declining employment, while tenants were unable to pay their rents and landowners their revenues.[8] The latter were also aggrieved with the new land settlements which the government set on foot in both the Central Provinces and Berar. As in the towns, Congress leaders identified with these groups. Middle class Congressmen, who were frequently landowners themselves, articulated the demands of the landed for relief from government exactions, and of the landless for easier access to food and fodder in government forests. In consequence, members of these groups tended to look to the Congress and not

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the government as the arbiter of their fortunes.

The forces of social change also provided a favourable background for the political activities of the Congress leaders. The growth of consciousness among the non-Brahmin and Harijan communities, particularly in the Marathi region, bore striking witness to the reality of social change in the province before 1919. After 1919, reforms in the legislature and in local self-government provided these groups with new opportunities for improving their position, and their leaders formed politiecal organizations and established ties with the government to exploit these opportunities.[9]

Middle class Congress leaders utilised the growing social and political consciousness of the non-Brahmin and Harijan communities to enlarge their hold over them. In so doing, they came into conflict with the parties which represented, and with the government which fostered, the interests of these communities. Howerver, so successfully did Congress create the impression that the interests of the non-Brahmins were safe in its hands, that during the thirties non-Brahmin leaders began to work with the Congress and not the government, and their organisations even merged themselves into its all-embracing identity. The Congress also identified, though more slowly, with the Harijan community, and succeeded in a limited way in bringing it into its fold. This work was more successful in the Hindi region, where the Harijans were less organised than in the Marathi region, and thus more ready to turn to the Congress for support.

Other aspects of social change enabled the Congress to widen its base of support, especially in the towns. One such aspect was the enormous growth in population between 1921 and 1941. During this period, the population jumped from 1.3 crores to 1.6 crores. The rate of increase, considerable in the province as a whole, was explosive in the towns, for it intensified the grievances and aspirations of the different classes as outlined above, and transformed the towns into centres of potential support for the Congress.[10] The government was only too well aware of the dangers posed by the growth of towns,

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as the Inspector of Police noted in 1928:

> It is to be remembered, too, that with the advance in these Provinces, the smaller towns are rapidly growing in importance and places like Katni which were till recently almost negligible are now potential centres of real trouble and must be reckoned with when considering the strength necessary for out Special Armed force.11

Although Congress leaders did extend their hold over Katni and other towns, it was in Nagpur that they demonstrated most clearly the dangers which growing towns held for the Government. In that city, Congress leaders utilised the discontents, fears and hopes of a complex and rapidly growing population to create a following and foment opposition to the government. As one official ruefully observed in 1935:

> Periodically the city has been a storm centre in times of non-co-operation, civil disobedience, flag and arms satyagrahas, mill and railway strikes and communal riots. In short agitation in one form or another is practically the normal state of affairs.[12]

The development of communications also helped the Congress leaders to widen the base of their support, socially and geographically. Between 1922 and 1932 the government extended the network of metalled roads in the province, so that by 1932 such roads connected all district headquarter towns with the capital. In addition, in 1928 the Indian government completed the broad gauge railway line between Delhi and Madras. These developments enabled local politicians to move about with greater ease and national leaders to visit the province more frequently. Speaking in 1928 on the completion of railway, the Governor, Sir Montagu Butler, had some sense of the effect of these developments:

> With this link now completed we stand here...at the very centre of India's communications....The....command

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> of the arterial roads of India conferred on us by our position has...given many of us to think....We are no longer a land locked area cut off from the common life of India. We are now in the full tide of events.[13]

Middle class Congress leaders also utilised changes in the intellectual life of the people to widen their following among them. These changes were concerned with the growth of education and literacy and the development of the vernacular press. Between 1919 and 1937 all levels of education expanded rapidly and the literacy rate more than doubled. At the same time the government and private agencies encouraged the use of the vernaculars, particularly in education. These developments in turn led to a renaissance in the Hindi and Marathi languages and stimulated the growth of the popular press.[15]

Congressmen used the popular press to communicate with greater numbers of people than was possible before 1919, and particularly with those sections of society who had little contact with the English language. Between 1919 and 1937 they founded a number of newspapers, which during the period increased in size, circulation and frequency of appearance.[16] Such papers ventilated grievances against the government, and made capital out of public issues. In 1921, for example, the Congress newspaper, *Karmavir*, published from Jabalpur, made allegations of police brutality in neighbouring Narsimhapur. Shortly afterwards, politicians raised the issue in the legislature. And it is unlikely, that, without the *Karmavir*, this would have happened, for as the member for Narsimhapur pointed out:

> our district was immune from newspaper attacks till the adjoining district of Jubbulpore gave birth to that valiant warrior the *Karmavir* in 1919....(Until then, there were) no grievances in the district at all.[17]

II

The Hindi, rather than the Marathi, region provided stronger

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foundations for Congress Raj in the Central Provinces and Berar. Immediately, this was due to the fact that the constitution of 1935 gave the region a preponderance of seats in the new legislature, and Congressmen won most of these seats in 1937.[18] But also, in contrast to the position in the Marathi region, Congress leaders in the Hindi region encountered little opposition from rival parties, and they could therefore devote their energies to winning the support of the people for their attack upon the government. In this, they achieved an astonishing measure of success.

The success of the Congress in the Hindi region was largely the success of the Hindi middle class which provided its leadership. This class was drawn from the Kanya Kubja and other Brahmin groups, and from upper non-Brahmin and merchant communities, who had enjoyed a high social and economic status before the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861. After 1861 these groups enhanced their position by taking to western education and by entering government service or the western professions, while merchant communities took advantage of the commercial opportunities created by British rule. These groups also strengthened their hold on land, and at the same time settled in the towns in large numbers. In this way members of the dominant communities formed an urban middle class, whose leaders sought and gained political power in the Hindi region between 1919 and 1937.

That this class extended its power at a time of social and economic change needs some explanation. In 1920 the leaders of the Hindi middle class decided to contest the elections to the provincial legislature on the Congress ticket. When Gandhi engineered his boycott of the councils, however, the Hindi leaders transferred their allegiance to him, as providing the only credible alternative at the time.[19] The acceptance of Gandhi's leadership marked a turning point in their careers for the Hindi leaders not only gained political standing from their association with Gandhi and the Congress, but also an ideology, forms of agitation, and an organisation through which to win the support of people in their region. In 1920 the Congress also made the Hindi region a unit in its nationwide or-

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ganisation, and, as such, a part of its national struggle against British rule.

Yet the relationship betwen the Indian National Congress and the Hindi leaders was not one-sided, for the leaders had strengths of their own that told as much in their favour as anything they gained from the Congress. In their region, middle class Congressmen held positions of unassailable power which they exploited to win support for their attack upon the government. Members of the middle class, for instance, comprised the dominant cast communities. They monopolised the professions and government service, where these were in the hands of local people, and they controlled the Hindi press. Leaders of the middle class were, in addition, the foremost owners of land in their region and they dominated its commercial life. They also controlled its local bodies and held the seats allotted to the Hindi region in the legislature.[20] The weakness of others, too, was a source of strength to the Hindi middle class. Even by 1937, the Harijan movement in the region was comparatively weak, and the labouring class showed little signs of political consciousness.[21]

To assess the support which the middle class Hindi leaders gained between 1919 and 1937, it is proposed to survey their relations with various groups. These groups comprised the middle and working classes in the towns, and the landowners, peasants and landless in the contryside. The periods of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, especially, afford an opportunity to gauge the response of these groups to the Congress leaders, for these were climactic periods in the life of the province, when many people were compelled to choose either for the government or the Congress. As will be readily seen, the politically conscious sections of the population increasingly aligned themselves with the Congress.

Middle class Congress leaders appealed for the support of their own class in the towns throughout the period from 1919 to 1937. They did so through meetings, demonstrations, and the Hindi press; through elections to the local bodies and the provincial legislature; by their membership of the legislature; and by staffing the Congress

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organisations with members of the middle class. But the urban leaders appealed most emphatically for the support of the middle class during the campaigns of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, when British rule was most in question and the interests of the class most at stake. During these campaigns, the Hindi middle class strongly supported its leaders, for in doing so, it was not only weakening British rule but also furthering its own long-term interests which were embodied in the concept of Mahakoshal as a Hindi state within a self-governing India.[22]

Pleaders and barristers dominated the Congress leadership in the Hindi region, and from this influential base they called on members of their own profession to support the Congress and oppose the government. In consequence, urban lawyers participated in the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements, although the Hindi Congress reported in 1930 that their contribution was 'not' in proportion to...[their] importance in society.'[23]

Though the pleaders as a group remained somewhat cool to the blandishments of the Congress leaders, between 1919 and 1937 the leaders won widespread support from the Hindi students. This represented a new field of activity for the politicians, for the students had played a minimal role in nationalist politics before 1919. Throughout the period, the politicians contacted the students at conferences and meetings, through the press, and in national schools. This contact was increasingly fruitful. In 1921 some students left their institutions and some of these also joined national schools.[24] In 1930, however, students widened the scope and intensity of their agitation, thereby demonstrating their increasing response to the political leadership of the Congress.[25]

After 1919, urban Congress leaders also won support from two other sections of the middle class that had played little part in politics before 1919, namely the merchant community and educated women. As with the students, both groups supported the Congress leaders with increasing intensity up to 1937. As for the merchants, Marwari and Bania Congress leaders in the Hindi towns utilised

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community channels, conferences and local government bodies to appeal to their communities for financial help and support in agitation. In 1921 merchants responded to this appeal on a small scale, but in 1930 merchants in many towns sealed stocks of foreign cloth, participated in hartals and demonstrations and gave generously to Congress funds.[26] And when they disregarded appeals to boycott foreign cloth or suspend sales of liquor, Congress leaders enforced their demands by instituting picketing on a wide scale.

The efforts of the urban leaders to win the support of educated women also bore fruit in the campaign of civil disobedience. The leaders made contact with women at meetings, though more important sources of contact were the nationalist-minded wives of urban leaders or women who held office in Congress organisations.[27] Through these channels, women attended conferences and meetings, participated in demonstrations, and processed and picketed, particularly in Jabalpur and Raipur. In 1930, the Hindi Cogress detailed the contribution which women had made to the civil disobedience campaign, and in so doing recorded the success of its leaders in drawing them into the Congress camp. As it noted:

> Perhaps Jubbulpore was one of the few towns in India where the entire stock of foreign cloth was sealed in the beginning of the campaign, and this was entrirely due to the efforts of respectable ladies of the town who threatened the merchants with picketing....The women were most prominent in the prabhat feries throughout the province. Both in towns and villages they were ill treated by the police and...in some places they were arrested.[28]

The urban Congress leaders also drew another group which was new to politics - the urban labouring class - into their orbit after 1919. This class comprised such diverse groups as railway and factory labour, the lower Hindu communities, and the Harijan castes that performed service roles in the towns. In the case of factory labour, in 1920 urban middle class leaders fomented strikes at the

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Gun Carriage factory in Jabalpur, and in 1922 they took up the cause of striking workers in the Tapti mills in Burhanpur. In 1922. they also intervened unsuccessfully in a mill strike in Jabalpur.[29] In 1921 Congress leaders in Jabalpur induced railway clerks to sport Gandhi caps, and leaders from outside the Hindi region formed a union among railway workers in Bilaspur in 1922.[30]

There appears to have been little further contact between Hindi Congress leaders and railway or factory labour until the period from 1934 to 1937. Then possibly with a view to winning the factory labour seat created for Jabalpur under the Act of 1935, Congress leaders in the city announced their conversion to socialism, formed a local branch of the Congress Socialist party, and tried for the first time to organise workers in the mills and factories of the district.[31] In 1937, The Hindi Congress also nominated a leading railway unionist to contest the seat in Jabalpur as an additional means of winning the support of labour. The voters responded by electing him to represent them in the Assembly.[32]

The Hindi middle class leaders tried more consistently to win a following among the Harijan communities, particularly in the towns. Through their control of local bodies, Congressmen had contact with sweepers and other municipal servants. Also, towards the end of the twenties, Congressmen addressed Harijan meetings and conferences and began to open wells and temples. In the thirties, they continued these methods of contact, supplementing them with the activities of the *Harijan Sewak Sangh,* a body formed in 1932 to improve the lot of the Harijan community. Gandhi crowned these contacts with more certain success by his fasts in 1932 and his triumphal tour of the Hindi region. And although Gandhi's main concern was with the Harijans of the towns and villages who flocked to see him, he was constantly in the company of middle class leaders, who thus demonstrated their claim to represent the interests of the community.[33]

The Harijan communities in the towns responded to this claim by supporting the Congress in agitation in 1921-2 and 1930, and

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again at the elections of 1937. In 1922 sweepers in various towns went on strike at the behest of Congress leaders, and in 1930 whole communities responded to the appeals of Congressmen to abstain from liquor and aid the national cause.[34] Thus,

> almost all the labouring classes and artisans have decided to boycott foreign cloth and liquor....The spirit of love for country is developing in the poor Coolies; and cartwallahs have refused to carry liquor received from Katni to Basna and other places on account of caste decisions.[35]

There is further evidence of the influence of the Congress on urban groups below the level of the middle class. Mass meetings and demonstration were common features of urban agitation in 1921 and 1930, and these must have included people other than those of the middle class. The government and the Congress themselves reported the participation of such people in agitation. In 1930, for instance, an official stated that:

> in its search for recruits (i.e. for forest satyagraha), the Congress had recourse to the lowest classes of the population, ex-convicts, the riff-raff of the bazaars in the towns and the like.[36]

And, as the middle class leaders and voluteers went to prison in 1930, the Congress noted that young workers 'mostly without what is called a liberal education' came forward to take their place.[37]

Despite their success with other urban groups, the Congress leaders failed to win any appreciable following among the Muslim community, which was concentrated in the towns. Middle class leaders from both communities and Muslim mob orators gained some support for the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements from the middle and lower levels of the Muslim community.[38] But as these movements declined, the appeal of the legislature, local government and government service asserted themselves, and after 1922 most Muslim leaders developed close links with the govern-

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ment. By 1930 the Congress had little hold over the community, and after that date the position worsened as Muslim leaders drew their fellow Muslims into the Muslim League on the grounds that that organisation, and not the Congress, represented Muslim interests.[39]

If, by 1937, the middle class leaders had won a considerable following among the middle and working classes of the Hindi towns, they also achieved a comparable success among rural groups. In the early twenties, particularly betwen 1921 and 1922, urban leaders made contact with the lower elements of the rural population through tours, speeches and meetings, Congress organisations and local government, and through Congress sympathisers in the aboriginal community. In a few places, also, *malguzars* used their influence on behalf of the Congress.

These contacts had some effect, however patchy, in rural areas. Villagers in various parts of the Hindi region witnessed, or participated in, agitation, while the landless aboriginals and others lit forest fires and looted government forests in several districts. In Seoni district, government officers proclaimed that 'sedition' had penetrated the interior, and that propaganda had 'bewildered the masses'.[40] But Congress contact with the aboriginals and tenants also had consequences unforeseen by the urban leaders. In Betul, Gonds illegally harvested their landlords' *mahua* crops, while in Chhindwara and Chhattisgarh tenants attempted what officials described as a no-rent campaign.[41] However, the Congress leaders redressed these alarming trends betwen 1924 and 1929 by stoutly defending the interests of the landowners inside and outside the legislature.

During the thirties, urban leaders widened their base of support in the rural areas at the expense of the government. Between 1930 and 1932, Congressmen worked through the district councils to mobilise villagers against the government on a wide scale.[42] The following extract describes this process in Raipur:

> Outside the legislature political life was centred in the local bodies and district councils. Most of these bodies were vigorously...nationalistic....The numerous school

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> teachers controlled by the local boards and the district councils were all imbued with the national spirit. The case of the Raipur district council is typical of many others. Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla...used the institutions under the council successfully for the propagation of the national spirit....Shukla spared no pains in inculcating anti-government doctrines in the minds of school masters and getting them to spread disloyalty and disaffection in the villages. Every year the teachers were brought to Headquarters for conferences and lecutured to on political subjects and trained in lathi drill.[43]

This process was so successful that some urban leaders virtually controlled the interior of their districts. This was certainly so in Raipur, as Butler confessed in 1932:

> During the civil disobedience movement we nearly lost control in Chhattisgarh, and so long as Pandit R.S. Shukla and his friends retain influence in that locality it will be a dagerous spot.[44]

In 1930, the Congress leaders also strengthened their hold over the landless, and particularly the aboriginal community. From March 1930 onwards the urban leaders held conferences and meetings attended by aboriginals and villagers where 'deliberate incitement to forest satyagraha was carried out'.[45] As a result between June and October large groups of people disobeyed forest regulations in many districts of the Hindi region. These satyagrahas were a triumph for the urban leaders, not simply beacuse they challenged the rule of law on a wide and somewhat frightening scale. But through these satyagrahas, the urban leaders also demonstrated their widespread influence over the rural poor and their ability to use them in agitation against the government.[46]

After 1930 urban Congressmen also won strong support among the rent paying agriculturists and revenue paying malguzars by espousing the interests of both. In 1931, Congress landowner leaders

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held meetings in many districts to press the government to remit rent and revenue. The Hindi Congress conference of 1931 also supported this demand, and sent a committee into the northern districts to investigate the extent of agricultural distress.[47] This pattern of contacts with tenants and malguzars–meetings, conferences, tours, enquiry committees, and organisations continued up to the elections in 1937. The only additional means of contact used by urban leaders were the *kisan sabhas* or *krishak sanghas* formed in various districts, but these, too, were formed to secure the reduction of revenue, and were not instruments for use by kisans on their landlords. As in the twenties, these contacts occasionally led tenants to oppose their landlords, but the Congress leaders firmly upheld the interests of both groups and in this way ensured their combined support.[48]

III.

The foundations of Congress Raj in the Marathi region were less firm than those in the Hindi region. Once again, the provisions of the constitution affected the situation, for they gave the Marathi region less than half the seats in the new Assembly, and Marathi Congressmen won a smaller proportion of their seats than Hindi Congressmen.[49] This was because Gandhian Congressmen encountered strong opposition from rival factions and parties.[50] Within the Congress, Tilakites and Gandhians fought to control the organisation, while outside it rival parties encouraged by the government appealed for the support of the Muslim, non-Brahmin, and Harijan communities.

Despite this fragmentation of political life, Gandhian Congressmen won an impressive following among the various classes of Marathi society after 1919. But from 1919 until 1924, the Tilakites dominated the activities of the Marathi Congress, particularly in the towns. They did so by using the Congress organisations, local government, the press, their casts networks and dominance, and their status as professional men and landowners, to retain their hold over the groups which they had led before 1919. These groups were drawn from the middle and working classes in the towns, and from

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the landowners and tenants in the countryside. Thus, in 1919 the Tilakites prevented the urban groups from participating on any large scale in the Rowlatt satyagraha, and from 1920 to 1922 they used the campaign of non-cooperation to attack the government and maintain their political leadership in the towns.[51] In the rural areas, too, between 1920 and 1022 the Tilakite leaders contacted landowners and tenants, who continued to support them as they had done before 1919.[52]

However, it was the Gandhian Congressmen and not the Tilakites who ultimately won the greater following in the Marathi region. This process began with the small groups of leaders, loyal to Gandhi, that developed in the towns and countryside from 1919 onwards. The dominant leader, especially in the division of Nagpur, was Jamnalal Bajaj, the Marwari millionaire of Wardha. Another important element in the new leadership was the group of Gandhian agitators who settled in Nagpur in 1920.[53] In Nagpur and the Marathi towns, too, groups of new leaders emerged to support Bajaj and the Nagpur agitators. These men saw their political openings in the new and wider Gandhian Congress and not in the socially exclusive and ideologically narrower organisation to the Tilakites. And these new leaders–Brahmin professional men, journalists, Marwari merchants, non-Brahmin landlords, educated women, Muslim pleaders, Parsis, and militants and populists of various kinds–themselves reflected the wide social base and secular democratic outlook of the new Congress as it set out to undermine the British Raj in the province and in India.

By 1923 these new leaders had made some inroads into the Tilakite following in the Marathi towns. Bajaj used his money and his Marwari connections to create a following in Wardha and Nagpur.[54] The Nagpur agitators worked alongside the Tilakites during the non-cooperation movement and also ran the national schools in the city where leaders were made and volunteers trained. These leaders and their new colleagues used other devices, too, such as the public meeting, the press, their non-Brahmin appeal, and the tactics of populist agitation to win support. As a result by 1923 the

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Gandhians had won over some professional men and students, had created a new following among the Marwari merchants, and had begun to appeal to women.[55] In Nagpur city, Gandhian leaders also began to undermine the Tilakite influence on the working class by supporting the cause of factory labour, and by opening contacts with the lower communities of the city.[56] By 1923, too, Gandhian agitators and constructive workers had made some contacts n the rural areas of the division of Nagpur, but these would seem to have been of a general nature.[57]

Between 1922 and 1929, the Gandhians widened their foothold in the division of Nagpur by wresting th Congress organisation from the Tilakites. Bajaj was the leader of this campaign, and from 1922 until 1925 he waged a relentless war against the Tilakites for control over the Provincial Congress Committee and the Wardha district and tahsil Congress Committess. By 1924 this work was well under way, as Dr Moonje, the leading Tilakite in Nagpur, helplessly observed:

> I am reliably told that last year Seth Jamnalal Bajaj spent three thousand rupees to control the general elections and so capture the provincial Congress organisation. He had engaged motor lorries and motors and would flood any taluka meeting with his own men brought from surrounding villages...particularly to see that I was not elected president of the provincial Congress organisation. We cannot do anything to assert ourselves.[58]

In 1925 Gandhi moved Bajaj to other work, but local leaders, led by the ambitious Brahmin barrister, M.V. Abhyanker, took over the campaign, and by 1929 the Congress organisation in the division of Nagpur was in their hands.

In Berar Gandhians also worked their may into the organisations of the Congress after 1920 on the basis of the new following they had forged in the towns during non-cooperation. But, lacking the resources of Bajaj and the determination of Abhyanker, they were compelled to share power with the Tilakites, who were strongly

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entrenched. It was only during the thirties that Gandhian leaders consolidated their hold over Congress organisations in Berar to any appreciable extent.

At the same time, Gandhian leaders continued to enlarge their following among representative sections of Marathi society. They did so by articulating the interests, as they saw them, of the major social groups. In Berar, their task was rather to consolidate their slender position in the towns. But in the towns of the Central Provinces, and particularly in Nagpur, the Gandhians worked hard to lure the diverse elements of the population away from Tilakism and into the Congress. In this campaign, the Congress leaders wooed the urban middle class, by representing it in the legislature, and by mounting demonstrations, holding conferences, continuing the national schools, contesting council and municipal elections, using the press, doing constructive work, and by taking advantage of the occasional visits which Gandhi paid to the Marathi region.

But the Gandhians also stepped up their contacts with other social groups as well. They drew non-Brahmins into the Congress organisations and adopted them as candidates for election to the legislature.[59] The leaders appealed to the Muslims, too, by including Muslim leaders in Congress organisations and by assisting the community during the communal riots in Nagpur in 1927.[60] In addition, the new leaders, Brahmin, non-Brahmin and populist alike, strengthened their hold over the working class of Nagpur through union activity, constructive work, and agitations such as the Arms satyagraha of 1927.[61] And so far as the Harijans were concerned, Bajaj began to open temples and wells in the region in 1929, and in that year also chaired the all-India Suppressed classes conference.

Congress leaders strengthened their growing leadership of the different sections of Marathi society by utilising their services n the civil disobedience campaign between 1930 and 1932. As in the Hindi region, the leaders first exploited their base in the towns. There, middle class leaders–Brahmin professional men, journalists, Marwari merchants and educated women–won widespread support from their

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own class. And it is safe to assume that they won that support by attacking British rule and by holding out the prospects of a rule of their own making. More directly, the Gandhian leaders won middle class support by appealing to them through their professional organisations, communal networks, the Congress committees, local government and the press, in addition to tours, meetings, and agitations.

The campaign of civil disobedience demonstrated the extent to which the Gandhians had replaced the Tilakites as the leaders of the Marathi middle class. Pleaders, enthused by Gandhian pleaders, participated in agitation with greater conviction than in 1921.[62] so did the students, who, motivated by second rank leaders in Nagpur and by leaders in the country towns, threw themselves far more wholeheartedly into agitation than they had done in 1921, disrupting schools and colleges, and in some places picketing cloth and liquor shops.[63] The campaign also demonstrated the growing loyalty of Marathi women to the Congress, for between 1930 and 1932 educated women in most towns responded to the appeal of men and women Congress leaders to meet, agitate, process and picket.[64] Marwari Congress leaders also persuaded their caste fellows in every town to boycott foreign cloth and liquor, observe hartals, and in some places to process and agitate.[65] And when in 1932 the heat of these agitations began to wane, the Marwari leaders pressed the merchants to enlarge the scope of their boycotts. This pressure was generally successful, for according to one report in 1932:

> trade in the higher classes of foreign and particularly of British goods has been affected considerably. In the towns and among the Marwari community generally sentiment in favour of swadeshi productions and...fear of criticism rather than coercion are the main inducements. Cheap Japanese goods are on this account coming into considerable vogue.[66]

The main difference betwen the campaigns of civil disobedience in Nagpur and Berar was the attempt by Congress leaders in Nag-

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pur to win the support of the working class. As in the Hindi towns, this class comprised factory and railway labour, the lower Hindu communities such as the weavers, and the Harijans. To strengthen the Congress foothold among factory labour, the second rank leaders worked closely with R.S. Ruikar, the demagogic labour leader, to encourage strikes, form unions, and sympathise generally with the cause of labour.[67] Through their leadership of various unions, too, these leaders ensured that mills in Nagpur were idle on certain occasions and that workers participated in nationalist demonstrations.[68] The populist leaders, in addition, had long-standing links with the Koshti weavers and Mahar mill workers, and these produced daily processions of both groups in sympathy with the Congress.[69] The same leaders also probably induced urchins to process and snatch foreign caps and *tangawalas* to fly the national flag on their vehicles.[70]

In the countryside, middle class leaders from the towns (who were invariably landowners) consolidated their following among the landowners and tenants between 1930 and 1932. From drawing their class fellows into agitation in the towns, urban leaders moved out into the rural areas. There they visited villages, delivered speeches, enrolled volunteers, collected money, held conferences and meetings, and investigated the economic condition of the tenants and landowners who were suffering from crop failure and economic depression, and who were faced with a new land settlement.[71] The object of all these activities was to identify the Congress with the interests of the revenue paying landowners and the rent paying tenants, for it was the constant theme of speeches by Congressmen at rural meetings in the thirties that the government should reduce, or suspend, rent and revenue.[72]

Urban middle class leaders also established their hegemony over villages in different part of the Marathi region between 1930 and 1932. To do this, leaders went on tour, gave addresses, contacted crowds at rural fairs, and used the primary schools to leave their impress on village life. As the Inspector of Education in Berar observed in 1930:

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> Primary schools in rural areas were also affected. Boys generally took part in Prabhat feries. They observed hartals. Congress flags were hoisted on many school buildings....The percentage of attendance has been lowered. There has been a fall in enrolment and the work of some schools has been hampered to a great extent.[73]

In many areas of the Marathi region also middle class leaders roused the rural poor to political consciousness between 1930 and 1932. They did so by taking up their grievances against the forest regulations and by launching satyagrahas in government forests to redress those grievances.[74] The urban leaders made contact with the landless through tours in rural areas, at meetings where they incited their hearers to action, by personal example, and even through money.[75] As a result, forest satyagrahis, though frequently urban politicians, volunteers and hired foolowers from the town or country, were also the rural poor who 'possessed neither land nor cattle'.[76] And as these men and women attacked the government forests, the many thousands who witnessed the strange spectacle must have wondered whether Congress Raj had not already come. In Arvi tahsil in Wardha, Congress Raj in one sense was already a reality, according to the district superintendent of police:

> The idea is fairly generally accepted in the Arvi tahsil that Government has really ceased to exist....The Circle Inspector of Arvi found that persons collecting money for the Congress had now merely to enter a village and demand a subscription in order to have their demands met immediately. He also quoted the figures as regards the destruction of palm trees. About 12,000 palm trees have been cut so far in th district, and the present position is that volunteers merely go and direct villagers to cut the trees and their orders are complied with.[77]

Between 1933 and 1936 Congress leaders maintained contact

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with sections of the population that had already responded to their leadership. In the towns, the Congress kept its links with the middle class through meetings, demonstrations, the press and the re-establishment of its organisational struture, as well as through election to local bodies, the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. Congressmen also maintained their links with different sections of the working class, particularly in Nagpur. In rural areas, Congress leaders continued to identify wth the landowners, the tenants and the landless, and tried, with some success, to draw non-Brahmin leaders and organisations into their orbit.[78] Congressmen also utilised the fasts and Harijan tour of Gandhi and the Harijan Sewak Sangh to appeal for the support of the Harijan community. And as 1937 drew closer all these contacts were more and more oriented towards the impending elections.

The Tilakites tried to counter the growing popularity of the Congress by new appeals to the middle and working classes. They played for middle class support by forming ministries in the legislature, and, in Berar, by espousing the interests of the division in its conflicts with the Central Provinces.[79] In Berar, too, the Tilakites tried to involve the urban and rural populations in a parallel campaign of civil disobedience.[80] Throughout the region as a whole, the Tilakites also began to bring students and the lower middle class into the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, and they established contacts with labour leaders in Nagpur and with landowners and tenants in rural areas.[81] Finally, through the Hindu Sabha, the Tilakites appealed to Hindus as a whole, and at the same time brought non-Brahmins into its organisation, and espoused the cause of Harijan uplift.[82] These measures, howerver, failed to stem that tide of support for the Congress.

This tide of support, though strong, did not include the Muslim community, which was heavily concentrated in the towns. As in the Hindi region, Tilakite and Muslim leaders drew Muslims from the middle and lower classes into the Khilafat movement, and to some extent into non-cooperation as well.[83] But the riots in Malabar in 1921 and the lapse of the Khilafat issue divided the Hindu and

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Muslim leaders, and, despite the efforts of the Gandhians, most Muslim leaders drifted away from the Congress to support the Government after 1922. Several Muslim leaders participarted in the civil disobedience campaign, but the community as a whole remained aloof.[84] And as the elections of 1937 approached, non-Congress Muslim leaders drew their community into the Muslim League, thus dispraving the claim of the congress to represent all groups in Marathi society.[85]

IV

The efforts of Congressmen to undermine British rule in the Central provinces and Berar reached a climax in 1937. From 1919 onwards, Congress leaders had claimed that they, and not the British rulers or the sectional parties, were the real leaders of the people. And they had tried to make good this claim by establishing contact with all sections of the provincial population. The elections of 1937 provided Congress leaders with an opportunity to test the success of these contacts. For if Congressmen could secure the support of a representative majority of voters they would demonstrate the reality of their leadership, and their right to replace British rule with Congress Raj.

The elections of 1937 did vindicate, on the whole, the claims of Congressmen to be the real leaders of the people. Most voters voted for Congress candidates, and Congressment won an absolute majority of seat.[86] In the Hindi and Marathi regions, Congressmen won all nine urban constituencies and most of the rural ones as well, drawing in the non-Brahmin vote.[87] They also won half the seats set aside for for special interests, namely the three women's seats, two of the three landholders' seats, one of the two seats reserved for commerce, and one of the two labour seats. In addition, Congressmen won a majority of the Harijan seats in the Hindi region, but failed to win any in the Marathi region, though Marathi Harijan members later agreed to work with the Congress ministry.[88] Congressmen also routed the Tilakites in Nagpur, but failed to secure any Muslim seats at all.

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The voters returned Congressmen to the Assembly in 1937 in large numbers for a variety of reasons. Congressmen had won appreciable support from different sections of the community since 1919, and these were precisely the sections enfranchised in 1935.[89] Again, during the brief but hectic campaign in 1937, Congressmen made final contact with these groups, assuring them that the Congress represented their best interests. The established reputation of Gandhi and of many Congressmen also told in their favour, as did the advantages which middle class Congressmen possessed–of caste, affluence, professional contacts, the ownership of land, an organisational network, control over local government, a provincial press, and an inexhaustible supply of volunteers.

But the Congress also won a great deal of support because its candidates and voters believed that, if the party won the elections, it would form a government.[90] This was a strong factor in its success, according to one observer:

> The electorate is of opinion that congress will accept office...Everywhere we find that the masses will vote for any party which promises them release....The Congress has been promising the masses on a large scale a new order of things, and naturally the scales have been weighted in its favour.[91]

Despite these promises, however, Congress Raj did not bring relief to the masses. For one thing, it was the middle class who stood to gain most from Congress rule. Congress members of the Asembly came almost wholly from this class, and the ministry completely so. Thus by 1937 this class had achieved its political objectives, short of the complete independence of the province and the country from Britain. Its leaders had replaced the British as the rulers of the province, and had established their control over the political community as well.

But for the Marathi middle class, even Congress Raj proved a bitter fruit. After the formation of the cabinet, differences developed between the Hindi ministers, who were in a minority, and Dr Khare

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and his Marathi colleagues. These differences reflected dissatisfaction among the Hindi leaders that they did not enjoy a status commensurate with their position as the leaders of a majority of the population and a majority of Congress members of the Assembly.[92] The Working Committee of the Congress accepted the reality of the Hindi claims, and, after a series of cabinet crises, deprived Khare of the Premiership and installed Shukla, the Hindi leader, in his place.[93]

Urging that Congress Raj had become Hindi Congress Raj, leaders of the Marathi middle class bitterly attacked the new ministry. Led by Khare, they maintained that only a division of the province along linguistic lines could safeguard the interests of the Marathi people.[94] To strengthen this claim, leaders from the middle class allied with other discontented sections of the population, such as the agriculturists, workers, and Harijans, and even drew support from women and students.[95] Only the outbreak of the World War brought relief to the harassed ministers. When it began, the national leaders of the Congress requested their ministries in the provinces to quit office. As a result, Shukla and his colleagues resigned in Novembe 1939. It was to be seven years before the Congress once more established its Raj in the Central Provinces and Berar, and this, like its predecessor, was firmly based on the foundations laid between 1919 and 1937.

References

1. There were 25 newspapers in circulation in 1919. The population in 1921 was 1, 39, 12, 760, of whom 6, 33, 293 were literate.
2. For a discussion of this, see D. Baker, 'The Rowlatt Satyagraha in the Central Provinces and Berar', in R. Kumar (ed.), *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 93-125.
3. Member of the ministry were as follows: Dr. N.B. Khare, Premier (Home), Ravi Shanker Shukla (Education), D.P. Mishra (Local Self-Government), R.M. Deshmukh (Public Works), M.Y. Shareef (Law), D.K. Mehta (Finance), and P.B. Gole (Revenue).
4. *Hitavada*, 1 August 1937, p. 7.
5. The writer envisages a composite middle class drawn from individual caste communities. These groups, and the class which they form, would possess one or more of the following characteristics: affuence, the ownership of land,

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membership of a profession, literacy, urban residence and a style of life that marked them off from other sections of society.

6. National Archives of India (NAI), Home Political (Poll), July 1920, 29, Deposit, Fortnightly Report (FR), Central Provinces and Berar (CPB), Second Half of February (2/February) 1920, p. 21; Madhya Pradesh Secretariat, Bhopal (MPS), Appointments, 21-76, November 1924. Reorganisation of the Ministerial Establishment of the Civil Secretariat with effect from 1 September 1924. Memorial of K.S. Sarwate to Sir Frank Sly, p. 2. The middle class found the employment situation more difficult because the government began to take an increasing number of Harijans, non-Brahmins, and Hindi-speaking people into its employment in the twenties. These appointments reduced the number of posts available to members of the Maharashtrian Brahmin community, which was heavily represented in the government service before 1919.

7. The term Harijan coined by Gandhi in 1932 means 'the people of God', and is used in this article to describe those whom the provincial government referred to as the depressed or scheduled castes. The government adopted the word Harijan for official use in 1934. For high prices and the working class, see NAI, Home Poll, July 1920, 29, Deposit, FR CPB, 2/February 1920, p. 21. For insecure employment, *ibid.*, F-25, FR CPB, 1/May 1923, p. 17. For declining wages, see *ibid.*, F-18, FR CPB, 2/Decmber 1922, D.O., no. 2-1, p. 1. For similar information after 1930, see *ibid.*, 18/VI, FR CPB, 2/June 1931. P. 1; 18/VIII, FR CPB, 2/August 1931, p. 1.

8. Scarcity of famine conditions compelled the government to organise relief works in various districts in 1919, 1920, 1921, 1928, 1929 and 1930. Employment was also scarce in areas where cotton crops failed in the thirties. The difficulty which tenants and landlords had in paying their rent and revenue respectively can be gauged from the pressures for suspension or remission of such payments, and the government's reaction to these pressures. The government suspended its exactions in certain districts between 1920-21, 1924-35 and in 1937.

9. The reforms of 1919 enfranchised the landowners and substantial tenants in rural areas, and provided for the nomination of Harijan representatives to the legislature. The Municipalities Act of 1923 greatly widened the franchise for the local bodies, and gave communities such as the Marathas, Malis and Mahars the vote. Among the parties which were organised to represent the non-Brahmins were the Central Provinces and Berar non-Brahmin party, which was formed after the elections in 1926. The Shetkari Sangh (Farmers' party) began its activities in Berar in 1928, when it set up non-Brahmin candidates to contest the elections to local bodies. Non-Brahmins and Harijans also joined the Democratic party formed by E. Raghavendra Rao in the council in 1928. The Harijan leaders K.G. Nandagaoli and G.A. Gaval were associated with the All-India Depressed Classes Association formed in Nag-

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pur in 1926. This organisation had ties with the Hindu Mahasabha. S.U. Katangle, another Harijan leader, was associated with the rival All-India Depressed Classes Federation which was formed in Nagpur in 1930 under the guidance of Dr. Ambedkar.

10. The population rose by 20.8% between 1921 and 1941, whereas the urban population rose by some 72.2%. In this article, the word 'town' is used to denote centres of population with more than 10,000 people.

11. Maharashtra Secretariat, Nagpur (MSN), Police, 4-3, S 603, 1928, Strengthening of the Special Armed Police Force in the CP. Note by T.H. Morony, Inspector General of Police, CP, p. 17. Katni, which appears in the census under the municipality of Murwara, is a railway and market town north of Jabalpur, and in 1931 had a population of 21,959.

12. MSN, Police, 3-4, S 541, 1935. Increase of police force in Nagpur,Wardha and Raipur from 1 December 1935, p. 47. Nagpur's population in 1921 was 1,45,193 and in 1941 3,-1,957 - an increase of 107.9%.

13. *Central Provinces Legislative Council Proceedings (CPLC)*, vol. III, 15 August 1928, pp. 2-3.

14. In 1921 4.5% of the population, or 6,33,293 people, was literate, whereas in 1941 11.7% of the population, or 19,72,559 was literate.

15. For the renaissance in the Marathi language, see *Hitavada*, 7 October 1936, p. 3.

16. The total number of newspapers in circulation in the province increased from 25 in 1919 to 73 in 1936. The circulation of the *Karmavir* of Jabalpur, for instance, rose from 500 in 1920 to 5,000 in 1938. It appeared as a weekly in 1920 to 5,000 in 1938. It appeared as a weekly in 1920. In 1930, the *Lokmat* of Jabalpur appeared as a daily. So did the *Mahakoshal* of Raipur, which began in 1936. The *Hitavada*, an independent newspaper published in Nagpur, was a small weekly in 1920. By 1939 it was a large newspaper coming out three times a week. Much the same trends were evident in other newspapers of the province.

17. *CPLC*, vol. I, 4 March 1921, p. 192. The speaker was B.P. Pachory.

18. The 1935 Act gave the Hindi region 56, and the Marathi region 54, of the 112 seats in the Assembly. There were only two seats that had no regional reference. These were the seats allotted to the European and the Anglo-Indian Communities. Congressmen won 42 of the 56 Hindi seats.

19. See the statement of Seth Govind Das of Jabalpur in *Hitavada*, 18 June 1924, p. 4, that the Hindi districts of the Central Provinces 'yield to no one in their reverence for the Mahatma'.

20. Individual leaders exemplified the dominating position of the Hindi middle class. Seth Govind Das, a Marwari, was a member of the prominent family of Raja gokul Das which had extensive industrial and property interests in the

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city and district of Jabalpur. Govind Das was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly (CLA) from 1923-25; and of the Council of State from 1925-29. Other middle class leaders included D.P. Mishra, Kanya Kubja Brahmin, B.A., LL.B., CLA 1926-29; editor *Lokamat*, from 1930; president, Jabalpur municipality, 1932, 1934; journalist and writer. G.S. Gupta, Bania, B.Sc., LL.B., pleader, malguzar (landlord) of Durg; CPLC 1923-29; president, municipal committee, Durg, 1925-28; honorary secretary, Durg district bank; chairman of Durg district council 1931-34. Ravi Shankar Shukla, Kanya Kubja Brahmin, B.A., LL.B., pleader, CPLC 1923-26; member, Raipur municipal committee; sometime president, Raipur cooperative bank; chairman, Raipur district council 1926-36.

21. The weakness of the Harijan movement was due to the remoteness and expanse of the Hindi region, and the absence of any movment among non-Brahmins which could provide a spur to the Harijans. The comparative absence of working class consciousness can be explained by the low level of industrial development and urbanisation in the region.

22. D.P. Mishra first used the name Mahakoshal to refer to the Hindi region in 1930. The word appears in the inscription of Samudra Gupta on a pillar in the fort at Allahabad as one of the areas conquered by that emperor. According to Congress officials in 1930, Mahakoshal was bounded by 'Ujjain on the north, by Maharashtra on the west by Orissa on the east, and by Andhra and Kalinga on the south'. The region now called Chhattisgarh was also known at one time as Dakshina Koshala. The notion of a separate Hindi province received its impetus from the creation of a separate Congress province in the region in 1920. The Nehru Constitution and the Hindi Provincial Congress Committee (PCC) approved the principle in 1928. Events in the thirties intensified the demand for the separation of the Hindi from the Marathi areas of the Central Provinces and Berar.

23. During non-cooperation, 35 Hindi pleaders out of a total of some 900 in the province resigned their practices. In 1930 20 Hindi pleaders were convicted in connection with the civil disobedicence movement. Hindi pleaders in 1930 participated in the salt satyagraha in Raipur, read proscribed literature in Jabalpur, boycotted foreign cloth in Sagar and Bilaspur, protested against *lathi* charges in Jabalpur, and Bar Associations in Sagar and Jabalpur expressed their sympathy with the nationalist movement. The Hindi Congress assessment comes from Nehru Museum and Library (NML), All India Congress Committee Papers (AICC), 248, 1931, Annual Report of the Mahakoshal PCC, Civil Disobedience.

24. See D. Baker, 'Politics in a Bilingual Province: The Central Provinces and Berar, India, 1919-1939', (Baker, Politics), unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Canberra 1969, pp. 68-9.

25. Students in Raipur and other places attended the Independence Day gathering in 1930, and the political conference in Raipur in April. They also

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boycotted foreign cloth in Raipur and Jabalpur, picketed Robertson College in Jabalpur, and agreed to attend classes in *khadi*. They later forced the closure of Robertson College and many government high schools throughout the region. Political leaders also used primary and municipal school students on a wide scale as propagandists and agitators.

26. For the participation of merchants in non-cooperation, see Baker, Politics, pp. 69-73. In 1930 merchants participated in the salt satyagraha in Raipur, held hartals in Khandwa and Balaghat on the arrest of Nehru, the arrest of Gandhi, processed and sang national songs in Raipur, and boycotted foreign cloth in Raipur, Jabalpur, Balaghat Burhanpur, Mandla and Damoh. In 1931 merchants in Jabalpur and Balaghat observed hartals.

27. Shrimati Shukla led 'Raipur ladies' to support the 'Mahatma's movement'. See *Hitavada*, 25 May 1930, p. 15. Shrimati Subhadra Kumari Chauhan of Jabalpur was dictator of the provincial War Council in 1930.

28. NML, AICC, 248, 1931, *op. cit. Prabhat feries* are early morning processions with the processionists singing national songs.

29. NAI, Home Poll, July 1920, 89, Deposit, FR CPB, 2/March 1920, p. 21; *ibld*, F-18, FR CPB, 2/March 1922, Weekly summary of the labour situation, p. 69; *ibid.*, F-18, CPB, February 1922, p. 21.

30. Collected Words of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. XIX (Ahmedabad, 1966), p. 487. Shri V.V. Giri presided over the meeting in Bilaspur, which was attended by Pandit Sunderlal of Nagpur and other 'prominent Gandhiites'. See NAI, Home Poll, F-18, FR CPB, 1/August 1922, p. 83.

31. Govind Das announced his conversion to socialism. In 1934 a branch of the All India Socialist party was founded in Jabalpur. By 1935, dissident Congressmen led by Dr. G. Da Silva had formed a branch of the Congress Socialist party. In 1936 the Mahakoshal PCC appointed Da Silva Chairman of its labour committee, and it was he who visited the mills and factories of the area. The Jabalpur seat included nearly all mine labour and the greater part of the non-textile factory labour. There were 8028 voters.

32. The unionist was V.R. Kalappa, general secretary and organiser of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Workers Union in Nagpur.

33. Shukl accompanied Gandhi on his tour of Chhattisgarha

34. NAI, Report on Indian Newspapers (Indian Papers), no. 8, 1921, *CP Weekly News* (Chhindwara), 12 February 1921, pp. 82-3; *Report on the Excise* Revenue of CP AND BERAR FOR 1930 (Nagpur, 1931), p. 3. As for the elections, in 1936 the Satnamis of Chhattisgarh offered to cooperate with the Congress at the elections in the following year. This enabled the Congress to win three reserved seats in the area.

35. *Hitavada*, 1 June 1930, p. 9.

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36. MPS, Political and Military (P&M), 302/CDM 1930. Note on the Civil Disobedience (CD) movement in CP and Berar, May 1930, p. 5.
37. NML, AICC, 248, 1931, *op. cit.*
38. For the Khilafat movement in Raipur, see *Bombay Chronicle*, 25 May 1920, p. 9; in Jabalpur, *ibid.*, 28 June 1920, p. 12. For Muslims and non-cooperation, see *ibid.*, 16 September 1921, p. 6.
39. NML, AICC, 248, 1931, *op. cit.; Hitavada*, 20 September 1936, p. 16; 23 October 1936, p. 4; 15 August 1937, p. 7.
40. *Report on the Police Administration of CP for 1920* (Nagpur, 1921), pp. 26-7.
41. NAI, Home Poll, June 1921, 63, Deposit (Printed), FR CPB, 2/May 1921, p. 23; *ibid.*, F-18 FR CPB, 2/February 1922, p. 61; *Report on the Judicial Administration (Civil) of the CP and Berar, 1922* (Nagpur, 1923), p. 3. The *Mahua* berry is a small cream-coloured fruit used for making an alcoholic drink.
42. Congressmen used the machinery of local Government to win support in the districts of Betul, Raipur, Hoshangabad, Durg, Bilaspur, Seoni and Jabalpur.
43. D.P. Mishra et al (eds.), *History of the Freedom Movement in Madhya Pradesh* (Nagpur, 1956), p. 383.
44. MPS, Police, 3-1, 1932. Sanction to the continuance for a further period of one year with effect from 1-4-32 of the special armed police force in Raipur district, Note by Montagu Butler, 22-9-31, p. 7. Congressmen also controlled the districts of Betul and Durg.
45. MPS, P&M, 302/CDM, 1930, *op. cit.* Increase of violence, p. 7. For evidence of meetings, see NAI, Home Poll, 18/VIII, F-18 FR CPB, 1/July 1930, p. 25; *Hitavada*, 6 July 1930, p. 3.
46. For an account of the forest satyagrahas, see Baker, Politics, pp. 288-90. Satyagrahas occurred in government forests in Betul, Seoni, Chhindwara, Mandla, Raipur, Jabalpur, Damoh, Sagar and Bilaspur.
47. NAI, Home Poll, 18/V, FR CPB, 1/May 1931, p. 1; Extracts from the list of political and quasi-political societies in CP and Berar held in the Madhya Pradesh Gazetteers office, Bhopal (Extracts), pp. 9-10; NML, MS of E. Raghavendra Rao (Rao MS), undated note on Govind Das; *ibid.*, M. Butler to E.R. Rao, 18 June 1931; *Hitavada*, 5 July 1931, p. 10.
48. There was a riot in Jabalpur district in 1931 when tenants refued to pay a rent to a malguzar's munim. In 1932 there was an outbreak of 'agrarian unrest' in Jaijaipur in Bilaspur, where the tenants were said to have been intimidating the malguzars to forego their dues and burn documents. Tenants also assaulted a malguzar at Narsingghar in Damoh in 1932 when he tried to collect rents. For a pre-election appeal to tenants and malguzars, see *Hitavada*, 19 June 1936, p. 2.
49. Congressmen won only 28 of the 54 seats allotted to the region.

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50. The word 'Gandhian' in this paper is used to denote orthodox Congressmen in the Marathi region who accepted the general authority of Gandhi within the Congress, as distinct from those Congressmen who regarded themselves as the heirs of Tilak. The use of the word 'Gandhian' does not imply that such Congressmen necessarily accepted all items of the Gandhian programme.

51. For the Rowlatt Satyagraha in the Marathi region, see Baker, in R. Kumar, op. cit., pp. 118-24, and for the non-cooperation movement in the region, see Baker, Politics, pp. 77-86.

52. This would seem to be the implicatin of NAI, Home Poll, June 1921, 13, Deposit (Printed),FR CPB, 2/April 1921; p. 18; and of *ibid.*, April 1921, 43, Deposit (Printed), FR CPB 2/February 1921, p. 18.

53. In 1920 Pandit Sunderlal, editor of *Bhawishya* (Allahabad), Bhagwandin of Aligarh, and Arjun Lal Sethi, an agitator from Jaipur, came to Nagpur at Gandhi's request to take up nationalist work.

54. For the work of Bajaj see NAI, Home Poll, 35, Deposit, 1921, February, FR CPB, 1/December 1920, p. 21 T.V. Parvate, *Jamnalal Bajaj: a Brief Study of his Life and Character* (Ahmedabad, 1962), ppl 29-30; *Bombay Chronicle*, 18 Decmeber 1920, p. 14; NAI Indian Papers, 42, 1921, *Rajasthan Kesari* (Wardha), 9 October 1921, p. 70; National Library of India (NLI) MS of B.S. Moonje, Letter Pad (LP) 13, B.S. Moonje to B.R. Deshmukh, 5 May 1922.

55. Collected Works of Gandhi *op. cit.*, vol. XX, para. 67, 25 May 1921, pp. 138-9; NAI, Home Poll, 35, Deposit, 1921, FR CPB, 1/December 1920, p. 21; *ibid.*, F-18, CPB, November 1921 p. 21; ibid., F-18, CPB, January 1922, p. 61; NLI Moonje MS, LP 13, B.S. Moonje to Narsopant, 23 April 1922; *Hitavada*, 26 April 1922, p. 6.

56. R.S. Ruikar made contact with labour in Nagpur after 1921. The Gandhians appealed to the mobs in Nagpur; see *Hitavada*, 18 December 1920, p. 5. The Gandhians also won over the notorious Udairam, leader of the Koshti weavers in the city. E. M. Forster reported seeing crowds of people wearing the Gandhi cap in Nagpur in 1921. Tangawalas took part in a Gandhian demonstration against the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in 1922. The city also observed of complete hartal in 1922 on the anniversary of Jallianwallah Bagh. In 1923 some of the volunteers in the Flag Satyagraha came from lower castes in Nagpur.

57, See Baker, Politics pp. 87-8, 92-3. Eyre Chatterton, Bishop of Nagpur, found that after the Nagpur Congress 'one's car would be pelted with stones and mud by small boys as one went through the villages, and loud shouts of Mahatma Gandhi ki Jal (sic)...were heard constantly.'

58. NLI, Moonje MS, LP 22, B.S. Moonje to M. Nehru, 20 June 1924.

59. Non-Brahmins in the Nagpur PCC included Jamnalal Bajaj and N.R. Deshmukh of Wardha, Poonamchand Ranka and T. Lodhi of Nagpur, and Seth

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Khusulchand of Chanda. In 1926, the prominent Kunbi landowner, N.Y. Deotale, secured Congress nomination for the seat of Chanda.

60. Samiullah Khan, a Nagpur pleader, was appointed to the PCC in 1926 to represent Muslims. Abhyanker personally rendered help to the Muslims injured in the riots of 1927.

61. In 1925 the provincial branch of the All India Trade Union Congress was formed in Nagpur with Dr. Khare as president. In 1927 Congressmen in Nagpur formed unions for the workers in the Empress and Model mills. In 1928 Dr. Khare chaired a peasants and workers conference in Nagpur, and presided over a Labour day meeting on the maidan. Congress leaders closely connected with the cause of labour in the twenties included Ruikar, VS. Dandekar and G.D. Dhawale. M. Awari, a populist, organised the Arms Satyagraha in 1927 with the support of Ruikar, Dhawale and A.R. Tijare. It consisted of carrying drawn swords in procession through Nagpur to the Civil Lines in defiance of the government's ban on the unauthorised possessin of weapons.

62. For the boycott of courts in Nagpur and Berar in 1921, see Baker, Politics, pp. 81, 92. In 1930 the Bar in Chanda observed hartals, in Wardha supported of *khadi* movement, and in Nagpur gave financial help to the families of imprisoned nationalists. In Berar, pleaders in Akola and Buldhana picketed liquor shops, and preached on behalf of the salt the forest satyagrahas. The government prosecuted 28 pleaders from the region for participating in civil disobedience.

63. For the students' participation in non-cooperation, see Baker, Politics, pp. 78-81, 83. M.J. Kanetkar was responsible for much of the student agitation in Nagpur in 1930. In Berar, B. Biyani, W.R. Joshi and M.N. Parasnis all had contact with the students. Throughout the region, students attended Independence Day functions, and participated in hartals. Students of the national schools in Nagpur, Tumsar, Gondia and Wardha picketed cloth and liquor shops. Students also caused the closure of high and municipal schools and colleges. They picketed polling booths at the elections in 1930, and demonstrated agaisnt those going to the Round Table Conferences.

64. Prominent women Congress leaders in the Marathi region included Shrimati A. Kale (Nagpur), D. Joshi (Akola), and P. Patwardhan (Amravati).

65. Marwaris who led the civil disobedience campaign in the Marathi region included Bajaj and Ranka in Nagpur, and B. Biyani of Akola.

66. NAI, Home Poll, 18/10, FR CPB, 2/July, 1932, p. 1. This larger boycott was also in evidence in 1930, and included a boycott on cigarettes and soap. In 1932 this boycott was extended to sugar and a wide range of foreign goods.

67. Congress leaders working with Ruikar included M.L. Jaiwant, P.M. Naidu, L. Sherlaker, V.S. Dandekar and V.R. Kalappa. For the encouragement of strikes, see *Administration Repot*, 1929-30, p. 1. Jaiwant formed the Girni Kamgar

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Union in Hinganghat in Wardha district in 1931. In 1931 due to the Congress sympathy with labour, the Nagpur Textile Union approached Congress authorities in the city to persuade the manager of the Model Mils to stay a wage cut.

68. In July 1930 mill workers took out a procession to express their sympathy with the Congress. In January 1932 labour leaders closed the Model Mills and persuaded workers to abstain from the Empress Mills in protest against the promulagation of the ordinances against Civil Disobedience.

69. NML, AICC, 24, 1930, CP Marathi PCC Annual Report, p. 2.

70. *Hitavada*, 3 July 1930, p. 7; 27 July 1930, p. 1.

71. A new settlement was in progress in the Central Provinces during the twenties, but the CP Settlement Bill became law only in 1929. Four years before, the government approved the revised settlement for Berar, and the new code was in operation by 1930. According to the *Hitavada*, the government would find it difficult to check civil disobedience, for 'after the new Berar land revenue code, Berar is seething with discontent and an appeal to nobler sentiments will find a ready response.'

72. The government discerned a nationalist 'no-tax' campaign in Nagpur, Chanda, Akola and Bulhana districts. See NAI, Home Poll, F-18, FR CPB, 1/January 1931, p. 1; *ibid.*, 18/V, FR CPB, 2/May 1931, p. 1; *ibid.*, 18/XI, FR CPB, 1/November 1931, p. 1; Hitavada, 10 December 1931, p. 4; 3 January 1932, p. 7; 7 January 1932, p. 5; 3 September 1933, p. 14. By 1934 this agitaiton had subsided.

73. *Education Report for the Year ending 1931* (Nagpur, 1932) p. 46.

74. Among these grievances were those which related to restrictions on grazing in government forests, the fees for grazing permits, and the barriers placed by minor officials in the way of obtaining such permits.

75. *Hitavada*, 18 May 1930, p. 11; MPS, Forests, 1-41, 1931. Orders of government on forest grievances. Joint report of an enquiry into forest grievances, p. 81; *Important Political Trails in the CP and Berar* (Nagpur, 1935), p. 2.

76. *Hitavada*, 24 August 1930 p. 6; MPS, Forests, 1-41, 1931 op.cit., p. 81.

77. MPS, P&M, 272/CDM, 1930, Proceedings of a meeting held at Nagpur at the Hon. the Home Member's bungalow on 20 July 1930. Defence Committee proceedings, np.

78. Non-Brahmin leaders who joined the Congress in the thirties included T.J. Kedar of Wardha and G.S. Pradhan of Nagpur. In Wardha, the leader of the CP and Berar non-Brahmin party also worked closely with the Congress. This party finaly merged itself in the Congress, according to NAI, Home Poll, 18/10, FR CPB, 2/October 1934, p. 1. Government and private sources reported talks in 1936 between the Congress and the Shetkari Sangh in Berar, led by P.S. Deshmukh. The talks, however, came to nothing. The Sangh evi-

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dently believed that its hold over the electorate was stronger than it actually was, for only three non-Congress non-Brahmins were elected from Berar in 1937.

79. Dr. Moonje sponsored the first ministry in the third council in 1927 consisting of R. M. Deshmukh and E. Raghavendra Rao. Deshmukh resigned in 1928, but headed another ministry in 1929. For the defence of the interests of Berar, see Baker, Politics, pp. 197-9, 203-5, and 224-30.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-12.

81. For the development of the R.S.S.S. see *ibid.*, pp. 196-7, and 212-4. As for labour, Dr. M.R. Cholkar, Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, and G.A. Ogale, editor of the *Maharashtra*, were often seen on labour platforms in the city. Dr. Moonje worked through the two labour leaders, R.S. Fulay and G.R. Pradhan, in Nagpur in an attempt to tap Harijan and non-Brahmin support. The Tilakites also consistently attacked the new land revenue settlement in Berar, and held gathering of tenants and landowners demanding remission of rent and revenue. In Nagpur, Moonje maintained his long-standing contacts with the powerful landowners, G.M. Chitnavis and M.N. Ghatate. Aney was a stout defender of the interests of the Berar landowners, and R.M. Deshmukh contested that constituencey in 1937.

82. For Moonje and the Hindu Sabha, see Baker, Politics, pp. 186-91, 193-6, 207, and 231-2. The non-Brahmin leader, G.R. Pradhan, was also associated with Moonje and the Sabha, as were the leaders of the Harijans, R.W. Fulay and G.A. Gavai. Fulay later went over to the side of Dr. Ambedkar, while Gavai was taken into the Mahasabha, and 'set up to denounce the Ambedkarites.' The All India Depressed Classes Association led by G.M. Thawre also had strong links with Dr. Moonje and the Mahsabha.

83. S. Khan, the pleader, was secretary of the provincial Khilafat Committee. For the Khilafat movement in Nagpur, see NAI, Home Poll, July 1920, 90, Deposit, FR CPB, 1/March 1920, p. 16. Khan also led some Muslims into the non-cooperation movement in Nagpur. The Muslim weaving community of Momins participated in the anti-liquor agitation in 1921. Some Muslims also joined the Flag Satyagraha in 1923.

84. Samiullah Khan was one on the few Muslim leaders who remained with the Congress in the Marathi region. NML, AIC, 24, 1930, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

85. *Hitavada*, 3 January 1934, p. 7; 14 October 1936; p. 10; 23 October 1936, p. 4.

86. 17,41,364 people were enfranchised, of whom 12,70,784 voted. 61% of these voted for the Congress, giving it 62.5% of the seats, or 70 of the 112 seats in the Assembly.

87. The Congress won 46 out of 56 rural seats, 28 of these being Hindi seats, and 18 Marathi. Voters returned only three of the candidates of the non-Brahmin party.

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88. *Hitavada*, 3 March 1937, p. 5.

89. The 1935 Act enfranchised those who paid Rs 2 rent or revenue in rural areas, and those who occupied a house with a rent of Rs 6 in the towns. The Act gave labour, the Harijans, women, factory owners and landowners special constituencies.

90. For the voters, see *Hitavada*, 10 February 1937, p. 6; and for Congress organisations and candidates, ibid., 24 February 1937, p. 3; 26 February 1937 p. 1; 5 March 1937, p. 1; 5 March 1937 1937, p. 12.

91. *Ibid.*, 10 Feburary 1937, p. 6.

92. For a tentative discussion of these differences, see Baker, Politics, pp. 366-388. There were four representatives of the Marathi region, and only three from the Hindi region, in the cabinet. The Hindi leaders, and particularly D.P. Mishra, were unhappy with Dr Khare's handling of the premiership, mainly because they desired to assert their position in the cabinet. This assertion was based on the current demand among some Hindi members of the Assembly for the 'legitimate leadership of Mahakoshal'. So long as Dr Khare remained Premier, the Hindi ministers had little room to manoeuvre.

93. See Baker, Politics, pp. 389-95. The new ministry consisted of R.S. Shukla, Premier (Home), D.P. Mishra (Local Self-government), D.K. Mehta (Finance), S.V. Gokhale (Revenue), and C.J. Barukha (Public Works).

94. For the demand for the linguistic division of the province see Mahrashtra, 25 September 1938, p. 13; Central Province and Berar Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 29 September 1938, pp. 622-9, 643-5; Hitavada, 12 April 1939, p. 8; 14 April 1939, p. 6; 7 July 1939, p. 2; NAI MS of M.R. Jayaker, 754, Letter 19, E.R. Rao; ibid., 736, Letter 10, R.M. Deshmukh to M.R. Jayaker, 7 June 1942.

95. For agriculturists, NAI, Home Poll, 18-3, Fr CPB, 2/March 1939, p. 1; *Maharashtra*, 13 February 1938, p. 2; workers, *Hitavada*, 21 April 1939, p. 12; Harijans, NAI, Home Poll, 18-8, FR CPB, 2/August 1938, p. 2; women, *Maharashtra*, 7 August 1938, p. 12; and students, *Bombay Chronicle*, 22 August 1938 p. 1.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF KARMVIR IN MASS AWAKENING OF MAHAKOSHAL REGION (1920-1930)

Rajeev Dube

The Year 1920 to 1930, the period of the development of Hindi Journalism in Mahakoshal may be regarded as the age of Makhanlla Chaturvedi. This was the period when the Indian National Movement was gradually being intensified and proportionately, the British repressive measures were also in full swing. In such a revolutionary period when there were thorns-spread at every step, Chaturvediji took the decision to name his weekly "Karmvir". During these Years, Gandhiji was called "Karmvir". It is an example of indomitable spirit of Makhanlalji to take the epithet "Karmvir"[1] used for Gandhiji a suitable name for his Weekly. Primarily it aimed at bringing about awakening and revolution among the people of Central Provinces.[2] Many a time Makhanlal was put in prison for the sharpness of his pen and speech; and he had the sole pride of undergoing "search-out for 63 times". But this made no difference to his writing inspite of adverse circumstances.

We may say that "Karmvir" was the Soul of Makhanlal and the first significant Journal to express his feelings and thoughts for independence. Each edition of this journal was the true image of the Indian National Movement. It was a precursor of the National awakening. It was a journal that awakened India's slumbrous self-respect and gave a new direction to her literature. Through 'Karmvir' Makhanlalji inspired millions of youth. The journal gave much importance to news-items related to the politics of Mahakoshal and to the feeling of patriotism. "Karmvir" also published Gandhi ji's letter sent to the Viceroy and gave comments on them.[4]

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'Karmvir' had also written its editorial note on the repressive measures of the government against Central provinces journals particularly against Mahakoshal journals; To quote;" In accordance with the Indian government's order for removel of ban on many journals, the governments of Bombay and Bihar provinces also issued orders to the effect. But the Central provinces government has not yet acted accordingly. We very well remember that the editor of Maharashtra journal was compelled to apologize for publishing anti-Govt. news when threatened with prosecution and other methods of torture. In the same way, the editor of "Sankalp" (Nagpur) journal-a Sumati journal of Vardha-was also victimised and consequently the journal ceased. Besides, Taj-u-din also started a journal 'Taj' in Urdu which was a symbol of communal harmony; but due to its anti-government articles, it was fined Rs. 1000/- and was asked to submit security; but when the fine was fine was not paid, it was prosecuted and penalized so that others could be discouraged.[5]

"Karmvir" also made violent attacks in its several editions on the uncompromising attitude of the government officials towards the journals. In 1920, disagreement ensued forth between the Hindi speaking group and the Marathi speaking group; the former demanded the Congress Session to be held in Jabalpur, and the latter, in Nagpur. When sharp dissession rose between the two, "Karmvir" played an active role to patch the differences and inspired the people to work in coordination in order to end such a conflict and to promote and strengthen harmony between moderates and extremists as well as to promote the interest of Mahakoshal Province. At the same time, "Karmvir", in its July to September editions, 1920, not only protested against the setting up of a slaughter house in Ratona near Sagar but also started a separate column - "Ratona Vibhag" for this purpose, and with its efforts, the British had to face their first political and moral defeat in India.[6]

During Non-Cooperation Movement "Karmvir" had inspired the students to boycott schools and colleges and to plunge into the movements.[7] The appeal of Chaturvedi greatly influenced the students. The significant event of the Non-Cooperation during later

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days of January was the boycott of schools and colleges. This movement was violent. "Karmvir' wrote bold commentaries denouncing the flatterers and mortgagers of self-respect, and also gave impetus to the national awakening of Mahakoshal.

After the cessation of Non-cooperation Movement and the arrest of Gandhiji, a remarkable incident happened in Bilaspur. The Police Superintendent of Bilaspur 'one day took off the Gandhi Topi' of a volunteer named Mehboob Khan just on the road and burnt the cap saying, "Gandhi was burnt". On such a dishonourable act, 'Karmvir' in a very sarceastic way made bold comments that, 'such officials even if they deserve the applause of the British rules, they inculcate bitter feelings in the people against the government if they go on dowing so. Such persons should be appointed Police Inspectors of the Central Provinces so that they might soon root out the non-cooperation movement in the provinces"[8] This episode had also been criticized by many other journals. At the dishonour of the National Flag in Jabalpur, 'Karmvir' made the act a question of prestige and made it a nation wide issue. Consequently, the Nagpur Congress Committee accepted the challenge of government and made Congress provinces government to give in.

In 1921, Makhanlal became a victim of British tyranny in Bilaspur because of his undaunted journalism and was arrested. His arrest was on the one hand, an expression of British government's repressive policy towards journals and journalists and on the other hand, an obstacle in conveying the information of actual situations to the masses. The then Hindi journalism was deveoted to the aspiration of 'Swarajya' and nationalism and Makhanlal ji and the weekly 'Karmvir' its symbol. Makhanlal's arrest infused 'Karmvir' with new spirit and vivacity. The contemporary journals such as Young India, Pratap, Chhatr Sahodar, Shri Sharda etc. also wrote thought-provocating commentaries on the incident. 'Karmvir' was a forceful spokesman of national ideology. The government itself had admitted in its report that this journal exercised deep influence on the Hindi speaking districts and its circulation was more than thousands. Through 'Karmvir' the People were inspirited to plunge

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in the Freedom Movement; and therefore, upset by the increasing popularity of 'Karmvir', the government demanded security and when still not satisfied, its publication was banned.

'Karmvir' made the people aware of the demerits of the prevalent superstitions and evil practices of society, it wrote comments and articles on casteism, female education, in support of widow remarriage, protest against child marriage etc. It also chided the women folk of the provinces on not taking part in the national movement. Makhanlalji initiated to harmonize the wide national sentiment and the universal values through 'Karmvir' to the extent of revolution. His journalism imbued the people with invincible feeling of self-valour and the generation of writers, poets, journalists, he prepared devoted all its experience, imagination and expression to the service of the nation.

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GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN THE PRINCELY STATES OF VINDHYA PRADESH REGION [1930-1948]

Ashutosh Kumar Dubey

The name Vindhya Pradesh is based on the Vindhyachal mountain range which lies in the vicinity of this region. During the British rule this region formed a part of the Central India Agency, comprising of 35 big and small states. These States were parts of two regions, namely, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, inhabited by Bundelas and Baghelkhand, inhabited by Bundelas and Baghelas respectively.[1] After independence these states came to be known collectively as Vindhya Pradesh. In 1956 after the reorganisation of provinces of India on linguistic basis, this region, which inhabited by Hindi speaking people was included in the new Madhya Pradesh.[2]

These state were inhabited by people whose financial status was mostly from poor to very poor. These were farmers, artisans, craftesmen and landless labour. Most of the villages were self-sufficient in the sense that weavers, carpenters, cobblers, blacksmiths, tradesmen, money-lenders and priests resided in each village. The standard of education of the people was very low and their life was a hard struggle for existence. This was more so because the big landlords and native rulers led a life of vicious pleasure. They were cruel, ruthless and exploited the people. Their administration was inefficient and they neglected the welfare of the people. There was consequently no social or political awakening, leave alone the concept of national awakening. The rulers of the Native States lived

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under the constant dread of the British Political Agent at Navgaon. They always exhibited their loyalty to him but were indifferent towards the atrocities being committed on their subjects. The Political Agent was supported by a well established military centre. In Navgaon many princely states maintained their liaison officers called Vakils. Some of the States had their offices for the Vakils such as the 'Orchha House', 'Panna House' etc. The political Agent at Navgaon was under the Agent of Governor General, whose office was known as Central India Agency and was situated at Indore.

The Indian National movement spread in the British Indian territories but it could not penetrate in the Indian states right then because the people there lived under the dictatorial rule of the native rulers and tyranny of the Zamindars. These conditions were prominent among the people of Vindhya Pradesh. The Nagpur Congress session of 1920 did not favour any Congress interference in the internal matters of the native states. Hence, the people of the states realised that they would have to fight for civic rights themselves. But this realisation was rather feeble in the people of Vindhya Pradesh as they were backward and had little contact and awareness of what was happening in the British Indian provinces. The All India States Peoples Conference was established in 1927 to start movement for ameliorating the poverty and backwardness of the people of the native states.

By now Gandhji had established his influence on the whole nation with his thoughts and ideals and preached civil disobedience based on truth and non-violence. The movement started in 1930 in all the provinces of British India and the people of the native states including Vindhya Pradesh were inspired by it and active participation was also started.[3]

In Bundelkhand which was later merged into Vindhya Pradesh, a few factors and incidents were responsible for the birth and growth of the movement which was mainly a no tax campaign. The first factor was that Bundelkhand's boundaries were adjacent with Hamirpur, Banda, Jhansi and Lalitpur which were in British Indian

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provinces of UP and where the movement was gathering momentum. Quite a few young men who got education at Allahabad and Jabalpur returned home with the ideas of national awakening and spread their ideas of political freedom among the people. The second factor was the presence of the great patriot and martyr Chandra Shekhar Azad in Orchha State under the disguise of Hari shankar Bharahmachari, running a school for Children in village Dhimarpur. But his real mission was directing the revolutionary activities by giving arms and training to the revolutionaries in the forests of Orchha. A local leader Ram Sahay Tiwari took an active part. The revolutioners decided to kill the top most official of the State administration. Ram Sahaya Tiwari was already marked as a dangerous man by the State officials. This had great impact on the minds of the people of the State and they were inspired with the ideal of resistance, if need, be armed resistance.[4]

The third factor was the activities of the Arya Samaj established in 1924 at Chhatarpur and many respectable people joined it. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Arya Samajist the editor of news paper 'Pratap Samachar' from kanpur and published the unjust policies in the Native States, atrociaties of the native rulers and their suppression of the demands of the people. Vidyarthi repeatedly raised his voice against all this and the people of Vindhya Pradesh became conscious of their rights which ultimately led to their political awakening.[5]

All these factors and the news of the congress movement in the British Indian provinces under the direction of Gandhiji led to the starting of a movement in Bundelkhand, initiated by Ram Sahaya Tiwari and later joined by Kunwar Hira Singh and many others against the taxation policy of princely rulers. The imposition of taxes such as Charu, Harika, Madwa Kast, Mandwa Shadi, Nazarana, Byai and many others, were opposed. Protest against tax on the death of a father, tax on unproductive land, and Chara tax on animals used for agricultural purposes were also raised. Demands were also made for the availability of wood, increase of pay to law caste workers and stoppage of bonded labour system.[6]

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In 1930 on the Dashera day, a big rally was held near Maharajpur which was presided over by Kunwar Hira Singh. Ram Sahaya Tiwari made a vigorous speech appealing to the people not to pay unjust taxes to the State administration. The rally was attended by Senior Magistrate and the Police Superintendent with force. But their presence did not intimidate the people.[7]

Thereafter several meetings were held in Charanpaduka, Chhatarpur, Panna, Bijawar and many other places and resolutions were passed in favour of non-payment of taxes. The state administation tried to break the meetings by using elephants, with chains and police firing. But this did not dismay the people. The State rulers were now quite worried. They decided to take a strong action to suppress the movement. In December 1930, a peace council of princely rulers was formed to tackle the problem. Maharaja Panna was elected president and meetings were held at the residene of the British Political Agent of Navgaon. On 4th January 1931, Agent to the Governor General also arrived at Navgaon, and it was decided that the leaders of the movement be invited to discuss their problems. Before this, the Maharaja of Chhatarpur had announced a few concessions in the taxes hoping that it would appease the people. But it had no such effect and the movement went on with even greater vigour. Ultimately the people were permitted to appear before the A.G.G. with their grievances. However, it was also made clear that if the people challenged the state's sovereignty, stern action would be taken against them.[8]

The meeting with the A.G.G. proved a great disappointment to the people. The respresentatives of the people were not allowed to express their grievances and demands. The A.G.G. told the people to return to their homes peacefully and pay their taxes. This was followed by the suppression of the movement by stationing of the Malwa Kol Bheel Army, at Navgaon. The leaders of the movement were arrested. The British and State army men plundered and set fire the cottages of the people which checked the movement to some extent.[9] At the sight of this high handednes, Ram Sahay Tiwari's revolutionary instinct was aroused and he tried in vain to kill Col.

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Fisher, the British Political Agent at Navgaon. He was overpowered and after a brief trial sentenced to one years's rigorous imprisonment. As a reaction to this, the people in a frenzy of rage bound and imprisoned the Tahsildar and attacked the police station, but the situation was quickly brought under control.[10]

The same year a rally was arranged at Charan-Paduka, a holy place where on the Makar Sankranti day, a mela was held every year. This year the Mela was organised to demonstrate the anger of the people against the repressive policy of the rulers. On 14th January 1931 a public meeting was held and the demand of the immediate realise of Ram Sahaya Tiwari and other was raised. Meanwhile, a big police force arrived on the scene and surrounded the meting place. The machine guns were placed at several places. But their arrival and threat of firing did not freighten the people. The meeting went on peacefully. This indifference and fearlessness of the people hurt the prestige of Col. Fisher and he ordered firing in which 21 people were killed and hundreads of them were wounded. The actual figures were much more.[11] A report was published which whitewashed the guilt of the Kol Bheel army and the unjust behaviour of Col. Fisher.[12]

In the neighbouring states of Ajaygarh and Bijawar the people were dissatisfied with the high rate of taxations. They submitted an application to the political Agent complaining against higher taxes. The political agent referred the matter to the respective rulers who in turn ordered the appointment of a committee to investigate the matter. The people were highly dissatisfied at slow progress in the matter, and decided not to pay any taxes. A rally was held which was fired upon by the state forces and the leaders were arrested.[13]

When there were no signs of the complete stoppage of the movements in the states, the political Agent decided to follow a policy of appeasement and announced a reduction of 25 percent taxes. But this did not satisfy the people and they organised a "Lakdi and Jhanda' movement to force the states to give more relief. Despite Government repression this movement continued till the

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stoppage of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Gandhiji after the Gandhi-Irwin pact.[14]

The neighbouring states in Baghelkhand region did not remain unaffected. Here the civil disobedience movement, unlike Bundelkhand where conflict directly raged between the rulers and their subject, was a sort of a three corneredfight between the rulers, the Chiefs known as Ilakadars and Powaidars and the people. This facilitated the entry of the Congress and in 1929 a Congress Committee was formed. In fact the inception of the Congress in this region was due to the efforts of the Ilakadars and their henchmen who were opposed to the Rewa Ruler because of his strong anti-landlord views. The Ilakadars obtained the permission to establish Congress committee from the Karachi Congress session in 1930, to curb the powers of the Rewa ruler. Due to the overwhelming influence of Gandhiji people in large number joined the congress. The kshtriyas who were people of humble origin and who aspired to obtain social prestige also joined the congress in large numbers. Young educated men returning home from Allahabad also inflused a spirit of militant nationalism in the people. The Chauhan Thakurs (Ilakadars) of Sidhi were also showing signs of revolt agaisnt the Rewa Darbar.[15]

New branches of the Baghelkhand District Congress Committee were opened throughout the length and breadth of the region. The congress launched a movement in Nagod state against the high land taxes in which hundreds of congressmen were imprisoned. A similar movement was started at Kothi State and the state authorities confiscated thelands of the agitators and also used coercive force against them.

At Satna a complete Hartal was observed on 24th and 25th March, 1931 against the execution of Bhagat Singh and others. A condolence public meeting was held and posters were displayed in the town exhorting the people to boycott foreign cloth and goods.[16]

The Rewa state authorities declared Baghelkhand District Congress Committee as an unlawful association on the plea that it has

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failed to register itself in accordance with the 1932 Registration of Societies Act. Despite the ban the Committee remained active. Lal Awadhesh Pratap Singh was elected Chairman, Raj Bahadur Singh Vice-Chairman, Lal Yadvendra Singh Secretary and other office bearers.[17] The adjoining British Indian Provinces congress committee assured all assistance to the people of the region in their fight for self government.[18]

On the 10th July 1938 a public meeting was organised by the Congress in Sohawal state to demand self government. As the meeting progressed peacefully, the police arrived and without warning opened fire killing three persons and several were injured. The state authorities also instigated some miscreants to plunder the village. There was widespread hue and cry and more serious agitation was threatened. The Rewa ruler was forced to lift the ban on the Baghelkhand Congress Committee on 4th March 1939. This infused a new spirit of patriotism among the people and several mandal congress committees were started to undertake constructive programme like revival of cottage industries, removing illiteracy and improving the lot of untouchables.[19]

The Bundelkhand Mandal Congress Committee published a manifesto outlining the constructive work which were Communal unity, eradication of untouchability, prohibition of liquor and other intoxicants, spread of khadi, village industry, village cleanliness, new and basic education, adult education, improvement in the condition of women, health and hygiene education, propogation of national language and economic equality. A Sewa Dal was also established for the purpose of social service and maintaining peace during the emergency if there was a world war.[20]

On 30th September 1937 one group of local leaders and United provinces leaders under the Presidentship of Mukhtar Ahmad came to Tikamgarh to celebrate JHANDA SATYAGRAH. But the state authorities used force to prevent their entry. The people who had assembled to offer satyagarh were also thrown out of the state. Their leaders were arrested and kept under watch. The national flag was

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also insulted. When Nehru came to know about this incident he expressed his strong displeasure and demanded full informaiton of the incident. The Durbar Secretary refused to do so.[21]

The activities of the States Congress Committees, however, continued. The people of Samthar State of Bundelkhand being harassed by the Administration, demanded responsible government, liberty of speech and formation of unions, legal right of the farmers on their land, fixation of land revenue at the rate of one eighth of total produce of the land, stoppage of forced labour system, establishment of schools and hospitals and the unconditional realease of the poltical prisoners. But there was no response from the Samthar State administration.[22]

In Orchha state a procession was organised in January 1939 and national flag was hoisted. The police opened fire on the people to create awe in their minds. This was followed by other repressive measures such as assult on the farmers and workers, starting false criminal cases against the congressmen to forece them to severe all connections with the Congress. When the news spread outside the State there was countrywide condemnation of the action. Nehru got the matter investigated by the C.I.D. Police and decried the action barbarous and inhuman, where upon the Maharaja announed a few concessions and reformation schemes on 15th April 1939 which included the release of the congress leaders.[23]

When Gandhiji launched individual Satyagraha in 1940 and Quit India movement in 1942 and demand for responsible government was raised in all the states of the region. The state authorities arrested several political agitators but the movement continued unabated. The State Congress leaders realised that they should establish Praja Mandals at various levels to carry out their own fight without depending on congress. The State authorities created several obstacles and in some states there was disunity among the people. But all these obstacles were overcome by the intervention of the All India Deshi Rajya Parishad and one Praja Mandal was organised in each state. As a result of this the demand for responsible govern-

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ment was intensified.[24]

Meanwhile, Rewa become a centre of a great upheavel when on 16th February, 1942 the Maharaja of Rewa was dethroned by an order of the Government of India on the charge of inefficiency, corruption and misrule. The Maharaja was kept under arrest outside the state to ward off the possibility of popular support for him. But the people inspite of his cruelty towards them protested against this dethronement, under the leadership of prominent congressmen.

Due to growing pressure of the people, the Maharaja was restored to the throne in July 1944 but with very limited powers.[25] The administration was carried on by the ministers under the chairmanship of Maharaja. On the 16th October, 1945 Maharaja Gulab Singh declared the formation of a responsible administration in the state in which all rights were conceded to the elected bodies of the people. Although such a declaration was not within the prerogatives of the Maharaja since he had come back to the throne under certain conditions, he did so to hoodwink the people to believe that he wanted to give the people real power. When the British Government decided to send his son Martand Singh abroad for higher studies and Gulab Singh opposed the idea, the people called a strike and supported the Maharaja. Having failed to interfere in the family matters of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the British Government decided to axile him from his state on 30th January 1946. He was forced to leave the state and stay at Bombay. On 6th February, 1946, Martand Singh succeeded to the throne at Rewa and he declared the formation of a legislative reforms committee on 1st April 1946.[26] On 25th May, 1946, the Rewa Raj Praja Mandal was established to expedite the process of the formation of the responsible government. The Praja Mandal aroused national and political consciousness and Maharaja Martand Singh understood the rising tide of nationalism and got some representatives of the people to participate in the work of legislative reforms committee, which submitted its report on 26th May, 1947.[27]

The Praja Mandals were also established in several states of Bundelkhand like, Bijawar, Panna, Charkhari, Ajaygarh, Datiya etc. In

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Tikamgarh there was a long drawn struggle but the Praja Mandal could not be formed. In Samthar State the Praja Mandal was formed due to the efforts of Nehru.[28] Immediately after the independence in August 1947, many states succeeded in getting responsible government. The Government of India took prompt action initiated by the Home Minister Sardar Patel and executed by his trusted Secretary V.P. Menon to bring the people of Vindhya Pradesh in the mainstream of national aspirations.[29]

The formation of Union of Vindhya Pradesh proved to be a difficult task for Sardar Patel. Most of the trouble came from Rewa, which demanded certain concession. On the 11th March, 1948, Menon reached Rewa. The ruler of Rewa told him that he had no objection to the integration if the local leaders also give their consent. The leaders demanded that the ruler of Rewa should be made the permanent head of the new state. Menon refused to acceed to this demand on the ground that it will create problems while forming other unions. He however conceded that preference would be given to Rewa State in this matter. The leaders further said that if the Legislative Assembly of the state preferred to remain outside the proposed union then Rewa State be free to abide by it, or the matter of integration of the Rewa State should be postponed till the election of the Legislative Assembly. The leaders contended that unless this condition was fulfilled they would lose the confidence of the people and ex-Maharaja Gulab Singh would find an opportunity to create trouble. Menon agreed to this proposal of the leaders with a condition that if 3/4 members decided to stay out of the union, then they would be allowed to do so. Menon conceded this point on the hope that once Vindhya Pradesh union was formed, the union ministry would be able to overcome all difficulties and would compel the Rewa state to join the union. The leaders further proposed that there should be two separate ministeries for Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and Rewa Maharaja should be the head of both the ministries. Menon did not like to postpone the formation of the union, hence he agreed to this proposal.[30]

After this discussion Menon went to Bundelkhand and appraised

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the rulers and the Praja Mandal leaders about his talks in Rewa. Here he did not meet with any opposition. Only the Rulers and the Praja Mandal demanded that the union should be named - 'Vindhya Pradesh'.[31]

In the proposed constituent assembly 36 seats were created out of which 18 were reserved for Rewa and the remaining 18 for the states of Bundelkhand. There were to be 19 members in the executive council and Rewa was given weightage in the voting power so that its Ruler could become the Chief of the council. All the rulers agreed to this arrangement and the constitution of the proposed union was drafted. The rulers of the Bundelkhand area signed it on 13th March 1948, while the Rewa Maharaja did so after showing some reluctance. The later was asked to organise two separate ministries and to hold the office of the chief of the state. In April, 1948 N.V. Gadgil Minister for Works, Mines and Power, Government of India inaugurated the union. The experiment of two separate ministries proved a failure, so in July 1948 a combined ministry was formed. Even this could not work well due to corruption favouritism. Sardar Patel called all the ministers to Delhi and having realised the position from the talks with them, he advised all the ministers to resign which they did forthwith. The Regional Commissioner N.B. Banerjee I.C.S., took over the office of the Chief Minister, who also could not improve the administration due to the lack of efficient staff and also due to the fact that political differences and conspiracy were rampant in the region.[32]

In September 1949, N.M. Buch, I.C.S. was sent to stydy the poltical, economic and administrative conditions in the area. In his report he pointed out many defects of administration, extremely poor economic condition bordering on bankruptcy and serious differences between the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand elements. Sardar Patel and Menon had proloned deliberations on the matters. They came to the conclusion that either the present administration should be continued with proper reforms or the area should be kept under Central Government or the area should be divided and merged with U.P. and M.P. The second and the third alternatives were ruled out

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on the ground that keeping the area under Central Government would have adverse effects on other unions and merging it by parts with U.P. and M.P. would keep the area out of direct control of the Central Government. Consequently the first course was adopted and under the provisions of 1951 state rules, Vindhya Pradesh was made a province under a Lt. Governor. Later popular government was established in the area. People's representatives formed the legislature and the council of Ministers was made responsible to the legislature. This arrangement continued till 1956 when as the result of reorganisation of provinces on linguistic basis Vindhya Pradesh was merged in Madhya Pradesh.[33]

In the preceding pages a brief account of the political moves in Vindhya Pradesh has been given which was against the autocratic rule. The movements aimed at freedom from unjust and exorbitant taxation and dictatorial rule followed by a demand for responsible government. Various factors were responsible for discontenment among the people who were backward and victims of abject poverty. Means of transport and communication were scarce and continued to be so for a long time. The rulers left the administration of their states in the hands of subordinates who were selfish, cruel and greedy. Consequently on the whole, the condition of the common man there was much worse that found in British India. The Policy of the Indian National Congress was non-interference in the State affairs. Hence although many Congress committee were established in the states they did not get any active or financial support from the Congress. Out of the entire mass of the illiterater populations, a few that received some education in the states or in the universities of neighbouring British Indian provinces comprised the vanguard of the movement till the forties of 20th century when Praja Mandals came up one by one and did yoeman's service in imparting political education to the people. The policy of repression was rampant like banning political bodies, lathi charge and firing, detention without trial accompanied with inhuman tortures individual and mass fines etc. There were numerous firings in the movement and one incident at Charan-Paduka may be said to be a pocket edition of the Jallian-

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wala Bag episode. The people were rarely cowed down and their spirits soared high after the formation of Praja Mandals affiliated to the All India Deshi Rajya Parishad. The states succeded in getting responsible government one by one and after the independence of the country in August 1947, the Government of India took prompt action initiated by the Home Minister Sardar Patel and executed by his trusted Secretary V.P. Menon to bring the people of Vindhya Pradesh in the mainstream of national aspirations.

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AN INDIAN EFFORT TO AVERT PARTITION : SAPRU COMMITTEE PROPOSALS

Abha Rupender Pal

1. **Background:** Right from the time of Simla Conference in 1906, the British Statesmen had pursued the policy of Muslim conciliation at the cost of Indian nationalism. It gave rise to the dangerous communal problem which goes side by side of India's freedom struggle. It not only hampered the constitutional progress of India but was also an intractable obstacles in its independence. The seriousness was further aggravated by an unsympathetic, selfish foreign government which was bent upon to block every effort of nationalists leaders and lost no opportunity of still widening the gulf between one community and the other. The aspirations of Jinnah were very high and he did not listen to any nationalist plan. People had great hopes in Gandhi's wisdom to find a solution of the communal question and pave way to India's constitutional progress and ultimate emancipation from the British yoke. But he was behind prison bars. The other alternative could be a peoples' conference headed by an experienced and patriotic non-party man who was free of political bias and had a knowledge of making a constitution. Sir Tej bahadur Sapru was one such man. He had been receiving letters from different parts of country to invite an all parties conference and find out a solution to that crucial problem. He was waiting for Gandhi's advice.

Constant, loud demands were made for Gandhi's release. The Government ultimately gave in. Very grudgingly they set him free on grounds of health.[1] When Gandhi came out of Agha Khan palace, Sapru wrote a letter to him expressing satisfacton at his

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release and welcoming him. They wanted to meet, but it could not be possible till the second week of August.[2] On meeting they surveyed the situation of the nation and frankly expressed theri views. Gandhi said that he wanted to discuss the Communal problem with Jinnah and was quite hopeful to find a solution through talks. Thereafter the famous "Gandhi-Jinnah talks" were held and unfortunately failed.[3] Sapru was extremely sorry that the conversations broke down and led to no settlement. He deliberately expressed no opinion in favour of the views of either Gandhi or Jinnah nor did he think it necessary to add to the chaos that already existed. But he could gauge that things were taking a dangerous turn and informed Gandhi of it in the middle of October 1944.[4] Gandhi suggested him that he should take a lead in summoning an all parties conference. But Sapru told him frankly that in the circumstances he did not think that such a conference would lead to any satisfactory result. There was a suggestion that Gandhi himself call a national convention. Sapru welcomed the suggestion because he honestly believed that "if there was one man among 400 million people of this country who was genuinely and sincerely anxious for a genuine settlement it was Gandhi". he promised him his full support, "So far your desire for a settlement was concerned by mutual agreement, or in any other legitimate manner, I would stand shoulder to shoulder with you". He wrote to Gandhi.[5] He personally met him and asked him to devise a machinery for attacking the problem and set up a committee for that. But Gandhi insisted that Sapru should do it.

2. **Appointment of the Committee:** It is in this background that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made his last effort to solve the minorities, the communal and political problem. The standing committee of the Non-Party conference met at New Delhi on 19 November 1944 and decided to appoint a conciliation committee to find a solution of political and communal question. The object of the committee, Sapru made it clear, would not be to bring about a settlement in the sense that the document would be executed, signed, sealed and delivered. The whole object of the committee was to understand the view

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point of each party and to act as a sort of conciliation board by establishing contacts with leaders of all the parties and then to recommend some solutions which they thought fit on their responsibility.[6] The committee was required to lift the discussions from the partisan level to scientific and judicial level.[7] It would be open to the different groups of the Hindus, Muslims, Depressed classes, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis etc. to accept it wholly or partialy or reject it. When that had been done it would be for leaders of different parties to consider whether at that stage they should not call a bigger conference–an All Parties Conference!

Thus the work was to be done in two stages. The Conciliation committee would do the spade work on the basis of which the All Parties conference would reach to final conclusions.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was authorised to appoint the members of the Conciliation committee.

3. **Composition of the Committee:** The appointment of the members of the Conciliation committee (popularly known as Sapru Committee after the name of its Chairman) was left to the Chairman. There was, however, a suggestion from Gandhi in regard to the appointment of its members. It was that the members should not belong to any political party or had committed themselves to any particular view after the breakdown of the Bombay talks.[8] Sapru was of the same opinion. He readily agreed to it and did not invite any member of the Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha or any recognized group. It was not due to any prejudice against these parties but because Sapru thought that it would be unfair to expect members of political parties to sit in judgment over the resolutions of their parent bodies.[9]

As for the number of the members the original idea was that the committee should consist of fifteen to twenty persons. But in view of recommendations from different quarters that the committee should be as broad based as possible it was found impossible to stick to the original idea about the numbers. The Chairman therefore decided that there should be thirty members in the committee in-

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cluding him. They were[10]:

1. Tej Bahadur Sapru–Chairman
2. M.R. Jayakar
3. P.R. Das
4. Syed Wazir Hasan
5. P.K. Sen
6. The Metropolition of India
7. S. Radhakrishnan
8. C. Ramalinga Reddy
9. N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger
10. Homi Modi
11. Raja Maharaj Prasad
12. Mohd. Yunus
13. N.R. Sarkar
14. Kasturi Srinivasan
15. Tushar Kanti Ghosh
16. John Mathai
17. Frank Anthony
18. Jagdish Prasad
19. Sachchidanand Sinha
20. Sardar Sant Singh
21. B.L. Rallia Ram
22. Khan Bahadur Nabi Baksh Mohammad Hasan
23. N.M. Joshi
24. Sardar Harnam Singh
25. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtolla
26. Syed. Agha Haider
27. M. Rathnaswami
28. Hemchandra Haskar
29. J. Sivashunmugam Pillai
30. Bakshi Tekchand

In the selection of these members the Chairman was careful to take persons who could bring to bear upon the crucial and controversial issues an open mind and who were not subject to the mandate of any of the principal political organisations. He also in-

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cluded four retired judges in the committee because he felt that the judges would bring a 'judicial mind to bear on the country's problems'.[11] The Viceroy Lord Wavell, however, poured cold water on the composition of the committee. Commenting on the list he said that, some of the members were 'old', some 'not eminent', a few did not have 'reputation for integrity' and some could 'hardly be regarded as unprejudiced'.[12] But there was still a hope, that the committee might put forward some constructive suggestions because the members were non-party men who had to collect and digest material in an academic manner and prepare a balanced report.[13]

4. **Reaction of Government:** The Government had a mixed reaction. The Viceroy, on one hand thought that Sapru's efforts were doomed to failure.[14] The Home authorities, on the other, welcomed the idea that Indians were themselves trying to find a way out of the communal problem.[15] Therefore, although the Viceroy felt that Sapru committee would not produce a positive result he offered Sapru full help though not his active co-operation.[16] All the same, people thought that something was brewing.[17] Cripps wrote a letter of encouragement to Sapru.[18] Wavell wrote to London for consideration of his own plan but was asked to await report of Sapru Committee which the Viceroy thought was not going to produce anything of value.[19] He thought that it was the most suitable time to tackle the Indian problem[20], but the home authorities again asked him to await the committee's report and encourage it in every way.[21] Wavell was, however, impatient and remarked that the British cabinet was using the Sapru committee as an excuse to postpone considerations of Indian problem.[22] But the Home Government did not wish to interfere with the committee's work.[23] As for Sapru, he made it clear, that the committee had nothing to do with the government. It was purely an Indian effort to solve the problem. but he nevertheless hoped that the government would adopt a reasonable attitude.

5. **Attitudes of Jinnah and Ambedakar:** Sapru committee had nothing to do with the government, but it was necessary for them to take the views of Jinnah and Ambedakar on communal and minorities issues. It would have been great if these two leaders

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would have cooperated with Sapru in finding a solution of the problem not concerned with then alone but with the nation as a whole. But they did not. When Sapru expressed his desire to meet Jinnah[24], in a letter to him, Jannah bluntly refused stating that he did not recognise the Non-Party Conference, the Standing Committee and the Conciliation Committee hence the question to co-operate with it does not arise. He even declined to meet Sapru.[25] He therefore, decided to get League's view through the material which was out and available.[26] There was, however, a sharp reaction of Jinnah's refusal. "That was his familiar way of burking the issue and an unconscious testimony to the fact that the committee was working in positive lines", wrote *Sunday Statesman* on 7 January 1945. He wanted just another opportunity for a game of political hide and seek. This is what he had done till the recent talks with Gandhi and wanted to do in future too. Jinnah's intensions were now open to everyone.

As a result of Jinnah's refusal, the League organ *The Dawn* attacked Sapru and the Committee. But Sapru was well prepared for that and did not grumble. He rather made an interesting remark, "What I, however, feel is that if the committee is such a contemptible body, there is no reason why the organ of the Muslim League should waste its time and space over this committee".[27]

Even Ambedakar who had promised Sapru all help and had happily consented to send names of scheduled caste representitives[28], refused to co-operate.[29] He objected the 'composition' of the committee i.e. its personnels or members. he said that he was under the impression that the committee would consist only of jurists. If that was true how could he have agreed earlier to send his nominees from scheduled castes to be included in the committee ? Ambeadakar said that he did not have faith in the existing members and if those were removed and a fresh committee be appointed consisting of only eight to ten members, he would co-operate with it.[30] But that was impossible and Sapru denied to make any changes in the composition of the committee and released his letter to the press. But the real reason of Ambedakar's denial was not the com-

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position of the committee, believed some people. It was said in certain quarters that Ambedakar was distrubed by the prospect of a Hindu-Muslim settlement. He hastened to point out that a "Hindu-Muslim settlement, while it is good, as far as it goes, will not saffice" and sought to "raise the purely social question of Depressed classes to the status of a communal problem".[31]

Thus, we can see that the task entrusted to Sapru and the Conciliation committee was not a simple one. An impression that it created was that all who strive to find a solution of the Indian political problem become *personanon-grata* to him. It is a sample of the politics of intransigence that has been a feature of Indian life for quite some time.

6. **Working of the committee:** The work of the Conciliations committee commenced on 29 December 1944 with an address by Sapru defining its scope and functions. There was a general discussion as to the nature of the problem and the procedure to be adopted. To begin with, questionnaire was prepared. It was circulated to many important public bodies and individuals. Sapru suggested that they should be asked to submit memoranda on issues involved. It was also issued to the press. On the second stage–it was proposed that personal interviews with leaders of different parties and communities would be sought. The work of personal interviews was entrusted to different members within their local range so that they might submit the report early. After receiving the memoranda and discussions of the interviews the committee had to prepare its report.[32]

In accordance with this procedure the Chairman with some of his associates first visited Punjab and established contacts with leaders of different communities. They held interviews with members of different parties and representatives of different groups including Muslims, Scheduled castes and Communists. The same procedure was followed in Madras and Calcutta. But they could not go to Bombay and other parts of India which they regretted. The committee received 168 memoranda in answer to its questionnaire.[33]

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To lighten the task of the Conciliation committee, four sub-committees were appointed from within. They were:

(i) General Sub-committee with Sapru as convenor.

(ii) Scheduled caste Sub-Committee under S. Radhakrishnan.

(iii) Minorities Sub-committee under Maharaj Singh.

(iv) Economic Sub-committee with Dr. John Mathai as convenor.

These sub-commitees met on different dates and submitted their reports.[34]

7. **Preparation of Report:** On the basis of the sub-committees' reports, Sapru had to draft the final report. He intended to write a clear and balanced report and wished that all parties accept it. He, therefore, handled the task with great care, devoting all his time and energy to it.[35]

Sapru drafted the *Report* in the hottest months of May, June and July 1945.[36] The Country had great expectations from him and people from different parts of the country constantly pleaded with him to do something for the solution of the communal dead-lock.[38] But the task was not an easy one and was bound to be criticised both in India and England. *The Statesman*, However, made a very correct remark, ".....The work is not to be judged by the extent of conciliation it may be able to bring about but what it suggested should be the basis of conciliation."[39] It further suggested that the government would now be bound to end their policy of inaction and take positive steps to make new progress possible[40] on the basis of the *Report* !

The *Report* was published in December 1945. It is an exhaustive work which deals with the communal and political problem. It was felt that the *Sapru proposals* could be the basis of discussion for men of good will belonging to various political groups in India as well as in Great Britain to solve the crucial Indian problem. it also prepared the framework on which the constitution of the future India could be built.

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'Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee' popularly known as *Sapru Report* is a monumental document on communal history and rejects the idea of the partition of India or making of Pakistan. It also deals with the political problem and suggests a solution of it. But at present, we are concerned only with its proposals regarding the communal history and the partition of India.

8. **Sapru Report on Hindu-Muslim relations, Communal problem, Pakistan and the Partition of India:** In his *Magnum opus,* Sapru traced the Hindu-Muslim relations right from the beginning of Muslim advent in India and emphasized that there never was any antagonism between, the two communities. It is the result of the British policy of divide and rule. The communal problem has been created by the government for its own benefit. He was strongly against the partition of India and creation of a separate nation–Pakistan. The details about his ideas on Muslims of India and communal problem; partition of India and Pakistan are discussed below:

8:A. Muslims of India and the communal problem:

Paragraphs 85 to 120 of chapter III of the *Report* deal with the Hindu-Muslim relations from the very beginning, the first, "peaceful, intimate relations of trade and commerce between the Arabs and the Indians." These traders settled and flourished mainly in the southern parts of India had brought from their homeland a distinct culture. They were welcomed in India by the Hindus in keeping with the prevailing policy of religious toleration and were allowed to build mosques and conduct religious propaganda. Gradually they mixed with the people around them and spread over the country.

Then came a horde of Muslim invaders who looted-the country and also established their rule here. But they made India their home. With the advent of the Mughals this process became more marked. The Imperial court which extended its patronage to Hindu and Muslim scholars and artists became their meeting ground. Not only this, the Mughal empire was also the unifying force, a promise of nationalism. Inspite of temporary setbacks, it strengthened centripetal

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forces and drew the country steadfastly into a single political system. They did not destroy what was good of India but imbibed it with their own ideas. It was a Hindu-Muslim synthesis in the areas of administration, language, art and religion. Hindu converts who embraced Islam helped the process by retaining their ancient practices and beliefs and carrying them into the inner circles of Muslim thought. Vedantic ideas have their reflections on Muslim conceptions of life and conduct on one hand and the Islamic monotheism on Hindu theology, on the other. In his *Report*, Sapru concludes that under the Muslim rule, Hindus occupied high positions in finance, revenue, land settlements and army, the positions "more exalted than that of Hindus occupy today". Sapru wanted to prove that the Muslims and Hindus had cordial relations and for the evidence he quoted extensively from the books and writings of distinguished scholars and historians. he emphasized that the British statesmen gave a distorted picture of the Hindu-Muslim relations. They placed an undue insistence on the things which divide and ignore the bond which unites the two communities.

The communal problem has been discussed in paragraph 121 to 150 of the *Report*. Sapru was of clear opinion that the seeds of communalism were sown in the Indian soil by the British statesmen in the nineteenth century after "the Indian Rebellion of 1857" in order to "prevent the recurrence of such a dangerous event". For about thirty years from 1857 the Muslims were in disfavour because they were suspected of having taken a prominent part in the rebellion. But after the foundation of the Indian National Congress and a constant exhibition of loyalty by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan things changed a lot. The Muslims came closer to the British for material gains and the government decided to use them to counter nationalism.

The well calculated British policy of developing the communal feeling is clearly seen in the Simla depulation of 1906 which has been rightly described by Maulana Mohammad Ali as a "command performance." Which laid the foundation of the Muslim League. In paragraphs 124 to 131 Sapru discussed in details the Simla Conference and the role of the Viceroy and his officials in the formation

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of the Muslim League. Quoting from Moreley's *"Recollections"* and Lady Minto's *"India Minto and Morley"* Sapru made it clear that the Muslim sentiments, were exploited for the British official gains.[41] "The deputation is a landmark in the modern political history of the country", Writes Sapru. The ill-concealed glee with which its successful engineering was greeted at that time in the official circles in a testimony that the formation of Muslim League and the award of communal electorate to Muslims was the Viceroy's doing. Even Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India favoured joint electorate, but he was beaten in tactics by the shrewed Viceroy.[42] Later, Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister recorded his opinion and confirmed that it was the officialdom that was responsible for the demand as well as the actual introduction of separate electorate.[43]

Sapru Report thus presents a vivid picture of Hindu-Muslim relations before the establishment of the British rule and after and the changes are too clear to be discussed here. They wanted to still widen the gulf between the two communities and this they did on every possible chance. Indian nationalists tried to bridge the gulf in Lucknow pact and All Parties Conference in 1928 with temporary success. In fact the aspirations of the Muslims were being fanned and the mischievous game of dividing India was being planned.

8:B. The Scheme of Pakistan and the Partition of India

Paragraphs 171 to 199 of chapter IV cover Sapru's views on Pakistan and the partition of India. He had emphasized earlier that the antagonism between the two communities had grown in recent years due to the divide and rule policy of the British government and was of clear opinion that the factors which united the two communities were permanent and abiding while those which divided them had been exaggerated by a skillful propaganda. He was, therefore, very much against that partition of India and making of a separate nation–pakistan for Muslims.

He examined the theoritical grounds on which partition was being demanded. The first contential was the 'two-nation theory' of

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Jinnah which laid that the Hindus and Muslims form two separate nations with their own distinct culture and civilization. Sapru strongly contradicted it in his analysis of Hindu-Muslim relations and emphasized that it was only a political stunt emphasized to fulfil political ambitions of some people. The two communities had been living together for ages and had never before thought of being separated as distinct nations. Then why did the Muslim League propound the two nation theory suddenly in October 1938, a year after the formation of Congress Ministries in eight out of eleven provinces of British India ? Sapru writes that it is a well calculated policy the Muslims to achieve the right of self determination, in other words a right to secede and form a sovereign nation state in their home land. The two nation theory is a means to achieve that end.

In Sapru's opinion neither religion nor language race or culture can be regarded as a 'safe criterion' of dividing Hindus and Muslims into two nations. If religion can be such a basis then all the religious groups living in India such as Christian, Jains and Parsis etc. will claim to form separate nations. This might be the reason why Muslim League did not demand Pakistan only on religious basis but added culture in it. Nevertheless that argument too could not be accepted on logical grounds as 'unity in diversity' is a characteristic feature of Indian culture.

The League demand was that the Muslim majority provinces should be separated from India. In his report Sapru made it clear that it was not only unpractical but also dangerous for the nation's future. 'Majority' is a numerical calculation and is liable to change. If Punjab, today is Muslim dominated, the number of Hindus there can be increased tomorrow ! Then what would be the position of Punjab ? Will it change sides from Pakistan to Hindustan on the basis of the religious majority every now and then ? Sapru therefore, concluded: "To class certain provinces as the special homeland of the Muslims and others as the homeland of the Hindus is a complete travesty of facts and a dangerous perversion of History to serve political ends."[44]

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Defence and foreign affairs are intimately related vital issues of a nation. Creation of a separate nation on the north-east and north-west of 'Hindustan' would be dangerous for her from safety point of view. "The two areas of Pakistan will be separated by hundreds of miles of foreign territory belonging to Hindustan. How will they be connected together ? Will it be necessary to have a long corridor ? Who will ensure the safety of such a corridor if the two states of Hindustan and Pakistan are at war with each other ?" asked Sapru.[45]

A separate Pakistan would create many more problems, prophesied Sapru in his *Report*. Financially it would be a weak nation unable to maintain its defence forces on its own resources. It would naturally, therefore, be forced to enter into an alliance with other powers. "Is there any guarantee that it will always treat the states of Hindustan as its ally ? What will be the position if the armies of Pakistan in alliance with powers... join in an invasion of Hindustan, for the separatists base their case on what according to them is the cardinal fact that after a thousand years of living together they are still unassimilated strangers in a united India. A treaty between Hindustan and Pakistan cannot, therefore, guarantee permanent peace and even if there is such a treaty who will be there to enforce its terms in case hostilities break out between Pakistan and Hindustan ? What will in such a contingency be the position of the Indian states ? How will the predominantly Muslim population of Hyderabad behave towards their respective rulers of a foreign faith ? Will Indian states be allowed during years of peace to enroll foreigners for their army ? Is there not the greatest risk that the history of the eighteenth century will be repeated and India become the arena for the intrigues and struggles of foreign powers ? Where will then be a free Hindustan and a free Pakistan ? ..... for a long time to come even an undivided India will be unable to defend itself against a first class power and will need the protection of an outside power. Pakistan and Hindustan can enter into an alliance with the same foreign power to guard both against aggression from outside and prevention of war between themselves. It is essen-

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tial that the alliance of the two states must be with the same power, for otherwise there can be no guarantee that either Hindustan or Pakistan with the help of its ally, may not wage war on the other. How is it to be secured that Pakistan and Hindustan will not seek different allies ? A little further analysis will show that Pakistan can only exist if its existence is guranteed by Great Britain and that means a British army of occupation. Shorn of all theories of separate nationhood and the inherent right of self determination, what is proposed, is the disruption of India with British help."[46]

We can see how right was Sapru in his judgement of the origin and development of Pakistan scheme and its repercussions. He seem to have foreseen all the ill-effects of partition and was perhaps the first one to predict that in divided India "the minority problem would be even more acute than at present."[47] The *Sapru Report* has its validity even today–the more we divide ourselves on minorities basis–the more acute will grow the problem. Division or partition is no solution of the problem.

The sponsers of pakistan promised "effective, adequate and mandatory safeguards" for minorities in Pakistan. Sapru raised a very interesting questions: "If such safeguards can be provided for nearly fortyfour millions of non-Muslims in Pakistan and nearly twenty millions of muslims in Hindustan, why cannot adequate safeguards be provided for all the muslims in a united India ?[48] Sapru was making one prophesy after another. Who can challenge his critical analysis of the anatomy, physiology and the psychology of Pakistan ! In 1945 he predicted that the creation of Pakistan would not only be dangerous to India but would be "an unending threat to the peace of the whole world".[49]

Sapru held the British government responsible for creating, enlarging and emphasing this problem. partition 'with consent' was impossible. "Will they enforec the partition of India and maintain it by force in the absence of an agreed settlement ?" he asked. "Do they intend to create a larger Ulters ?"[50] If they had no such sinister design, then the sooner their policy is made clear the better it would be for the peace of the country.

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It was unfortunate that some "Hindu publicists advocated the idea" as the only means of saving Hindus from being eventually submerged completely under the Muslims." they pointed out that the Muslims had a great appetite. The more the Hindus yield the more they demand. A day may come when the Legislatives, Executives, services and even army would be so affected by communal feeling that a just and stray administration would become impossible in undivided India. But Sapru like a true optimist concluded that "it is necessary to diagnose with care and patience the causes of the present discontents. Then alone will it be possible to decide whether the disease in the body politics is capable of treatment or must be regarded as incurable".[51]

Sapru Report concluded that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by History nor by political expendiency. It would be dangerous for the safety and economic development of the country and would lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination. It would multiply and complicate the problem of minorities without solving it and threatend to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the eighteenth century.

9. **Reactions:** The *Sapru Report* was eagerly awaited in the British official circles. The general feeling was that they would not be affected by it. The chances of interim government, however, would be prejudiced as it was going to provoke a violent reaction from League and Jinnah.[52] Lord Wavell commented. "It was more or less obsolete before it was even published ..... the weakness of the report, I think, is that it does nothing to bridge the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League."[53]

The nationalist pro-Congress press, however, welcomed the Report. *The Hindustan Times, The Hindu, The Amrit Bazar Patrica* and The Bombay Chronicle, all congratulated the committe on suggesting an alternative to Pakistan. *The Hindustan Times* charactised the authors of the *Report* as 'the most impartial people of the country.[54]

The *Report*, however met with wild and vituperative criticism in Muslim League circles. Jinnah charged Sapru and his associates as being the 'handmaids of Congress Party' playing to the tune of Gandhi. He con-

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tested their claim to impartiality and said it was untenable.[55] *The Dawn* Which was the mouthpiece of Muslim League came out with the most intemperate denunciation of the *Report* and said that the Report took no notice of the interests of Musalmans.[56] *The People's War,* the organ of Communist Party of India which was then supporting the Muslim League was also beating the drums of Jinnah.[57] The muslim critics further said that Sapru and his colleagues had betrayed the confidence placed in their impartiality and justic and had tried 'to bribe' the Muslims into giving up their fundamental right of self-determination.[58] it was unfortunate for the Communist Party to support narrow communalism. This opportunistic alliance resulting from the new found love for Muslim League was to prove disastrous for it. It was, however, left to R. Palme Dutt to bail them out of this position by clarification in March 1946.[59]

It is sad that Sapru's honest and public spiritéd attempt to reconcile different points of view have met with such underserved criticism. He had no illusion on this point and showed good deal of courage in coming out with such a controversial suggestion.[60]

One section of the critics said that the committee failed to suggest remedy for communal and constitutional problems and that the *Report* was merely theoretical and remained on paper only.[61] Others doubted that the Muslim community would agree to joint electorates.[62] To the charge that the committee had suggested no details of the future constitution, Sapru had already said in the opening speech that it would suggest the basis for constitution making rather than detailed provisions. Also that no one could guarantee the acceptance of Joint electorates by Muslims. It was not the committee's fault that the Muslim League remained adamant on its demand for Pakistan. It had not supported the extreme view point of any group.[63] While it rejected the concept of Pakistan, it gave parity to the Muslims with the Hindus in the Constituent Assembly, Union Cabinet and Central Assembly; and while it gave equality of votes to Muslims with Hindus it called upon them to reject separate electorates. The committee aimed at providing checks and balances so that no communal group could dominate the other. The work of the Sapru Committee was, in fact, a laudable attempts to solve Indian political and communal problem.

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THE GENESIS OF A NEW MYTH : POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Ram Shankar

Ever since the inception of civilization, the human mind has been obsessed with the study and management of change. Be it in the ideas of Heraclitus or Plato from ancient Greece or these of modern age political thinkers like Marx, there has always been in man the urge to explore the processes of change. Man obviously does not believe that change is random nor does he believe that his present world is the best of all possible worlds. This obsession with the study and management of change has got multiplied several fold of late in the discipline of political science on account of two significant developments upon the world scene. The first was the emergence and coming into world prominence of a host of new nation-states born out of the holocaust of the second world war, and the second was the almost simultaneous ushering in of a profound revolution in the methodology and substance of the discipline of political science–the Behavioural Revolution. Both these events interacted to produce in the discipline of political science changes of far reaching consequence and value. An important off-spring of this psycho-social ferment was the creation of a new metaphor in the discipline of political science-political development. The concept as Professor Daya Krishna puts it "has become the central pivot around which most of the recent thought in political science tends to organize itelelf"[1]. However, for a concept which has set the minds of social scientists all over the world on fire, it is surprising that the meaning of the term still continues to be couched in semantic donfusion with prescriptions galore.

THE METHODOLOGICAL REVOLUTION :

Even as a host of new nation-states were emerging from the holocaust of the World War II and the collapse of the Empires, and

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changing the traditional gamut of international relations as well as conceptions about national politics, changes that were to produce indelible impressions upon the direction and flow of the discipline (political science) were taking place. The pre-dawn lights of these cataclysmic changes were cast by the Revisionist Movement[2] in the field of comparative government. Traditional modes of enquiry in this field were limited to the examination of the salient institutional and behavioural characteristics of the formal political structures of major western powers. The formalism and parochialism inherent in this approach slowly started giving way to a new focus of attention—the problems and challenges thrown up by the rapidly changing social, economic and challeges thrown up by the rapidly changing social, economic and political structures fof the newly emergent nation-states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As the study of these newly-emergent nation-states progressed from its neonate stage, interest began to rise in the use of quantitative methods in the study of political behaviour in the 'le-tiers-monde' nations. The effort was towards using these quantitative methods to provide the means to validate general propositions about the political system. One of the first men to promote quantitative studies in this fashion was Karl Deutsch[3]. A sequel to Deutsch's work was the establishment of the Yale Political Data Programme and its subsequent publication in several volumes[4]. Similarly, there were other such efforts in the same direction.

Simultaneously, which the rise in the use of quantitative methods in the field of comparative government another tendency that manifested tself was the growing number of "Area Studies" that were undertaken[5]. This approach drew heavily from the related disciplines of cultural anthropology, human geography, ecology, and modern history. One reason for this was that scholars from these related disciplines had already made a good start in their study of the newly emergent nation-states. Another, and perhaps a more important reason was that political scientists from the west had till them for their reference societies possessing a high level of structural differentiation with political structures clearly demaracted, whereas in

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the Non-Western societies this demarcating line blurred into oblivion making it imperative to venture into fields other than those strictly political.

Both these approaches broke fresh ground in the discipline. The former approach being "nomothetic"sought as Fred W. Riggs has pointed out, "to abstract form the rich complexity of real life a few measures of indices which are relatively amenable to qualification and therefore to comparision"[6]. The "area approach" was "idiographic" seeking to focus attention upon the unique variety of particular historic, geographic, and cultural situations. These and other similar and diviergent approaches emerged as the study of Non-Western societies was taken up in earnest. A net result of this was that intense focus was brought to bear upon the structures and processes on Non-Western societies. An inevitable consequence of this was a comparision between these Non-Western societies and the classical Western societies. A plethora of analytical tools[7] were evolved for making these cross-cultural comparisons and, while making comparisions there naturally arose questions regarding the levels of order attained by the various societies. From their vantage point in the post-World War II era and with their perceived global responsibilities scholars from the West developed a paradigm under which characteristics of Western societies came to be dubbed as "developed" while those of the Non-Western societies were called "under developed". It was against this background that a new metaphor, that of "political development" with regard to the possibilities of directional change within these "under developed" societies, was coined.

EMERGENCE OF NEW NATION-STATES:

While one of the important and in fact basic factors leading to the creation of the concept of political development was the introduction of new techniques in political science, the other and perhaps the more fundamental one was the emergence upon the world scene and the growing importance in world affairs of the nations of the Third World. It shall be illuminating to study this emergence and how it has led to a focussing upon the issue of political development.

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The intense focus now being brought to bear upon the issue of development and related changes has its antecedents moored in the White man's obsession with his own world—his social, political economic and cultural institutions. An obsession almost bordering upon a sort of intellectual narcissism. In this context it is pertinent to note that the first contacts between the societies of Asia and Africa on the one hand and societies of the West on the other, had and societies of the West on the other, had a mutuality about them[8]. Later, however the direction and volume of these cross-cultural influences became at an ever accelerating rate an almost uniform pattrns of the Western industrial world imposing its practices, standards, techniques and values upon the Non-Western world[9]

The colonical era saw a systematic demolition of the native institutions of the cultures of Asia and Africa without replacement of the same with new and sympathetic structures. What was actually a contrived situation of the impotization of the native social, political and economic institutions was made to appear to be the natural necessity of these cultures. In the post-colonial era the US took upon itself the 'imperial responsibilities' of the former colonial powers in regard to societies of the Non-West. The situation in the post-World War II era was howevre compounded by the advance of the Soviet Union upon the World centre-stage with its alternative communist model of society. The competitive situation led US and othe West European political scientists to evolve the comparative perspective wherein characteristics of the 'developed' polity were 'prescribed' for the Non-Western societies. The political scientist inevitably identifies himself with the polity of which he is member and that most often determines his perspective[10]. Furthermore given the patron-protege relationship between the affluent West and the not so affluent Non-West, the distinction between the 'developed' we and the 'under developed' they got built into the way issues were seen. Coupled with this was the servile attitude of the ruling elites in most of the newly-emergent nations, which aided the West in the perpetuation of the master-slave relationship of the colonial era. Thus was created the new myth-political development-a myth whose dominant

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parameters were devised and formulated in the West.

THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT :

The term political development has by now become fairly popular and as mentioned earlier has become the central pivot around which most of the recent thought in political science tends to organise itself. The semantic confusion surrounding the concept, hosever, is indicative of the mythical character of this metaphor from the West.

The concept is actually a synthesis, of two component concepts that of the 'political' and the other of 'development'. although the meaning of the word 'political' is also not so clear it shall be more fruitful here to concentrate our attention upon the more controversial of the two concepts i.e. 'development', as there is at least a workable consensus amongst political scientists upon what may be considered as 'political'.

Development as phenomenon presents difficulty from two directions—one source of difficulty arises from the nature of the concept of 'development' itself and the logical inconsistencies inherent in it, the other stems from its purported domain i.e. the nature of the political reality to which the phenomenon is sought to be applied. The plethora of conceptualizations regarding the phenomenon have done precious little to clear the confusion[11]. Usually the conceptualization which begin as a cognitive enterprizes soon degenerate into evaluative enterprizes with consequent ethno-centric biases[12]. This becomes clearer once the ambiguities of the concept are analized in logical detail.

'Development' implies the concept of change or movement in a particular direction. This change or movement has to be in such a direction as to imply growth. Growth implies cumulative and qualitiative addition to whatever was existing previously. It would be fine to apply such a concept to a field of enquiry with identifiable parameters of growth e.g. economic development, which means growing prosperity in the people, an increasing satisfaction of human

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needs, more comforts and better living conditions. Political change however is a spatio-temporal phenomenon of infinite variety and complexity with little scope of conceretization of the parameters involved.

The most controversial aspect regarding political development is the question of the 'path' or direction of change. In the begining especially in the West an optimistic image of linear progresion was accepted after the fashion of christian theology and Enlightenment philosophers. This 'unilineal' view implied that political development was an orderly and continuous process occurring in a given direction through uniform sequences of related forms[13]. Although such deterministic views now largely stand discreditied, their impact upon the literature in the field of political development has had a lasting effect. Despite soul-searching revisions and formulations based upon selfconscious, anti ethno-centric postulates[14] the problem of direction of 'path' in political development' remains a vexed one. The alleged perfectivility of the so called developed countires (the US and West-European nations) lies exposed and the promised Utopia of Communist countries is in shambles. In this light all the 'prescriptions' about the perfect polity towards which the whole of the 'political development movement' was geared become suspect.

Development implies not only the question of the 'path' or direction of 'growth' but also involves the notion of quality. As pointed out earlier comporative studies seldem remain the cogitive enterprizes whch they set out to be and pure understanding of the phenomenon of political development has perhaps been the greatest casuality of this prevalent thuman folly. The notion of 'quality' or a 'positive value' is implicit in the concept of development. In natural sciences the assignment of positive and negative values to the state of an organism are understandable and possible but the vital question is that is it possible to conduct the same exercize in relation to political life. Are there any indices or indicators which can be assigend positive or negative values in the context of poliitical development ?

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If there is any dispute regarding the direction of change and content of the myth of the perfect polity, there is even greater controvery regarding the indicies or indicators of political development. The first difficulty which arises here is the problem of finding a common measure. A further source of difficulty lies with the units of comparision, and their spatio-temporal constancy. Does the currentnation-state provide an adequate unit of comparision ? What if there is a break-up or a union of such nation-states ? Can this unit provide us with any sort of continuity with the past when the nation-state was not in existence? Do nations-states provide the best unit or is there an alternative in races, religiouns, cultures etc ? These and other such related questions will have to be answered before we accept what political development theorists have argued as being obvious and natural[15].

The assumptions regarding the diffusion of the World Culture[16] pose the question of political development in terms of problems of nations-buliding and processes of modernization. And, some of the popular tenets of modernization are urbanization, increasing formal education, industrializaion and institutionalization. Of late it is increasingly being realized that these so-called axiomatic conditions of political development are riddled with problems and inconsistencies. Take for example urbanization, it no longer is the virtue that it was thought to be about a decade or two earlier. Not only the US but other highly industrialized countries are experiencing an exodus of their urban population towards the countryside. Urbanization has in its wake produced problems of slum areas, juvenile delinquency and other serious forms of social disorders. Industrialization has produced the concommitant problem of environmental pollution to nake only one. A 'man' centered vies of development fails to take into acount the integral nature of the Universe[17]. The social costs of pollution now appear to far outweigh the benefits of industrilization, and many more Rio-de-Janerio shall be needed if the fatal landslide is to be checked.

Education is another highly valued variable of political development which deserves closer scrutiny. The type of western education

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being advocated is nothing but an instrument of dominance with which the industrialized West has succeeded in breeding what Paulo Frierre in his revolutionary work 'A Pedagogy of the Opressed' has called a, "Culture of Silence" amongst the masses from the Third World. This 'Banking' concept of education in which the teacher opens a sort of 'bank account' in the minds of the taught where in the proceeds to deposit his own views, perceptions and perspectives reduces education to a mechanical process devoid of creative content. It is this concept that helps perpetuate the dominance of the few over the masses through the exemplary use in the field of education of the principle of the leader and the follower. Such a concept is not just inimical to creativity and human diginity but down right inefficient. A potentially vast reservoir of ideas and action (involwing the masses) is left untouched. If the myth of development is at all and ever to be brought to fruition all such creative possibilities of the human race shall have to be tapped. Frierre's crusading voice has left a vital question mark on one of the most valued of indicies-education-of political development.

Institutionalization and Democracy too are no longer the implicit virtues as made out by most Western thinkers. The experience of so many of the "Third World" nations has shown that either democracy is untenable with their native cultural ethos or wherever its institutions have been created, distortions, robbing democracy of its content and spirit, have resulted. Democracy has been reduced to the politics of manipulation. The "ballot" is no longer "the silent bullet" ushering in the Utopia of ones dreams but a mere facade to perpetuate the dominance of an entrenched elite insensitive to the real needs of the society. Democracy as the ideal from towards which the development effort should be geared is fast becoming suspect[18].

From the preceding analysis it is obvious that the task of devicing indices that are composite of the 'common measure' of political development is more than Herculean. In the absence of any such 'common measure', is it logical to invoke a comparative perspective so diligently being pursued by most Western theorists in the field of political deveopment. The fallacy is perhaps rooted in the misplaced desire to emulate the

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methods of life sciences into the field of social sciences. The crucial question that emerges from this is, whether the realm dealt with by the 'science of politics' is of such a nature as to permit the application of the concept of 'development' to itself. The answer to this as one therist has put it is in the negative[19]. The only relevant distinction that can be made in this context is between 'good government ' and 'underdeveloped polity' as many contemporary political scientists seem to think. This is not to suggest that the entire exercise of political scientists has been fruitless. The monumental theorizations in the field have indeed enriched the literature in the field of political science by first of all directing the attention of the academic world to the problems of the newly emergent nations-states of Afro-Asia and Latin America and secondly by exposing the myth of scientificity and valuefreeness in the field of social sciences.

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PROFESSOR LASKI AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

G.P. Nema

Individual liberty is the pivot round which Laski's whole political ideology revolves. Anything which does not help to promote individual liberty is a taboo to him. He hates capitalism because of its exploitation which mars the economic security of the individual. He does not like Russian Communism becasue "it has impaired the intellectual heritage of Russia, has been impatient to reason and frantically hostile to the critical enquiry.[1] He is afraid that representative democracy soon tends to be a tool of the propertied class. He can not consent to revolution because it is incompatibly with the maintenance of civilized life; for, if attempted on a large scale, its destructiveness will reduce the standard of living of a very vast population. He, therefore, again and again pleads for nearly autonomous powers to groups; for, they ensure an easy access of the individual in the work of the government. He stresses pluralistic type of Government, unfortunately he has no definite programme as to how it can be achieved. What he suggests is merely a patch-work which can not construct a complete and concise theory. he, therefore, oscilates betwen this "Cracy" or that "ism" rejecting one and accepting the other according to the need of the hour.

Then one wonders at all the esteem that has been bestowed on him as a political philosopher. it was because of the times, in which he was born. History has many examples when some political figures suddenly seem to rise to meteoric heights. The circumstances supply the fuel, a chance provides the ignition and up they soar to dazzling heights, where they keep shedding their sparks for some time till they fall an amber and aches at last. The individual was

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always under constant restraint and constraint of the norms and standards, which the society had evicted. There were many don'ts and taboos he was subjected to. He seemed not to live a life of his own. And, in everything that he did, he was constantly afraid of what the society would say about it. Philosophers and political thinkers had been clamouring for freedom for the individual. Fortunately, "the modern man was inclined to reduction of disparities and inequalities of social and economic life".[2] These things combined together to make Laski,–with his banner of individual Liberty–to be the propounder of theories policies and practices of the Labour party.

Politics, like poverty, makes strange bed follows. Do we not see communists for whose 'religion is an opium', making alliances with the fanatic muslim-leage in India and the R.S.S. Shaking hands with the marxists and even with muslims also. It is no wonder then Laski, with his hazy ideas about the form of government, should to maintain the position of a political philosopher of the labour party. Has not Mill is 'on compromise' said, "The principles which form the party are one thing; the policies followed by the party are another thing"?

For Laski, Individual Liberty was the be-all and end-all of all politics. how did Laski come to be such an ardent adherent of "individual liberty." It has its origin in the chance of his birth. He was born of Jewish parents what does that mean can only be realised by those who are born in it. Laski had become the victim of undeserved discrimination. At Oxford, he suffered from the neglect or non-recognition of his great lalents. He became " Aware of the intensity of class-division in England.[3] He was not allowed to enter the main stream of English-life, because of the religious beliefs of his parents. The treatment he received at the hands of the society was rationally quite infensible. He wanted recognition. He wanted "monopoly rent to ability". His discrimination, for no assignable reason, engendered in him a profound sympathy for those who were suffering from disadvatages due to position, for those who could not employ their abilities to the full or could not enjoy their fruits. In-

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dividual liberty seemed to be the panacea for these ills, and hence his need of individual liberty.

Laski intends and tries his best, to do good to the society, for he knows that individual good is linked with social good,[4] individual good is necessarily social good. Laski holds that, if an action is based on reason, it tends to be a moral one, and all action based on reason cannot but have a reference to society. He agrees that there are difference in individual capactities and capabilities and that men can not be identical. In the play, display and interplay of instinctive tendencies and of intellectual effectiveness, individuals are vastly different. He, however, modifies this difference by stating that they are partially the same and partially different. The difference is there only because, it requires all sorts of people to make the world.

Man is also not free. From the moment of the very conception, he is fettered to heredity—his psychic make up shall follow a definite, gene-determined pattern.

It can again be doubted, how far, an individual tries for his own upliftment and development. Do we not see around us vicious people, who are themselves victims of some vice or make other victims of their vice. Similarly, individual good is not social good.

According to Laski, man is more ethical and moral than is generally thought. This may be true, yet, Individual morality can not be the same as institutional or at its best–state morality. It would be morally bad, if an individual sends his children to spy on his neighbour, but it would be bad politics, if a country does not keep watch on the happening in a neighbouring country. To say that an individual tries his best to do good to the society is to carry his ethicality too far.

Laski holds that every moral action is based on reason. The moment the word "Moral" is uttered, we enter into a controversial field. According to Hebrew philosophy revenge is morally correct. The mohamedans seem to justify any action against the Kafirs. There are again many things that are morally wrong but legally right or legally wrong but morally right.

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A free individual unfettered by the limitations, restrictions and inhibitions imposed on him by the social and cultural traditions, might turn to be wild and a danger to society.

The needs and capacities of all men are identical only in their response to the primary needs[5] in which, he is identical even with beast– It is difference in all their other needs, capacities and capabilities that make them the "individual."

The too high a place which Laski has given to the individual is the root cause of the failure of his theory in actual practice. It is also the cause of his wavering in the face of new-experiences and new challenges that confronted him practically at every decade. Unfortunately men are not what we wish them to be. Human life is more full of conflicts and confrontations than it is, of compromise and cooperation.

Laski's delineation of the problem of liberty is both all sided and complete. He irens liberty from two aspects–the positive aspect and the negative aspect. The positive aspect comprises of man's enjoyment of his inherent rights, the negative aspects creates and concedes unto him conditions, that he may so enjoy. Again, he has viewed liberty from other angles, personal, social, economic, political etc.

Laski defines liberty as absence of restraint,[6] in the enjoyment of inherent rights. It is freedom of thought and expression, of action and association, freedom for personal initiative to improve his mind and position, to do social good. These liberties are linked with inherent rights, that are "an indispensible foundation of social relations.'[7] It also includes moral freedom and freedom for doing and enjoying something that is worth doing on enjoying. He must have freedom for the realisation of self-consciousness and for free-play of creative impulses. There is little that can be disputed about these freedoms. Every individual must have them and state should under no circumstances, interfere with individual's private libetry.

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Negative liberties are different in that they depend upon other peoples consent, connivance or conceding. They include existence and extension of avenues for the individual's creative activity, they also include creation of conditions favourable for self-development. There must be impartiality or at least proportionality in the treatment meeted out to him. He must have a share in the gains of other people's rights.

Individual liberties are threatened by many fold tyrannies. One is the tyranny of the group, in which the individual lives. There are certain unwritten or even unspoken traditions and customs that individual must willy-nilly, succumbs to-for fear of excommunication. Religious prejudices also, have perpetrated atrocities that can have no parallels. Even the local autonomous bodies impose restrictions on individual liberties. There is practically no escape from these tyrannies, for the group pervades the day-to-day life of the individual, which life might become impossible in face of the individual's opposition or attack.

Capitalism is an evil thing, for it makes a mockery of deconomic security of the individual due to their acquisitive tendencies and exploitation. Individual liberty and economic security are so linked together that, to think of the one without the other, is impossible. An individual, who has to depend, on the will of another, for his daily bread, shall have to dance to the tunes of his masters. Their frowns and favours become more important to him than his own freedoms. He knows too well that self-development and upliftment are things, which can be left to take care of themselves, till he feels secure against starvation.

Political coercion is still greater a danger that supresses-any, even abnegates individual liberty. The state is now assuming the position of a supreme dispenser of the goods of the individual. Hegel argues that individual outside the state is an unethical abstraction. The state thus becomes an omni-scient, omni-present and omni-potent deity and nothing that the state does not deem worthwhile in the interest of the good of the society, can be allowed. All

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liberties are thrown into cold storage and complete regimentation of thought and action is brought into being.

Even under democracies, there is corecion though on a smaller scale. It is obsrved as in South America after the civil war that all democracies soon become the hand-maids of the propertied class, who begin to control even who should be the representatives and how they should behave Individual freedom is in jeopardy.

Again there are unhealthy elements in society. Who shed their evil influence on individuals. A Mafia house practically controls the civic life of the area, where it operates. Nothing, contrary to the will or wish of the God-Father is even thinkable–for repercussions are swift and severe Loan-sharks can ruin genuine business. It is this unhealthy elements that are a real bane of any democratic institution. To be loud, vehement and vociforus in claiming liberties, does not make them a reality. Lastly therefore, considers that conditions, congenial to the foster and nurture of individual liberty are of primary importance.

First and formost is that natural rights must be respected. Laski defines natural rights as conditions without which an individual lacks the assurance that he can attain happiness,[8] and the test of natural rights is their utility to all members of the state. The natural rights, being prior to state, "it must not interfere with full enjoyment of them. The state again must not interfere with private liberties. There is a world of private liberties, in which, the individual should rule supreme. The state can indirectly encroch upon these liberties. A man may like mustard with his mutton and is free to have his will. But, the state may impose duties on mustard that it becomes a variety. In a similar way, it can damage a number of personal liberties. The state must refrain from such indirect encroachments.

The stain again must make ample provision for the education of all the citizen. Without proper education, the individual is rarely able to assess what would exactly lead to his self-development and self-enlightement. Education is just a must. Similarly provision must be made for an honest and straight-forward supply of news. There

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should be no distortions or supressions. This is only possible, if press is completely free.[9]

Laski also wants that no differential habits be built in the young children. They must not be brought up in an atmosphere of homage to privileges. We, as educationalists cannot agree to this, for, diference is the very foundation of discipline. It is very difficult to set up boundaries where privilege ends and real authority begins; and once indifference is set a-rolling, one cannot guess, where it might stop. Defiance to elders in authority or to wielders of power may lead to a state of anarchy or Law-lessness.

Laski wants the state to make it possible and available to each individual a minium standard of civilized life. Liberty and equality must came to be regarded as necessary attributes of an individual.

He concedes that an individual must have an access to the possession of private property; but he modifies that its enjoyment should be made conditional upon the performance of useful service–but, who is to determine this ?

Right from the days of Plato and Aristotle upto the present day, so much water has flown under the bridge–"the concept of form of Govt." that no new theory is likely to be advocated. Lasky advocates state as a federal society and pluralism as its form. He totally rejects the absolute power of the state; for such a state and individual liberty are diametrically opposite each other. They can rarely be pronounced in the same breadth. Laski accepts state as "a great public service corporation", as Duguit termed it.

The first and foremost claim an Individual's fidelity is that of the group, in which he is born and brought up. The immediate group is more sovereign to him than the distant state. The state, therefore, must decentralize the powers, making the group its nucleus. The group is in a better postition to know and cater to individual needs, can allow him free play to the exercise of his capacities and abilities and can afford him easier access to the last of government. The state should not encroach upon or interfere with

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the life and jurisdiction of the group, unless suspected of subversive or anti-Govt. activities.

No clear pictue emerges out of this. It is just likely that indivudual may belong to a number of groups, at one and the same time, and take part in their working.

Such a form of Government might appear loose, yet, it shall have stronger ties, that may inwardly bind it firmly and securely. The individuals having full scope for the development of their capacities will be more closely concerned with its well-being, for he knows that the well being of them both is reciprocal and interdependent.

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TILAK-A POLITICAL STUDY

S.C. Tiwari

Bal Gangadhar Tilak is probably one of the most misunderstood of India's past national leaders who have left a distinctive mark on the freedom movement. One of the reasons for this misunderstanding is the attempt on the part of some of our present day critics to judge past men not in the context of their own time and surrounding, but according to present day thinking and background. The result of such an endeavour is obvious. The 'past' men—however great and 'advanced' in their own times—appear to be 'misfit', 'orthodox', 'reactionary' and so on. Here, in this short essay, an attempt will be made to understand Tilak in the light of his own epoch while evaluating his role in India's struggle for independence. Since ideas do play an important role in men's actions—at least they did in the case of Tilak—a chapter is devoted to finding out his political philosophy as can be discerned in his writings and speeches.

1. Nationalism as 'Dharma'

Hato va prapayasi svargam
jitva va bhoksyse mahim
tasmad uttishtha kaunteya
yuddhaya krtaniscayah

—Bhagvadgita. Ch. II, 37.

(Either slain thou shalt go to heaven; or victorious thou shalt enjoy the earth; therefore arise, O Son of Kunti, resolved on battle.)

Tilak, as we shall see later on, not only gave a mass basis to the Indian nationalist movement, but also provided Indian nationalism with a philosophical basis thus making the people aware

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of their struggle with the British bureaucracy as that between righteousness and evil. His scholarly work, the *Gita Rahasya*—written in Mandalay jail—places emphasis on the fact that action is the fulfilment of life and purposive human effort should be the object of a Karma-Yogi. In the context of the Indian political scene he brought home to the people the divine injunction; "Therefore, O Son of Kunti, arise and fight". This was in striking contrast to the then prevailing mood among Indians, and especially among the intelligentsia, who were bent upon disowning India's past heritage, looking down upon Indian culture and religion as primitive and dogmatic and imitating as best as they could, the so called 'Western way of life'. This led to a feeling of inferiority complex, helplessness, servility, lassitude and apathy towards the real problems facing India. The Britishers were regarded as God-sent people who had come here as deliverers of India from her backwardness, economic misery and abject poverty. However, the refusal to meet the political and economic demands by the government and its repressive measures against the growing nationalist movement shook the faith of an increasing number of Indians in the idealogy and technique of liberal nationalism. They began to rally round the group of militant nationalists (the 'Extremists') whose aims were elucidated by Sri Aurobindo thus:

> To recover Indian thought, Indian character, Indian perceptions, Indian energy, Indian greatness, and to solve the problems that perplex the world in an Indian spirit and from the Indian standpoint, this in our view, is the mission of Nationalism... The primary aim of the prophets of Nationalism was to rid the nation of the idea that the future was limited by the circumstances of the present, that because temporary causes had brought us low and made us weak, low therefore must be our aims and weak our methods. They pointed the mind of the people to a great and splendid destiny, not in some distant millennium but in the comparatively near future, and fired the hearts of the

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young men with a burning desire to realise the apocalypctic vision".[1]

The neo-vedantic nationalists visualised the future in terms of their own approach. They were engaged in the creation of a new India and a new world through the attainment by man of his highest spiritual destiny. Thus, "the movement of which the first outbreak was political, will end in a spiritual consummation".[2] Since *self-rule* was regarded as a *moral* necessity, the achievement of that end was the *dharma* of all people whose self was illumined by the All-Luminous Self. When Tilak said that 'Politics canot be separated from religion' he meant that the aim should not be merely the eradication of the socio-economic and political injustices created by the British rule, but the bringing about of a fundamental change in human history. He visualised individuals-endowed as they are with a consciousness which by its very nature 'svabhav' strives to achieve harmony with the consmic order-having freedom to do so without any social, economic and political impediments. As he wrote in his Gita Rahasya, 'the blessed Lord had to show the importance and the necessity of performing at all costs the duties enjoined by one's dharma while life lasts'. Thus, for Tilak and other 'extremists', 'Swaraj is our Dharma'. And this moral imperative can only be realised by the people, they thought, when the peoples' consciousness is aroused to such a level as to comprehend the fundamental issues involved in the struggle against the British rule and when their actions are the product of a deeper conviction expressed through religious forms. As Tilak wrote, "to succeed in any business with full self-control and determination in spite of our valour does not generally happen unless a firm conviction is engendered in our minds that we are doing is good work and God is helping us and that the religious instinct and the blessings of saints are at our back."[3] The result was, as Theodore Shay has rightly pointed out, "the poeple came to know that far more than isolated political events stimulated the new movement, that the battle with bureaucracy involved a way of life."[4] In order to enthuse in the poeple an abiding love for the country, India was symbolished as the

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Mother in bondage anxiously awaiting to be released from the shackles of tyranny by her worthy sons. In Bengal, the sons worshipped the mother, praying that she may manifest herself in the land and illumine it with her light and strength by which her children may recover their national self, 'the centre of India's being, the fountainhead of all that is beautiful, noble, great and generous in her'[5]

II. "Swaraj is my Birthright"

When Tilak boldly declared in the public meeting that "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it..." he was not simply making a political speech but was reinstating the fundamentals of his political philosophy in a nutshell. He believed in the teleological pattern of the universe-a God's scheme-in which each individual takes birth to fulfil a purpose according to the dictates of his own conscience and nature-'swabhav'. The purpose of life, according to him, was the realisation of this 'moral imperative' which was dictated by the inner conscience. Furthermore, to whole structure of society and with it the criterion of right and wrong, Tilak asserted, was to be based on this fundamental assumption of the self-willed duty of each individual to fulfil the task for which he has taken birth as a *human* being. Communal life was a part of man's life situation. Cosmic harmony too was maintained by 'swadharma'. Since each individual regarded himself and others as a part of the 'Whole'-and since he not only thought about his own individual good but about the good of society-there could not, therefore, be any ground for conflict. This high sense of individual and social obligation was regarded by Tilak as part of 'swadharma' and upon the foundations of it he wanted to construct a society which would be both just and harmonious.

Just as the individual as a separate and self-luminous entity strives to follow the 'swadharma', so also society strives to achieve 'dharmarajya' or the rule of 'dharma'-the principle of moral cosmic order which is both the ethical basis and the inner law of being according to the Hindu way of life. Now, if the individual were to be ruled by any exterior force, if his actions and thoughts were to be

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controlled by a force *external* to himself; he cannot make free moral decisions and thus will be deprived of the supreme duty for which he is born. Seen in this light both 'swaraj' and 'dharmarajya' become complementary to each other. In the right ordering of the community both are essential for the individual as a separate entity and as a corporate entity represented in society to fulfil the purpose of life. No wonder, therefore, that Tilak declared "Swaraj is my birthright." Swaraj to him signified the total change in the political outlook of the nation. As he clearly stated, "It is true that what we seek may seem like a revolution in the sense that it means a complete change in the "theory" of the Government of India as is now put forward by the bureaucracy." *This complete change in the theory of the Government,* in the philosophical basis of the State, involved the remaking of the State so that it may become instrumental in allowing the individual to fulfil his 'swadharma'. Here it may be pointed that Tilak came very close to the Idealist School and particularly to Green's theory of the state."[6] As Barker said about Green, "behind his conception of the State lies the idea of an eternal self-consciousness, which communicates to human consciousness the idea of a social good, and to whose perfection, in turn, human consciousness is ever seeking to attain, and, in the higher forms of human society, has already partially attained..." The State is a product of this consciousness. "Human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights; rights demand the state." [7] Liberty according to Green is both positive and determinate, a freedom to do something worthwhile of a definite character. On the other hand, a right is a claim of an individual, arising from the nature of self-consciousness, for permission to will his ideal objects. It is to these "ideal rights" to which Tilak refers when his self-illumined consciousness speaks out: "Swaraj is my birthright..." This natural right is indeed a necessary condition of a full and general welfare which can only be attained through the liberation of the best in every individual. Both Tilak and Green thus believed in the moral goodness of the individual which has the capacity and self-imposed duty to seek not only his own good but the good of the whole society. Evidently, they both proclaimed, "will, not force is the basis of the State."[8] Here, the analogy must

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end for it is dangerous to carry it too far. I dealt with Green's philosophy at some length only to bring out the implications of Tilak's ideas which usually found expression in his public utterances and for the expansion of which he had neither the occasion nor time as had Green.

Seen in this light, Tilak's assertion that all advance, social economic and political rested on the attainment of swaraj can easily be understood. "Swaraj is not merely to advance female education or to secure industrial reform or social reform. All these are parts of swarajya. Power is wanted first...."[9] Furthermore, Swaraj to him signified not the highest aim which a man can aspire to, but a foundation on which one can build a superstructure of one's own image. Also, Swaraj to him was a moral imperative. "There is no question which is not dependent upon Swaraj" or as he continually emphasised, "we demand Swaraj, as it is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity". Swaraj was a concept integrally related to the values of Indian civilization. Thus Tilak and other 'extremists' advanced much boldly the concept of Swaraj in marked contrast to the moderates' demands of "reforming" the *British* system of administration and the wider participation of Indians in the Civil Services. For Tilak this was an insignificant matter and as he said once".....to get posts of big salaries is not the meaning of Swarajya."[10]

III. The Implementation

In order to implement the goal, Tilak exhibited a rare sense of political wisdom and realism. To use Barker's phrase for Green, Tilak was a 'soaring idealist and a sober realist'. He realised that violence would be wasteful and ineffecutal as against a mighty power firmly entrenched in the Indian soil. It did not mean, as was the case with the moderates, that he wanted the people to rely on the good sense and the 'freedom-loving instinct' of the British people. He exhorted the people to organise themselves peacefully and constitutionally to fight the *battle with the bureaucracy* and gave three 'weapons' by which Swaraj could be established-Swadeshi,

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boycott and national education. Or as he explained later on in the manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party.".....the party's watchword will the 'Educate, Agitate and Organise." He fought vigorously for these principles in and outside the Congress Party which was predominantly managed by the moderate leaders and which led to a schism between the two wings of the Party at Surat in 1907. He explained the Surat fiasco thus:

> "We are not fighting for men, not for the election of the president, we want men as representative of certain principles. The fight is between two principles, (*i*) "Earnestly doing what is right", and (*ii*) "Do, but don't displease the Government." I belong to the party who are prepared to do what they think right whether the Government is pleased or displeased".[11]

A year earlier to this he had declared, "Protests are of no avail. Days of protests and prayers have gone....Good wishes between master and servant are impossible....Three P's-pray, please and protest-will not do unless backed by solid force....Look at the example of Ireland, Japan and Russia and follow their methods...."[12] The Surat split was caused because of the moderate leaders' attempt to go back on the steps that were taken by the Congress at the Calcutta session in 1906. At the time of the Calcutta session, in order that Tilak might not be elected the President of the Congress, the moderate leaders had specially cabled the Grand Old Man of India—Dadabhai Naroji, to come to India from England and preside over its meeting. There was to be a resolution on Swaraj. The moderates thought—looking back to Naroji's past-that he would adopt a go-slow policy in this matter. But he told the assembled delegates in supporting the resolution on Swaraj that he was disillusioned with both the Moderate's programme and the British spirit in which he had always believed. He even went further to the great delight of the Nationalists and the consternation of the Moderates, in denouncing the British Government in India as a "barbarous despotism unworthy of British instincts, principles and civilization." This was the greatest victory for Tilak's party for his

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phrase had been adopted and "self-government" was now put forward as a right. But at Surat this was changed by the Moderates to "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-govering members of the British Empire.....by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration..." The moderates determined as they were in throwing out the extremists from the Congress-fold made it obligatory on the part of each member to accept this as his political creed. Here also Tilak displayed his sense of realism and tried hard to bring about a reconciliation of the two wings of the party for he well knew that the strength of the party lay in union. But if this was not possible, Tilak was determined to organize a new party with a new vigour and dynamism as the country had begun to expect from him. Speaking at Calcutta on January 2, 1907 about the new party he said,

> "What the new party wants you to do is realise the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts; and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tommorrow"[13]

IV. Tilak and Social Reform

Tilak has often been accused of taking sides with the feudal and reactionary elements of the Indian society and of inconsistency in matters of social reform. Sardar Panikkar has said that whereas in the political field Tilak was a radical, in the social field he was a

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reactionary. Also a host of British historians, the foremost among them being Sir Valentine Chirol have described him as a reactionary force hindering the progress of India.

At the outset let me repeat what I said about Tilak previously. He was a soaring idealist and a sober realist. He fully realised that the goal a attaining *swarajya* which he set for himself could not be realised by fighting among the various sections of Indians. Hence he was careful not to take up too many subjects at once, because the antagonism generated by each, would have been made worse, by the antagonism to each others; and he would have piled up a host of enemies tgether, instead of leaving himself free to deal with one at a time. His foremost enemy at that time was the British bureaucracy ruling autocratically over the Indian masses. It had also become instrumental for the British capitalists to exploit the colony to their own advantage. The resultant economic chaos generated into the Indian scene was further aggravated by the adoption after 1857 of such policies which tended to perpetuate and strengthen the reactionary and feudal elements in the Indian society. Furthermore, the government's resolve to be neutral on issues of social reforms also contributed to the continuance for a long time of many social evils and anachronisms in the Indian society.[14]

The so called 'reformers' conscious of their own helplessness but desirous of uplifting the country to a high level could think of only one way to meet this crisis in Indian society—the complete westernization of India in thought, manners and habits. The English were regarded by them as heavensent trustees of India and it was believed that once the English had to concede that Indians had socially advanced up to their level, political rights could not, with decency, be refused.[15]

It is not as though Tilak was opposed to reforms; far from it, he wanted genuine reform of the body polite of India which meant the establishment of swarajya in India and which implied the right and duty of Indians to reform their society of which they were the masters. His ideal of a social reformer was a Buddha, a Kabir or a

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Tukaram.[16] He provided the liveliest oposition to the apish imitation of the Western life and manners of the 'reformers'. Those who criticise Tilak often point out to his opposition to the government's measure to raise the age of marriage of Hindu girls. Tilak's opposition was guided by a strong commonsense and was in keeping with his basic ideology. In opposing the measure he was not opposing the 'reform' inherent in the bill; but the right of a foreign bureaucracy to sit in legislative judgment on the Indian society.[17]

He said once, "I am a liberal Hindu," and in the *Mahratta* he wrote, "We have always been advocates of reform—reform we say, but not of rebellion or licence."[18] As a mass leader he wanted his people to follow him intelligently and thus did not indulge in dreaming ideal reforms which were so impractical that they could not be accepted by the people, or which were so alien that they had no relation to the culture of India. The first basis of his programme for reform was that those who believed in reform, those who were educated and posed as the leaders of the community, should be the first to practise the reforms they advocated. In this way he believed that reform-leaders could set an example for all of society and that, to the extent that society followed their example, acceptance of the reform would be democratic and moral. But before he preached he wanted to practise.

He educated his daughters and postponed their marriage till the utmost limit sanctioned by the Shastras, i.e. till they were 16 years old-whereas the Age of Consent Bill which he vehemently opposed had been designed to raise the marriage of Hindu girls from ten to twelve years only. Also, it is not as though he had no positive plans to put before the reformers. He propsed that laws be passed, applying to all the educated reformers, to the effect (1) that their daughters should not marry until they reached the age of sixteen (instead of twelve as the reformers had advocated) and that boys should not marry until they were twenty; (2) that unless they were prepared to marry widows, men should not marry after they were forty years old; (3) that the educated reformers be absolutely prohibited from taking alcohol; (4) that the reformers and their families be prohibited from accepting dowries in marriages; (5) that there

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be no disfigurement of widows; and (6) that one-tenth of the monthly income of every reformer should be devoted to public purposes. The next thing the reformer could do, Tilak urged, would be to mix with the people and to educated them to the necessity of reforming the decadent aspects of the caste-ridden social order. He wrote, "If the educated want to take up the social education factor, they must mix with the common people. Those who want to be leaders of the people must be in touch with the people to understand what are their needs, how much religious ardour they have got to what channel their energy sould be turned in order to gain national good."[19]

Another instance is the plague epidemic in Poona. Unfortunately, on that occasion, the armchair dreamers of social reform fled from the city. Tilak remained there and offered his services to the government and gave constructive suggestions to implement the precautionary measures without injuring the feelings of the people. He opened and managed a hospital for plague victims when government facilities proved inadequate. Likewise, he established a free kitchen and did everthing possible to alleviate the tragic conditions of the people. Even before that when in 1896 a severe famine struck Maharastra, Tilak actively worked to ameliorate their condition. He urged the government to take those measures of relief which were provided for in the Famine Relief Code. The law provided the suspension of the collection of land taxes during the famine, free use of jungle land, the payment of wages to people doing famine relief work in villages and free meals to poor families. The beauraucracy, unresponsive to the suffering and grievances of the people, was hesitant to implement these measures. Tilak took the challenge and through the editorial columns of his *Kesari*, and by organising a batch of volunteers for the famine relief he made the people aware of their legal rights and asked them not to pay the tax till the famine was over.[20] He collected detailed information on the devastation in rular areas to support his action and forwarded it to the government. No wonder he very soon became the uncrowned king of the people.

To sum up, the social reformers were convinced that only by social reform could they earn political reform; that, therefore, social reform must precede political reform. Tilak thought in just the opposite way. Political reform, he argued, must precede social reform. According to him it is only

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popular self-government that is moral government and only moral government can create moral social change. Therefore, self-rule is necessary and is the first object which must be pursued in the awakening of the people.[21] One important reason why Tilak did not favour the social reform "movement" was because of its tendency, as he put, it, "to transfer the train of our agitation from one track to another," and this he could never tolerate-the side-tracking of people from the foundamental issue of 'swarajya.'[22]

V. The Ganapati and Shivaji Festivals:

Critics of Tilak have argued that because he and his party revived these *Hindu* festivals therefore they alienated the mass of Muslims from the freedom struggle and made them apprehensive about the goal of the Congress. Rajani Palme Dutt has criticised the "extremists" for their Hindu orientation in the following words, "The insistence or orthodox religion as the heart of the national movement, inevitably retarded and weakened the real advance of the national movement and of political consciousness, while the emphasis on Hinduism must bear a share of the responsiblity for the alienation of the wide sections of Moslem opinion from the Nationalist movement."[23] Generally the critics have argued on priori basis that since it was a Hindu festival which the Moslems must not a have liked and therefore it must have alienated them from the Congress which was the spearhead of the freedom struggle. At the outset, it must be pointed out that the revival of old religious worship of Ganapati and the celebration of Shivaji festival was done in the sincere belief that a healthy veneration of the old gods and the national heroes would best infuse a true spirit of nationality and patriotism. Also, Tilak thought that it might prove to be one of the good ways to check the onslaught of western cultural penetration into the Indian Life—especially among the youth of the country who were then indulging in the apish imitation of all that was western. The Ganapati festival was organised with a view to restoring the confidence of the people and in creating among them fellow-feeling and a sense of poignant hope about the glorious future. The worship of Ganapati spread from the confines of the family circle into the public square. This transformation is noteworthy; since (despite some exceptions) Hindu religious worship—congregational worship as that found in

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Christianity or Islam— is not common. Thus the nationalist feeling provided a good incentive to bring out Hindu worship from its seclusion. It also helped to foster fraternal feelings amongst all sects and castes of Hindus who got a golden opportunity to unite under the common socio-religious festivity. The caustic dramatic dialogues in between the songs, though seemingly religious had a subtle mixture of current politics. Apparently it was all gaiety and entertainment, but the songs and lectures left a deep impression on the minds of the people and this was precisely what Tilak wanted it to happen. Even R.P. Dutt recognises :

> "The national patriotic purpose which underlay these religious forms. Under conditions of severe imperialists repression of all direct political agitation and organisation, before the national movement had reached any mass basis, the use of such forms was understandable."[24]

It is wrong to think that the Muslims did not participate in these functions. Just as the Hindus participated in the Muharram; the Muslims also took part in the celebration of the Ganapati festival. Ramgopal quotes in his book a report published in a Muslim weekly of Bombay, *Rast Goftar* about the celebration at Sholapur (1896) which 7"exceeded in eclat and enthusiasm anything of the kind that was witnessed in preceding years, and the most noticeable feature was that the local Mohammedans freely mixed with the Hindus in doing honour to Ganapati.[25] At Nasik, both Hindus and Muslims carried the Ganapati for immersion, the man leading the procession being a Muslim. The legend of that god slaying the demon 'Gajardsura' was interpreted by the worshippers as being the deliverance of the people from their national oppressors.

It was not because of these acts that the Muslim masses—ignorant and superstitious as they were like the Hindu masses—grew apprehensive of the Congress. It was because of the British *divide et imperda* policy which was implemented by the Beck-Ahmed Khan alliance at Aligarh. And fortunately for him he got an opportunity to misinterpret the revivalist trend discernible in a section of the Congress as an attempt "to transfer control of the country from the British to the Hindus." He further stated that "the Parliamentary system in India is most unsuited and the experiment would prove futile if representative institution is introduced.

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7579 Lucknow

The Muslims will be under the majority opinion of the Hindus, a thing which will be highly resented by muslims, and which I am *sure*, they will not accept *quietly*." And of course they did accept the "reforms" quietly which gave Indians some share in the legislation of the country. In 1892 when the reforms were announced by the Government, there were communal riots.

Another festival which Tilak revived was the Shivaji festival in 1895. The political motive of this revival was to recreate in the people the memory of Shivaji, the liberator of Maharashtra from the domination of the Moguls, and thereby kindle in them a heroic determination to achieve freedom from the British rule. In choosing Shivaji as a national hero Tilak explained his point of view thus....

> "Our political aspirations need all the strength which the worship of a swadeshi hero is likely to inspire in our minds. For this purpose Shivaji is the ony hero to be found in Indian History. He was born at a time when the whole nation required relief from misrule and by self-sacrifice and courage he proved to the world that India was not a country foresaken by providence. It is true that the Mohamedans and Hindus were then divided; and Shivaji who respected the religious scruples of the Mohamedans had to fight against the Mogul rule that had become unbearable to the people. But it does not follow from this that, now that the Mohamedans and the Hindus are equally shorn of the power they once possessed and are governed by the same laws and rules, they should not agree to accept as a hero one who in his own days took a bold stand *against the tyranny of* his time.[26] It is not preached nor is it to be at all expected that the methods adopted by Shivaji should be adopted by the present generation."[27]

Thus, he exhorted the people to remember the spirit which made Shivaji revolt "against the tyranny of his time". He was aware that his purpose in doing so might be misinterpreted by the Mohamedans and therefore he appealed to "our Mohamedan friends not to be misled by the wilful propaganda of the Anglo-Indian press. He argued that if the French regard Nepoleon as their national hero, it is not with a view to impairing

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the cordial relations between Britain and France but to remember and inculcate the 'spirit' which made him to do great acts. He publicly stated:

> "We are not against a festival being started in honour of Akbar or any other hero from old Indian History....what makes Shivaji a national hero for the present is the spirit which actuated him throughout and not his deeds."[28]

VI. Tilak—The Realist:

Tilak's political astuteness can be noticed in many of the political happenings of his time. He used every possible occasion as a supreme tactician to widen and consolidate his position among the masses. He viewed the Bengal partition agitation as of national importance and opined that the "...Partition grievance will be the edifice for the regeneration of India. Do not give up this partition grievance (he told the Bengalees) for the whole of India is at your back. It is a cornerstone and I envy the people of Bengal for laying this cornerstone."[29] Further, during the First World War, he undoubtedly gave his full support to the Britishers for carryng out the war but with this clear understanding that they should give India 'home-rule'—a campaing which he had started along with Mrs. Annie Besant and which had become very popular among the masses. He had fully realised the importance of India's manpower and resources in the war which was being waged to 'save the world for democracy'. In his own characteristic direct tone he reminded the people that—

> "Everybody in the world is trying to profit by the opportunity. The colonies are proclaiming aloud their claims. They are making their own schemes ready and pressing their claims on England....None will be more unlucky and unfortunate than youself if you lag behind at this critical moment....Now it is for you to say whether you will answer by vigorous efforts or sit silent and let the opportunity slip through your fingers. By allowing this golden opportunity to escape, you are incurring the just blame of those that will be born hereafter. Your daughters and sons will be ashamed of you and future generations will curse you. Take courage therefore and work now."[30]

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Tilak was also instrumental in bringing the newly awakened Muslim community into the fold of the Congress at its Lucknow session in 1916. It was his firm belief that in order to replace the powerful bureaucracy, Indians must stand united. It is because of this that he opposed the Congress becoming an organisation of the so-called social reformers. And it is precisely because of this reason that he accepted the demands of the Muslim Leagues for separate representation in the legislature as a condition of their entry into the Congress. By their entry into the organization it had truly become the Indian National Congress. In supporting the resolution on self-government at the 31st session of the Indian National Congress of 1916 held at Lucknow he said, "It has been said...by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohamedan brethren...I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohamedan community only. I would not care if they are granted to Rajput.....The fight then will be between them and other sections of the community and not as at present a triangular fight. We have to get these rights from a powerful bureaucracy...." Or again, "when we have to fight against a third party—it is a very important thing that we stand on this splatform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of politcal creed."[31] Since politics is the art of the possible he accepted the Muslim demand and thereby refuted the belief lurking in some minds that he did not want Moslems to participate in the freedom struggle.

VII. Conclusion

What has been said of Tilak in praise does not imply that he did not at any time err or that the path which he chose was the *only* right path. After all, every genius is both a child of his age and a rebel. Nevertheless, he was instrumental in giving a new and decisive turn to the nationalist movement—the fruits of which we are fortunate enough to enjoy today. Tilak relentlessly sought every opportunity to give mass basis to the nationalist movement and to that end evoked symbols and institutions capable of generating enthusiasm among people for the attainment of the supreme goal, dearest to his heart: Swaraj. His immortal words spoken in the court which had given him six years' transportation are still vibrating in our ears. He said, "All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher Powers that rule the

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destiny of things and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free." Such was Tilak—a name which will be remembered gratefully so long as the country has pride in its past and hope for the future.[32]

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3. *Gleanings from Tilak's Writings and Speeches*. 1921.
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6. T.H. Green, *Lectures on the principles of Political Obligation* (London,, 1948).
7. Ernest Barker, *Political Thought In England* 1848 to 1914 (London, 1942) 32.
8. *Ibid*.
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11. *Ibid*.
12. *Speeches*, 44-45.
13. *Speeches*, 65
14. Of relevance here are the observations of Huge Tinker, a modern British historian on Indian affairs, in his article "1857 and 1957: The Mutiny and Modern India," *International Affairs*, XXXIV, 1 (January, 1957) 57-65.
    It is true that the British administration intervened in the social life of the Indian people during the pre-mutiny period and campaigned against barbarous social practices like Suttee and legislated agaisnt a number of them, but it adopted a general policy of neutralty regarding social matters after 1857. Not only that, Lord Lytton had openly declared in 1876 that, "the Crown of England should henceforth be identified with the hopes, aspirations, the sympathies and the interests of a powerful native aristocracy."
15. "Let us speak out like men, and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone; that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred on us; the education that has been given to us; the new light which has been poured on us, turning us from darkness into light, and teaching us the new lesson that Kings are made for the poeple, not people for their Kings; and this lesson we have learned amid the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization".—Dadabhai Naroji—Quoted in Vereny Lovett, *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (London 1921), 38.

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16. Athalye, *The Life of Lokmanya Tilak* (Poona, 1921), 47.
17. According to the Queen's proclamation in 1858 it was decided to leave religious and social matters outside the pale of the British adminsitration Tilak thought that the attempt on the part of the British to enfold the social life of the country by legislation and reforms—however good—might mean more curtailment of freedom and might give a firmer footing to the British rule.
18. *The Mahratta*, 20 September, 1896.
19. *Kesari*, 8 September, 1896.
20. "Will you when the Queen desires that none should die, when the Governor declares that all should live...will you kill yourself by timidity and starvation? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means. But if you have not, will you sell everything away only to avoid the supposed wrath of the subordinate government officers?Can you not be bold even in the grip of death?" Quoted in A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, 1954) 296.
21. Shay, *The Legacy of the Lokmanya* 76.
22. *Speeches*, 164.
23. *India Today And Tomorrow* (Delhi, 1955) 125.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography* (Bombay, 1955)
26. Italics Mine.
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28. *Speeches*, 50.
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32. Sri Aurobindo, *Bankim-Tojal-Dayanand* (Pondicherry, 1955) 38.

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

R.N. Thakur

On, the 25th day of August 1989, the Indian Innstitute of Public Administration commemorated Jawaharlal Nehru, the Founder President of this Institute in his Centenary Year. Nehur attended each and every meeting of the General Body of the institute since its inception when he delivered his address at the inaugural meeting of the Institute on 29th day of March 1954. He addressed several Annual General Body meeting of the IIPA between 1st April 1955 and 31st August 1963.

Nehru was deeply concerned for the welfare of the people of India. His exhortation to the administration, and his high hope from this Institute could be discern from Nehru's own words, "adminsistration is meant to achieve something, and not to exist in some kind of any ivory tower–the test after all is the human beings and their welfare". And then to achieve this, he borrows a phrase from Paul. H. Appleby to describe the process of achieving. Thinking big' and said "What is required is realistic faith in India's future;—a more realistic attitude."

His last presidential address at the 9th Annual General Body Meeting on 31st August 1963 turns out to be prophetic when he suggests that some younger man should take his place as president of the Institute because it would infuse some freshness. In all his addresses at these meetings of the Institute what stand out significantly are his great concern for the people, great tasks ahead which the public administration is called upon to perform correspondingly desirable change in the attitude of the administration towards the people, and change in the attitude of the people towards the administration.

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Public administration–is a "human problem";....it has to deal with "human beings",...the moment we forget them, we are driven away from reality.

Reality, in effect, is a social construction. As an important agent of change administration is required to be close to the social reality, to the people whom they have to serve, and with whom they have to adjust. Adaptability to change necessitates concomitant change in the attitude of the administration.

Administrators and the people are the actors, through their cooperative actions they are to change the social situation through right policies and well executed programmes of socio-economic development. Social situation is very much complicated, hence the task is difficult and challenging for the administration.

Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to Public Administration may be viewed from three broad perspectives:

(i) Social policy and Social development perspective;

(ii) His deep understanding of the limitations of public adminsitration to cope with the enormity of tasks and challenges public administration had been called upon to perform since independence; and

(iii) Nehru's deeper concern about social services and social issues.

The first area refers mainly to the socialistic structure of society, decentralised democracy, programmes of socio-economic development through planning to achieve the goal of an egalitarian, secular, socialist, democratic society.

The second area refers to the plethora of rules which create difficulties, delay in administrative execution, caste-like rigidity in the services as superior, subordinate, inferior, official, non-official.

The third area relates to the basic problems like unemployment, poverty, disease, social backwardness, the growing corruption in Public

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administration, and more crucially, the attitude on the part of functionaries to consider services as a secure position of employment, and not as an opportunity to get a job done. In such an atmosphere the service to the people is relegated to the background. Administration becomes jaded, and people become distrustful of the administration. The whole image gets distorted.

The above three perspectives of public administration relate to the broad areas of social administration which are, in a way, Nehru's great concern.

Nehru's view of administration is of profound theorist who is amazingly struck by the contrast between the traditional concept of administration and the changing social milieu. In his opinion 'the traditional concept of administration as something apart from the normal life of the community is completely out of date'. In the highly complex society of today the integrating aspect of an administrator's role has become exceedingly important. It becomes all the more important that the administrator has his hands on the pulse of the people all the time, and the people feel that this man is one of them, that he is reflecting their wishes. It is very important how we deal with the people.

Nehru's Approach to Primitive Tribe:

For instance, one would like to refer to Nehru's view on public administration in relation to the primitive tribes. How critically realistic is his observation when he says, "the only policy that goes down with them (primitive tribes) is the one to treat them as equals. The moment there is even a suspicion that you consider yourself as their superior, your influence on them goes and if by any chance you show the slightest element of ... contempt for their way of life, it is bitterly resented.....This man comes to interfere with us."

Adminsistrators have to do with human beings, and there should be 'no exhibition of superiority in the human approach'.

Closeness between the Administration and the Administered:

In relation to the proximity between the administration and the

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people, Nehru's approach is what I call his proverbial approach to remove the barrier between the administration and the administered. In his view, in a democratic state, the ultimate way to remove the barrier between the administration and the administered is to make the administered themselves administrators.

People should have a sense of being associated in doing things in every village.

What I pronounce as his proverbial approach has been Nehru's Public Cooperation approach. Nehru raises a question, "Cooperation with whom ? whether in this form of relationship the people will be in the centre and administration will be on the periphery moveing around; or administration will continue to be in the centre (as of now) about which the people will hang. Nehru was very clear. He subscribed to the former view. His advice to the administrator ever was.

"Treat the peasant, villager, worker–on terms of friendly equality never as a boss"

Administration, in his view, is spreading out in social domains in India.

Administration to serve whom ?

In his address to the civil servants at Kurnool on 9th December 1955, he begins by saying,

"What exactly are the services?

What is their purpose ?"

The services are supposed to serve. Serve whom?....society, the people, the country"; Work for the services has grown greatly in India in some ways: One is, there are entirely new types of work which we have to do and which we did not do before.

Secondly, the nature of work has changed. It is much more responsible work.

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Thirdly, the work has become more and more social".

We talk about socialistic structure of society. Obviously that structure cannot take place just by some legislation, although legislation helps. It really means building up a complex society; society is very complicated with innumerable relations.

The success of the Panchayati raj, municipal bodies, Jawahar Rojgar Yojana–all will depend upon how far the officials connected with these functions act as non-officials, and how far they can draw out the cooperation of the non-official elements, of the people, the villagers or any body, Merely legislation will not do. Effective implementation can work, and its test, in the words of Nehru, will lie in the 'capacity of administration to draw out people.'

A Vicious problem

Nehru points to a vicious social problem which afflicts the whole administration.

On the one hand we have a problem of enlarging the scope of employment widely.

On the other hand we have the difficulty in many offices that there are too many people. "It is probably better for us to pension off people and give them something adequate so that they may not just come in, encumber, and get in the way of the work of others". In these words, Nehru sounds very harsh but realistic and determined for a bigger cause. Todya after over four decades since independence, the Government is tending to move into the direction indicated by Sri Nehru. Golden handshake is a measure to pension off people which some public sector undertakings have adopted.

Administrator–An Actor in a social Drama:

Human approach in Sociology considers man not as an automaton, devoid of free will and wholly dependent on social environment.

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He is an active actor in the social drama which he is required to move and change. Nehru views S. Lall's (an I.C.S. Officer) thinking on civil service neutrality rather critically.

Nehru's view of administratior is not of one who is a neutral person. He appreciates administrator's role as a detached person considering issues in a detached and objective way by remaining above politics, rendering advice for fully accurate action. He says. I wonder how any thinking person can be neutral. Nehru says, 'in a period of dynamic growth, we want as civil servants persons who are not merely head clerks but people with minds, people with vision, people with a desire to achieve, who have some initiative for doing a job and who can thing how to do it. A civil servant cannot be neutral about basic issues'. There are certain major problems that the country faces today; whether an administrator holds a socialist view, or a cooperative view, a communal or anti-communal outlook, he cannot be neutral to their solution.

Work study : A practical Approach

Nehru suggests a very practical approach–work study method in administration. Ford began work study in factory, later it spread to administration. It was applied to clerks, senior level sat in chair and only found fault. According to Nehru, work study should apply to all levels, better start from the senior level.

The lower level with emulated.

Nehru was a sensitive mind, a living soul. He raised so many questions for the public administration in a dynamic social order. His respect for institution was great. Only two and half decades after Nehru's time, could not we ask how would Nehru feel if he were in our midst today? Have we the same respect for institutions, the same love for job, the same sense of service he instilled ?

In the presidential address to the fourth General Body Meeting on April 5, 1958, Nehru spoke that 'this institute of Public Administration is an 'outcome' of the feeling tht public administration

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is a subject of great importance and that some organised thinking and study should be given to it.

This modest presentation is a part of that process in which there is an attempt to reflect upon Nehru's role in shaping Public administration.

Nehru said, "where we are going to ?" should be inscribed in the room, on the walls of every administrator's office.

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND THE PASSING OF THE HINDU CODE BILL

Nawaz B. Mody

Nehru's major contribution to the Indian Nation both as a leader of the freedom movement and as the first Prime Minister of independent India was the inculcation of the spirit of modernism in an essentially traditional social structure. This quality in fact, distinguished him from the majority of his colleagues during the national movement. His modernism affected almost every area of national life. Among other causes, he championed the movement for equality between men and women and advocated reform of the family and social system and ardently supported the cause of social justice.

Nehru's views on the position of Indian women contained a mixture of the traditional Indian and western perspectives. While the traditional view of Indian women idolized them as being symbols of purity, faithfulness, submissiveness and devotion, the Western view held them to be melleable and backward. Nehru held Indian women in high esteem. He felt that Indian women had played a crucial role in India's social life and in history. They have played this part in every branch of national activity, from high learning to valour in the battle field.

He also felt that the greatest revolution in India would be the one that would affect the status and condition of its women. It was Gandhiji, who, according to Nehru, had brought about a dramatic change among Indian Women, who at his bidding came out in large numbers to participate in the freedom struggle. Clearly Nehru had very high regard for Indian woman and his modernism fully appreciated and supported their entry into the freedom movement. 'The entry of Indian women folk and their efficient mangement of

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the freedom movement in the 1930's despite their lack of experience was an eye opener for him and portended a future in which Indian women were likely to play a major role in future public life. It was this participation which for him made it impossible to conceive of denying them their political and social rights in the future. The Fundamental Rights Resolution of the Congress which removed all disabilities and guaranteed equality of the sexes reflected a recognition of this fact.[2]

For Nehru the true indication of a nation's progress dependend on the position of its women. The task in the post Independence period accordingly, was to rid women of the social and legal disabilities which were attached to them. Nehru fully realised that the women of India had long been neglected and that rapid progress could come only if women freed themselves of everything that suppressed and bound them.[3] Accordingly Nehru wanted to and did succeed in providing suffarage to women after independence. He had also realised that women were a group in need of special treatment and accordingly Clauses were added in the Constitution providing for equality of the sexes, non discrimination on grounds of sex and permitting the State to make special provision for women and children (Article 15 (3)).

A major illustration of Nehru's desire to bring about modernisation of traditional society and protect and grant equality to Hindu women was his attempt to bring about the passing of the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly, also functioned as the Indian Parliament for sometime. This comprehensive Bill attempted to codify and reform the personal laws of Hindus. Nehru was committed to passing this piece of legislation, but political factors resulted in the postponement of the Bill till after the election of 1951-52. Several other Congress leaders who had pledged themselves to social equality in actual practice opposed the Hindu Code Bill and succeeded in holding it up.[4]

The underlying principle of Hindu Law in the pre-independence era was inequality, the inferior position of women in all matters

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governing personal law like marriage, maintenance, inheritance and guardianship. In the early years, Hindu Law was unwritten but what helped its growth was the role of custom which served as one of the important sources of law. Diversity of customs in a country as large as India were inevitable. The great advantage of the role assigned to custom was the facility with which socio-economic changes could be reflected in the legal norms. As a consequence of this flexibility social tensions which arise when law lags behind societal expectations, were generally absent in India.

Another source of Hindu law lay in the works of commentators and here also the Vastness of the country led to different parts accepting the autbority of different commentators. Two major schools developed were Dayabhaga and Mitakshara, which were divided again into four Sub-Schools. The pre-British era did not have a uniform system of Hindu law. With the coming of the British the picture changed completely. Professing neutrality and non-interference in Hindu and Muslim laws, the British authorities left them generally untouched. It has been felt that the British rulers were mortally afraid that interference would lead to repurcussions ruinous to the stability of their empire in the country and preferred consequently the attitude of non interference.[5] The result of this non-interference led to stagnation and there was no way by which socio-economic changes could be reflected in the legal system then prevailing.

Dr. B.V. Keskar, while speaking in the debate on the Hindu Code Bill, had stressed that it was primarily due to the attitude of the British rulers that Hindu society had remained fossilized and even moderate changes were being described as radical and revolutionary.[6] Undoubtedly social tension, resulting from this policy of stagnation would have been greater but for the untiring efforts of a number of social reformers who pinpointed on the major social evils like sati, child marriage etc. which led to some marginal legislative changes upto 1857. After this, with a further hardening in the British attitude towards social legislation, they turned their attention towards spreading education among the people.

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The entry of women into the freedom movement and the championship of their cause both by lawyers and reformers saw some legislative activity in the early part of the twentieth century. Most significant among them was the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (also known as the Deshmukh Act) which was passed in 1937.[7] This law gave Hindu widows some semblance of financial security for the first time. The Act secured to the widowed daughter in-law the legal right to enjoy the husband's share in the joint family property during her life time and also to get an equal share to that of the son. The Act did not give her any right of ownership since she could not dispose off the property but at least she was no longer at the mercy of the family members.

Piecemeal legislation was no longer sufficient to meet the demands to modernize the whole structure of law. Accordingly, the Government of India appointed a Committee with Shri B.N. Rau as the Chairman to suggest changes and codify and unify the law governing the Hindus on 25th January, 1941. The first Report of the Committee which was submitted on 19th June, 1941 opposed piecemeal legislation and recommended a comprehensive Hindu Code and legislation which should be a blend of the finest elements in the various schools of Hindu Law, a code, finally, which shall be simple in its language, capable of being translated into the vernacular and made accessible to all. In 1942 two separate pieces of legislation were drafted pertaining to women which were referred to the Rau Committee which was also asked to submit a Draft Code. This Draft Code was submitted in 1944 after extensive touring and examination of a large number of witnessess.[8] The Draft Code was published and translated into twelve regional languages.[9]

But the whole issue of the acceptablility of the Rau Committee's recommendations which become the basis of the Hindu Code Bill submitted to the Constituent Assembly itself ran into a great deal of controversy. Rajendra Prasad, in a letter addressed to Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that the Rau Committee had held an enquiry and recorded a gread deal of evidence which was overwhelmingly against the proposals which were being presented for consideration.

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The details of this evidence, he pointed out, had been analysed in depth by Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter in his note of dissent.[10] He reiterated this in another letter stressing that the evidence recorded by the Committee was overwhelmingly against the proposals contained in the Bill.[11] Obviously there was a considerably strong group who questioned the reison detre of the Rau Committee's Report as being acceptable to all sections of Hindus in the matter of the codification of the law.

The Draft Code of the Rau Committee had lain in cold storage till independence when it was resurrected under Nehru's stewardship. The Bill after some modifications by the Law Ministry was transferred to a Select Committee in 1948 under the Chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who was then the Law Minister. Indeed Nehru was lucky to have Ambedkar as the Law Minister whose commitment to the Hindu Code was perhaps greater than his own. The dedication with which Ambedkar prepared the Hindu Code Bill which ran into 139 Sections and Seven Schedules are a tribute to his zeal, commitment and expertise. The Bill covered almost all branches of Hindu Law including marriage and divorce, adoption, guardianship, joint family property, women's property rights and maintenance. It also sought to prohibit Polygamy among the Hindus.[12]

In fact during the course of the deabates in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar was referred to as the Modern Day Manu of India. This was perhaps not quite liked by the more conservative elements like Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee. While introducing the Bill, Ambedkar had reiterated that the aim of the Bill was to codify the rules of Hindu Law which were scattered on innumerable decisions–which formed a bewildering motley for the common man.[13] For him, one of the most important provisions was that relating to dowry which not only lowred the dignity of women but subjected her to physical and mental oppression. His suggestion was to make this into a trust property for the girls [Section 93, (1) and (2)].

The Bill was introduced to the Constituent Assembly on 9th April 1948 by Dr. Ambedkar himself. A lot of controversy was

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generated subsequently since that day happened to be the last day of the session and almost at the last hour of that session. It was even stated that the second reading of the bill was rushed through at this time. The bill, as was pointed out, had not been circulated for public opinion by the Assembly. As expected, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee which met later. The Bill was then to be taken up at the next session of the Assembly due to begin on August 9.[14]

The hurried and rather unusual manner in which the Bill which was pushed through on a matter of such great consequence itself reveals that Nehru was not too sure of getting adequate support for it. He was undoubtedly aware of the opposition to the Bill from among the conservative Hindus many of whom were members of the Congress, in the Constituent Assembly. Moreover his position in the presence of Vallabhbhai patel, who was a leader of the Conservative group, was undeniably weak, given Patel's strong grip over the Congress party organization and many members.

As the details of the correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad during July 1948, the month before the Bill was to be brought back to the Constituent Assembly reveal, there were grave differences of opinion between them.[15] Prasad contended that the proposed Code, introducing very basic changes in the Hindu Law then accepted, had never been considerd at a meeting of the Party. Prasad voiced the view of a deputation of members of the Select Committee to which the Hindu Code had been referred, that it would not be proper to rush the Bill through the Assembly. The Bill should not be passed by the Constitutent Assembly sitting as a legislature which was merely a make–shift arrangement which did not even have the safeguard of a second chamber. Since elections were due, Prasad's suggestion was that the subject should be one of the items of the election manifesto, since it was necessary to consult the electorate before the Bill was placed before the legislature.

Nehru in his reply, stated that a large number of the socially progressive Hindus were in favour of the Bill. He reiterated the

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need for urgency since the matter had been long–pending and felt that to postpone or smother it would create a crisis and affect the reputation of the Congress. His aim of passing the Bill was to silence the view that the Congress was a reactionary and very conservative body. "I confess I do not see how....we can go back on what we have done after much argument and debate and not proceed with the Bill". He also raised the question of the merits of the Bill and expressed himself as being in favour of the general principles embodied in it.[16]

Prasad, once again reiterated, the incompetence of the Constituent Assembly to take up the issue of passing fundamental legislation on Hindu personal law. He felt that if the legislation were passed it would arouse bitter feelings and have repercussions which affect the chances of the Congress party in the next elections.[17] Here ofcourse, Prasad had hit the nail on the head and no amount of emotional rhetoric would win the election for the Congress. Prasad was not impressed with Nehru's arguments that the Congress would be regarded as a reactionary or conservative organisation if the Bill was not passed. For him, if the Bill was passed, it would be riding roughshod over the vast bulk of the people without having any sanction from them.

Nehru's reply was mild and indicated his dilemma, "I really do not know what I can do in the matter. The Bill is before the Assembly and it is for the Assembly to consider it and decide this way or that way. It is not being hurriedly put through the Assembly. Nehru's expression of his inability to do any thing was strange so also his statement that the Bill had not been put through hurriedly in the Assembly, since facts revdealed otherwise.[18] Prasad's response was to reiterate his opinion in a note on the Bill which he asked Nehru to read at the meeting of the Congress Assembly party. He also sent copies of this to the Deputy Prime Minister Patel and the Chief Whip of the Assembly. This was indeed an unprecendented response.

In the course of the debates in the Assembly, a large number of members spoke eloquently about the Bill being an attempt to

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demolish the entire structure of Hindu society.[19] Many of these speakers had participated in the making of the Constitution, drafted the Resolution of Fundamental Rights and accepted the principle of equality between the sexes. Obviously only lip service was then being paid to the concept of equality, its implementation was another matter altogether. Members like Sucheta Kripalani, Durgabai Deshmukh and K. Santhanam were among the major advoctes of the Code which, for them, would prove to be a boon for Hindu Society. Realising that major attempts were being made to stall the Bill, Nehru, impatient at the slow progress intervened. While conceding the need for a full discussion before any important measure was introduced, he denounced the delaying tactics adopted by his opponents, who he had realised, by now were considerable. He stated. "We stand committed to the broad approach of the Bill as a whole".[20] He even went on to say that the government "will stand or fall on it." This was an act of bravado. Nehru was over-estimating his party's commitment to reform and underestimating the strength of the Conservatives as well as his ability to carry the latter. Only a few Congress members came out strongly in support of the Bill.

Prasad's note, a copy of which was sent to Vallabhbhai Patel, urged caution since the Bill "oubstitutes for concept and the reasons underlying the law, new concepts and new ideas which are not only foreign to Hindu law but may cause disruption in every family".[21] The hostility of leaders like Prasad and Patel and the lukewarm attitude of many of the members of the Constituent Assembly led to the Bill being stalled for over a year. It was only after Patel's death that Nehru could take up the Bill again after 1951. By then Nehru had asserted his supremacy within the party organisation and was naturally more optimistic about the outcome of the Bill.

By the time the Bill was taken up again in the fourth session, Prasad had been elected as President. Prasad's objection to the passing of the Hindu Code bill were stated in a Note dated 15th September, 1951. He reiterated that the measures in the Bill were highly discriminatory in nature and felt that if it provisions were

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sound and in the general interest there was no need why its operation should only be confined to one community.

He also stated that he would be watching the progress of the measure in parliament from day to day and if he felt in necessary he would inform parliament about his viewpoint and even send a message when he thought it appropriate. He also expressed his right to examine the Bill on its merits when passed by parliament before giving his assent to it.[22]

Nehru's reply raised the question of a possible conflic between the President on one side and the Government and parliament on the other. There would naturally be serious consequences arising from the question of the President's authority to challenge the decision of parliament and Government. He stated that the President had no power or authority to go against the will of Parliament in regard to a bill which had been passed by it. The whole conception of constitutional government was against the exercise of such authority by the President. However he did make one important concession that was to state that the session would concentrate on passing as a separate measure, part II of the Bill dealing with marriage and divorce, Obviously Nehru was not as confident of passing the legislation with the kind of opposition that he had in the House despite his claim that widespread opinion in the country was in favour of the Bill.[23]

The relationship between Nehru and Prasad reached an impasse over the Hindu Code Bill with Prasad reiterating what he interpreted as the president's prerogative not only to address and send messages on a Bill Pending before the Parliament, but also the right to declare either that he assented to the Bill or that he withheld assent after it was passed by parliament and presented to him. The issue of the president's right not to give assent to a Bill passed by both Houses of Parliament came up again when Zail Singh refused to give his assent to the Indian Postal Bill in 1986. Prasad once again reiterated his view that with the general elections only four months away it was undesirable even to pass legislation on Part II of the Code.[24]

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The decision to take up Part II of the Bill was rescinded. Nehru probably felt that the clauses bringing in monogamy and guaranteeing the right of divorce would be less controversial. However leaders like Prasad had already expressed their views against this earlier. Ambedkar, who was by now chafing impatiently at the stalemate, was even willing to take up the Bill piecemeal. Nehru clearly realised that this could be misconstrued as a compromise and even be regarded as a step towards the withdrawal of the Bill.[25] In an obviously placatory gesture he delcared, so far as Government are concerned, we have often stated that we stand by the whole Bill. Our difficulty has been the difficulty of time and we decided to proceed with Part II in this session and pass it. That did not mean that we were giving up any other part and we would very much like to have the other parts passed too. But practically speaking, there is no chance of our doing that in the present session. Whenever we can avail of an opportunity, we should like to take up the other parts.[26] He stated that the expected to pass the Bill in that session itself. Clearly Nehru hoped to be able or wanted to pass the Bill. His persistence was indeed surprising since even a close advisor like Gopala Swami Ayhanger had advised him to postpone the issue till after the election.[27]

Nehru had failed to anticipate the opposition to the provisions regarding divorce and the legal impediments to polygamy which were strongly opposed by the Conservatives.

The fillibustering commenced again, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee urged the government to behave like a secular state and make monogamy applicable to all citizens of India. He also suggested that the Hindu Code bill should be made optional.[28] This was also reiterated by some Sikhs (S.S. Mann and Hukum Singh) that the Hindu Code should not be made applicable to Sikhs.

In a scathing reply, Ambedkar demolished these arguments. He stated that the fact that the Sikhs would be governed by the Hindu Law in matrimonial matters had been laid down by the Privy Council in 1930. To those who championed the cause of a Uniform Civil,

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code Ambedkar's answer was that it reflected the hypocrasy of those who said this, since most of them happened to be the greatest opponents to the Code itself.

The debates however indicated a lack of determination on the part of the government. Clearly it had been realised by Nehru that he was fighting a loosing battle. The strong and determined opposition to the Bill seemed to have depressed Nehru. He rose to defend Ambedkar but more on grounds of having to put up with speeches which have said things which hurt us, rather than the issue raised in the Bill itself.[29]

The debate continued without making much headway and Ambedkar's disappointment was very natural. But his eagerness to see even a portion of the Bill accepted was evident from the fact that he kept quiet with regard to all personnel criticisms. But inspite of all this, the Bill made no headway. Realising the nature of the opposition from within the Congress party and without and the daunting prospect of the effect it would have on the election, Nehru decided to slow down the pace, much to the chagrin of the Law Minister. The Bill was ultimately allowed to lapse in that Session. Ambedkar resigned because of what he believed to be Nehru's half-heartedness in going ahead with the Hindu Code Bill.

Nehru was also influenced by Prasad's insistence that he had the right to withhold assent to the Bill despite the opinion to the contrary of Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar and the Attorney General M.C. Setalvad. He may have decided to avoid a confrontation between the Parliament and Government on the one had and the President on the other at that stage.

The election of 1951-52 clearly revealed the political impact of the Bill. In Nehru's own constituency Allahabad, Prabhudutta Brahmachari of the Ram Rajya Parishad contesting on the platform to 'save the Hindu religion' secured over 55,000 votes. It was one of the few times that a candidate oppositing Nehru from Allahabad had not lost his deposit.

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It was only after the new parliament was constituted with men more favourably inclined to Nehru's views that the long awaited legislation was put through in 1955, a long wait of seven years. The original format of the Bill was changed, some clauses were dropped and piecemeal legislation in the form of separate Bills was introduced. These included the Special Marriage Act, which allowed the right of divorce voluntarily to all communities, the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, et.

The final result ofcourse owed much to the determination of Jawaharlal Nehru in his commitment to give a new deal to Indian women. However the failure to push through the original Hindu Code Bill indicates that even Nehru had to face the political realities of the day and change his tactics accordingly.

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SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL AND HIS ROLE IN THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION (1946-50)

Akhileshwar Prasad Singh

I

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the most distinguished personalities in the history of Indian national movement and after Independence during the most transitional but the crucial period (1946-50) of the country. Due to his versatile frame work of mind he made multisided contribution to the national cause during the struggle for freedom. While evaluating his realistic approach to administration, one has to take into consideration his personality, the forces that shaped the man, his philosophy of life, his organisational skill and his enriched experiences with people that he achieved while mobilising for political resistance to the alien rule in different ways and at different times. As such, it will be almost a narrow outlook of the subject to confine itself merely to the evaluation of his direct association with administration since the formation of the Interim Government in September, 1946 till his death in December, 1950. What he stood for and achieved during this period (1946-50) at about four years, as part of the Government, was very much motivated and sustained by his observation and experience in his earlier public and political life.[1]

The endriched experience of his life made Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel a stern realist in his dealings with men. His dreams of a strong and united India constantly pushed him forward. But he did not undermine hard facts of life while framing his plans. Keeping this in view, he did not close his eyes to the evil in men, their greed, duplicity and cunningness.

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Gandhiji left a great deal of planning and execution to Vallabhbhai. He himself inspired and guided the people and set the standards and the code. Vallabhbhai carried out what Gandhiji instructed him for. He did what he desired.

Sardar was a man of action with strong likes and dislikes. Sardar's approach to the masses was a realistic one. He wanted people to live well and have freedom to develop to their full potential. But he knew their weaknesses as well as their strength and keeping this thing in his view, Sardar never wooed the masses with honeyed words, nor did he indulge in insincere action for the sake of personal popularity. The result was that he lacked mass appeal. He was too blunt and honest. Except in his own home state Gujarat, the masses did not take the stern task master to their hearts. He used to tell them that if they followed him they would have to tread on a thorny path and would have to sacrifice their comfort and ease. Even Gandhiji publicly supporting Vallabhbhai's boldness and frankness and said, "All honour to the Sardar for holding fast to his convictions. The Sardar is no man of words. He is man of action. He does not look around or about himself when he has himself upon a course of action. He simply goes ahead. May be always be thus."[2]

The dawn of independence had set forth much turmoil and travail in India. During those days Sardar's health was poor, but with the endurance of a martyr he had laboured hard to realise his dream of a United India. His crowning achievement was the integration of 544 'Princely States' which he telescoped into 14 with the transfer of responsibility into the hands of the people who for centuries had been in a state of semi-slavery. In this context Mahatma Gandhi had observed; "The problem of the states is so difficult that you can alone solve it."[3] However, we cannot refute this fact that the decision to let Sardar Patel handle the States was one that Nehru and the Sardar had jointly reached. They had their individual talents and differences both.[4]

Yet there was a substantive truth in a broad assertion that V.P.

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Menon had made to Lord Mountbatten on June 4, 1947: "Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru are invariably in complete agreement on fundamental issues".[5] Furthermore, it was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who had refashioned the services which bore the marks of severe wear and tear. He had given them a new look and had made them enthuasistic partners the government in rebuilding a new India. As such he had fought valiantly to achieve solidarity throughout the country and had given no scope for disruptive forces. The demand for linguistic states he had rigorously suppressed. Moreover, he had done his best to root out religious fanaticism. He made the vigorous plea for purity in public life and had set an inspiring example by his own integrity and austerity of living. And, all this he had achieved in a spirit of devotion and sacrifice. The result was that the people had responded to his call.

During those critical years, the destiny of India entirely depended upon the leadership of both Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. When they kept in step with each other the problems presented little difficulty and Government acted with firmness and strength. Each provided what the other lacked. Jawaharlal had the fire of idealism and Sardar Patel blew on it the strong breeze of realism.

However, for the misfortune of India that they (Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel) could not have always been eye to eye. The gap between theory was too deep to be bridged. Indeed, they were both strong personalities, committed to certain ideals in the thought and action. A compromise did not come easy to either of them. As a result, the differences in their outlook and approach to life frequently fostered barriers between them.

There is almost a broad consensus among students of Public Administrtion that the conventional dichotomy between administration and politics does not hold good. They constitute an interacting system and the political context of administration is exceedingly relevant for administrative effectiveness. And, this becomes more important when we aim to evaluate the contribution of one who was not merely an

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administrator, not only a great politician but also an outstanding statesman. Sardar Patel was no administrator in the conventional sense. He was statesman-administrator. As Sri L.P. Singh (Former Governor of Assam. & Nagaland, a retired veteran I.C.S.) has said, "I have advisedly referred to Sardar Patel as Statesman-administrator. Even an outstanding administrator may not have vision, absorption in the mechanics, procedure and minute, and the achievement of immediate objectives tend to shackle the imagination and to limit projection of vision to the problems emerging on the horizon and requiring timely preparation for dealing with them...A Statesman in contrast, may have ideas and vision, understanding of a country's historical and cultural traditions, and the social forces current and developing. He may have all the right aims and perspectives, but he may not have mastry of the means, or a sound strategy of action; and he may not have the gift of getting the best out of his instruments–the bureaucracy. It is rare in history to have a combination of outstanding statesmanship with genius for administration. It was India's good fortune, at the most crucial stage of its modern history to have in Sardar Patel a combination of the vision of a statesman with the sagacity and practical outlook of an administrator, without which the Indian administrative system might not have been revitalized, and its standards might well have fallen below what the critical times and the new nation required".[6] In a way, he was the guardian not only of administrative requirements and properties, but also of administrative effectiveness.

II

It is to be noted that the Interim Central Government had decided to convene a provincial premier's conference in October 1946 to consider the question of replacement of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police. This conference met on 21st and 22nd October 1946 under the Chairmanship of Vallabhbhai Patel the Home Member in the Interim Government. Sardar Patel had made a forceful plea for an "All India Administrative Service". The arguments put forwarded for this were the obvious importance of maintaining the highest possible standard of efficiency, of giving the civil service

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'experience...at the Centre leading to efficiency, and administrative experience of the district, of serving as a liasion between the provinces and the Central Government', and introducing, both in provinces and in the Centre, 'a progressive and wide outlook and freshness and vigor of administration."[7] Patel got acceptance of his proposal for the all India Administrative Service as well as for a second All India Service, namely IAS and the IPS to succeed the ICS and IP inspite of initial opposition from some of them. However, the Muslims League's firm thinking was that if India was to remain united, it could only be on the basis of a weak centre, with its jurisdiction confined to External Affairs, Defence and Communications, with no scope in such a constitutional provision for any All India Administrative or Police Service. If there was partition of the country, the question of such services would obviously not come out. Observing the political situations of the country by October, 1946 Sardar Patel had come to the conclusion that with the non-cooperative and uncompromising attitude of the League partition was unavoidable and that India must have new services, succeeding to the ICS and IP, which apart from filling the existing wide gaps in these services, would certainly contribute in sustaining the unity of the country and the strength of the administrative structure added with a high standard of efficiency and uniformity.[8]

Indeed, Sardar Patel had an obvious understanding of the events of the Indian history as the regional and other parochial forces leading to the chronic divisiveness had played their free and unworthy role in the absence of a Central authority or its weakness. As such he was fully convined that only all India services for general and law and order administration would be valuable device as a strong constitutional authority at the Centre in the federal framework of which he was one of the primus builders. In this context there are sufficient authentic documents available which point out that he was very much conscious of the historical and cultural factors and the enfeebling effect of a considerably long period of subjection on the morale fibre of the Indian people which combining together had made India a 'soft' state tending towards vacillations in critical cir-

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cumstances when needed hard options. Sardar Patel's practical experience of dealing with Congress Organisation and of the provincial Ministeries had strengthened his apprehensions considerably. Further, it was his firm conviction that India essentially required an independent adminstrative machinery to have a strong infrastructure, and of maintaining discipline in administration and peace and order in society. For years the ICS and IP had been as the steel pillar of the imperial rule in India. But Sardar Patel had thought of the successor services in a role basically different in objectives and style of functioning but supporting the elements of firmness. In his opinion, they were to be the servants of the Indian people having their unfliching loyalty to the country and dedicated fully to executing with devotion the laws and policies of the governments. In this context he formulated certain broad guiding principles on which new entrants to the Administrative service were to be trained., Accordingly, they were to be shaped into the patriotic Indians, not as the English gentry oriented to functioning as the agents of foreign domination as had been the aims of even Indians in the ICS. They were to have possessed a broad vision of India, and not a secterian outlook. As well as they were to have understanding of our glorified past history, and of rich heritage of Indian culture and social conditions,. And, keeping all these fundamental ideas in view, the IAS training Institute was founded and which later developed into the Academy of National Administration.

His strong defence of the men of the ICS and his role of the founding of the successor agency, the Indian Administrative Service, and of the Indian Police Service confered him the title of 'Civilian's "Patron Saint".[9] The civilian's industry, competence and to some extent their independent thinking had immensely impressed Vallabhbhai Patel. He also hold the All India services as a defensive force against seperatism and they had given the central government a projecting handle against the provinces. The foundation of his coherent relationship with civil servicemen was laid early in 1947, when he invited over 30 senior officials to join him and his Ministerial colleagues in serving the country.[10] And, this kind of gesture

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of Sardar Patel moved the officials and eliminated their apprehensions.

The result of this development came out very congenial and 'in the subsequent years the civil service men working with Sardar Patel found that he listened, was not omniscient, said little, said it clearly, decided quickly, delegated freely inserted no second thoughts and took responsibility. In addition he was accessible to his officials and often in direct touch with them".[11] H.V.R. Iyengar has observed "Nehru too had winning ways. He would come to your room and put his arms around you. But Patel gave trust"[12] However, while supporting the officials he maintained his grip over their natural opponent, the party, a noteworthy feat. In this connection, it may adde that if Vallabhbhai Patel controlled the party and civil services, Jawaharlal Nehru commanded the trust of the masses and intelligentsia and in the broaden perspective this was the distribution of influence between these two great men of India during years 1947-50.

However, it cannot be said that Sardar Patel was a profounder of the theory of administrative authoritarianism. It has to be remembered that he had a vital role in the enactment of the Constitution Including the articles pertaining to the fundamental rights. Nevertheless, he did not accept this notion that everything that had come down from the previous regime needed to be annuled. Just four years after independence some started to say by way of criticism that with the IAS and IPS the 'Steel frame' had been maintained and the administrative machinery had been overtaken or overhauled. Administrative machinery, unlike an automobile, cannot be despatched to a workshop for overhauling. With the spell of a violent revolution it can merely be repaired and improved so that it can be adopted to performing the new administrative problem and to serve the changed purposes. As a matter of fact, the problems of peace and order had not ended with the dawn of independence. The public order had still to be maintained and the laws enforced without fear or favour. Moreover, the external influences and undue interference with administrative processes and in the execution of development and welfare programmes, from whatever quarters they

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cropped up, had to be repulsed, and only an administration with strong frame could do so. In this context we quote from Sardar Patel's own formulation in 1948,[11] "An all India serviced, efficient, disciplined and contended, assured of its prospects as a result of diligent and honest work, is a sine quanon of sound administration under a democratic regime even more than under an authoritarian rule. The service must be above party and we should ensure that political consideration either in its discipline or in its control are reduced to the minimum, if not eliminated altogether".[13]

One of the earliest steps which the Central Government had started soon after Independence was the reorganisation of the Central Secretariat Service. The Central Secretariat Service, as planned, consisted four groups in hierarchiacal order–Under Secretary, Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent and assistant. It is to be noted that the Imperial Sceretariat service had never allowed the Indians to go beyond the grade of assistant Secretary, a grade lower than the Under-Secretary. But the Central Secretariat service was structured with a much higher scope of promotion.

It was assential to recruit the officials of the Central secretariat service from the keen and stiff competitive examination and post them at a higher level where they could be able to undertake the higher responsibilities after proper training and experience. The Central Secretariat Services recruited from the combined civil services examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission. In this connection it must be stressed that the Central Secretariat has as a rule kept away giving itself a groups of permanent officers, and as such, the constitution of a permanent officer class at the Secretariat in the form of Central Secretariat service went against the disposition of the country's administrative philosophy that those engaged in the policy-formulation must have direct and the first hand experience of administration. Accordingly, in an attempt to integrating it with a whole philosophy it was made an essential feature of the Central Secretariat service systematically to expose its members to a minimum duration of work in the field to make them able to have the practical experience of executive administration. When the plan

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for the Central Secretariat services was being given the final touch provision was incorporated for 'Training deputation' under State Governments.[14]

III

The Central Government under the leadership of Sardar Patel had made the earnest efforts to create the new all-India Services–the strengthening of the police forces in the States and the reorganisation of the Central Secretariat services performed under his directions and the administration worked well sufficiently even during the critical years. The most monstrous task before the administration was to rehabilitate the millions of uprooted people during those years which was carried through successfully. Apart from this, the two general elections on the basis of adult franchise were conducted fairly and the most peacefully during fifties. In this connection the members of IAS and IPS and of the Central services worked with the Herculean's efforts. As L.P. Singh, a retired ICS and the former Governor of the North-Eastern States has observed "working, first in a state, beset the problems, and from 1956 at the Centre, I can testify from personal knowledge, that many public servants felt the glow of a new dawn and strove to the limit of their capacity to prove worthy of the responsibility that had been placed on them. They worked with the passionate spirit, which went well beyond the normal call of duty and discipline; it fired the imagination and made for enterprise and creativity. One felt that it was rare good fortune to be alive and working in that momentous period of our history, and to be in a position after centuries to contribute to the realisation of the country's great destiny."[15]

Sardar Patel, as it is said, was the patron-saint of Civl Services for it was he who had time and again formally organised their vital and special significance in the new plan of things. It was he who had accepted them as patriotic Indians. After they had been described for years as hired careerists and servants of British imperialism. It was the specific quality of Sardar patel that he held human being as they are, more obviously, he knew that whether it

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was the princes of public servants, men of property or humble workers. With his open recognition of this nation he succeeded in realising in them springs of patrotism. Further, Sardar Patel's public acknowledgment of the patriotism and dedication of public servants and his expression of confidence in them, gave them the self-assurance and vivacity without which they could not have given their best. It is more important that in a meeting held in the Central Secretariat to pay homage to Sardar Patel after his death, a resolution was approved by the huge gathering of civil servants to devote themselves to the true service of the country and prove worthy of the confidence which Patel had put in them.[16] Apart from this, it would be very useful to quote an extract from the speech of Girija Shankar Bajpai, a doyen of the Indian Civil Servicemen, who had spoken in that meeting condoling Sardar Patel's death:

"It is as an administrator that most of us who have assembled today can speak of him with propriety and, perhaps, with some knowledge. History holds many examples of the fruits of freedom squandered by lack of attention to stability and order, the twin foundation of society. Though a revolutionary in his fight against foreign rule, Sardar Patel was no believer in abrupt and violent change; progress by evolution was really his motto. And, so, although in August 1947 power changed hands, and with it the spirit of administration, the machinery of Government was preserved. As Home Minister and Minister for States, the Sardar had a double task, conservative in the true sense of the word, in what had been the provinces in the old India, creative in the Indian States. Neither was easy. To the ordinary stress of transition caused by the withdrawal of trained personnel which had wielded all power for a hundred of years was added the strain of partition, and the immense human upheavals and suffering that followed it. The fate of our new state hung in the balance during those perilus months when millions moved across the new frontiers under conditions which are still vivid in our memories and, therefore, need not be described. That despite some oscillation, the scales stayed steady was due not only to the faith of the people in its leaders, but to the firm will and

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strong hand of the new Home Minister. It is not false pride but a sense of relevance that leads me to mention the part that all the services played in those difficult times. In this, they were, ofcourse, true to a tradition of discipline and duty. But they were heartened and sustained in their endeavour, as much by the confidence and faith reposed in them by their new Chief as by the ardour of a patriotism kindled to flame by the breath of freedom.

"Time only strengthened these ties of trust between the Sardar and the service. This was due not only to his sense of the value to the administration of public servants of loyalty and integrity but to the keenness and warmth of his personal interest in their welfare. A smaller man might have allowed old-time prejudices to raise a certain of suspicion between him and those who had served an alien regime. It was another mark of the Sardar's greatness that he doubted the patriotism of no Indian unless the lack of it was proved, Trust, it has been said, begets trust, and distrust is its own cause. This is as true of Government as of human relations in other fields".[17]

It is to be noted that the Minister-Secretary relationship and also the general question of political control of administration become a subject of psychological and political complication. But Sardar Patel's relations with H.V.R. Iyengar, who had worked as his Home Secretary, were very cordial and the most accommodative as H.V.R. Iyengar has referred himself abundantly Sardar's expert appreciation of the delicacy involved so as to get the best out of him under clear-cut political direction. As Sardar Patel had himself pointed out while addressing the constituent Assembly in 1949 "...As a man of experience I tell you, do not quarrel with the instruments with which you want to work. It is a bad work-man who quarrels with his instruments...Everyman wants some sort of encouragement. Nobody wants to put in work when everyday he is criticized and ridiculed in public.... Today my Secretary can write a note opposed to my views. I have given that freedom to all my Secretaries, I have told that if you do not give your honest opinion for fear that it will displeasure your Minister, please then you had better go. I will

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bring another Secretary.... You have agreed to share responsibility." In course of the same speech he further added: "Many of them who I have worked, I have no hesitation in saying that they are as patriotic, as loyal and as sincere as myself". Thus, Sardar Patel used to demand efficient service and discipline from civil Servants but also treated them with due courtesy and consideration. Such a balanced attitude is very much relevant even today but it was not being witnessed generally.

Sardar Patel had, indeed, an excellent quality of administrative flexibility and consciousness of the spirit of times. To the best of knowledge he had no personal property and his natural sympathies were with the working class and the farmers and other dispossessed sections of the society. We observe a complete sincerity in each and every word of Sardar Patel when he said in connection with a speech: "If anyone is fit to work with his head erect on this earth; it is pleasant. He is the producer, the others are parasites. But what a sorry plight he has been reduced to. The whole world depends on you two, the agriculturist and the labourer, and yet you are the worst abused people on earth. I am grieved at the woeful state to which you have been reduced...I feel deeply ashamed and humiliated at your plight. I shall feel myself blessed and all my labours fulfilled when I see you come into your own and walk erect like men."[18]

Indeed, at the nucleous point of administration, the complete business of governance consists the problems of power, its proper, skilled and timely use and avoidance of omission and commission. As a matter of fact, power is not the personal property who holds it. In the correct perspective power is a trust and likely only trust it has to be legitimately used merely according to the rules and conditions governing it. In the general administration, and the governmental functions, power has to be exercised according to the constitution and the laws of the land. Looking back to our history of 46 years one is bound to think that Sardar Patel stands out as a person who both made effective use and did not abuse State power.[19]

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The normal functions of the executive branch of the government, being regulated by the constitution, laws and statutory rules entangled with those of judiciary. As a matter of fact it has not only to deal with most of the cases under the laws made for administrative purposes including those for maintaining peace and order but has also the function of reviewing the executive actions. As such, it would not be out of place to highlight the Sardar's attitude towards judiciary in the context of this study. In course of his tribute to Sardar, the former Chief Justice of India, Late H.J. Kania had said, "By his death the Judiciary has lost a great champion of its freedom and independence. It is well known that at the time of change in the attitude towards high judicial appointments, what happened during the seventies is only two well known But even in a recent political or legislative control". Furthe L.P. Singh, while narrating his experience, has observed: "It is within my personal knowledge, first as the Chief Secretary of a State (Bihar) and later as Union Home Secretary, that the policy laid down firmly by the Sardar in the late forties continued to be followed till towards the latter part of 1970, when there was indication of a change in the attitude towards high judicial appointment. What happened during the seventies is only too well known."[20]

Moreover, it was the aim of Sardar Patel to establish a firm and just administration and this needed an independent and impartial judiciary manned by the persons of eminence and character both. Added to this, it should not be interfered by the executive in its judicial functioning as the independence of judiciary requires a true sense of security, self respect and selfassurance among the judicial officers.

In administration we expect that the decisions have to be taken quickly with the enhanced responsibilities in matters of development and economic affairs normally and for manning social services quicker decisions have the vita importance. The lessons from Sardar's life and work we derive that it is the prime importance for administrators, specifically at the higher levels, to systematically furnish themselves with material relevant to their jurisdiction of work. As

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well as they have to develop the capacity to discriminate between the important and unimportant "An eye for the significant detail, but not getting lost in the pursuit of Minutae for its own sake is the mark of an able administrator, as L.P. Singh has observed.[21]

When we discuss at length Sardar's contribution to the Indian administration, we find that he worked for a democratic administration. And, it was partly an instinctive and partly it was deliberate and by planning; Firstly, he was having a wide contact with the masses. It should not operate in the sectional interest, i.e., in the interest of any privileged group of class. Its personnel must be recruited without discrimination from a broad socio-economic strata of the population. Secondly, it must not get isolated from the masses and should be always sensitive and responsive to the sentiments and reactions of the various classes of the people. Thirdly, administration must not be regulated or controlled only by official hierarchy but also by public opinion and should not exist independently of political control. Further, the constitutional infrastructure that Sardar attempted to provide along with Jawaharlal Nehru and the way he dealt with the existing problems; the conventions that he helped to lay down in the functioning of parliamentary democracy, lead us to suggest that his ideal was the building of a democratic state and democratic administration.[22]

Sardar Patel did not want that the Indian officials should be rigid or authoritarian in their relations with the citizens or common masses. Instead, he wished them to be inspired with the feelings of sympathy and compassion while dealing with the commoners. As he had himself observed in this connection: "I shall now say a word to those government servants to whom has fallen and continue to fall the implementation of many measures of control and regimentation of every affairs of the citizen which we have to enforce. The powers which they wield, if rightly used, can bring the nation heavy dividends, but abused, can bring not only harm but disrepute. They will often find that a kind word, a sympathetic gesture and an attitude of understanding, coupled with honesty and integrity, will enable them to do their work much quicker and much better then

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snobbery, a sense of superiority and such other departures from outside. No one has done more to see that the services get their just rights, due need of credit, than myself. I therefore, make a call upon them to do their part of national duty... If the legislature and government place such large powers in their hands they also place on them responsibility for using them properly ...let them, therefore, so conduct themselves that every action of their brings as much good to the nation as possible without injuring anyone except the evil doer." Indeed, these directives or instructions are evey much more relevant today then they were in 1950. Further, in the continuation of the same speech he had uttered his views about the need of compassion to be shown to the needy and poor: "We always speak of India's culture, of Indian civilization, but do we ever pause to think that the relief of the poor, natural among neighbours, charity to the helpless and kindness to the down-trodden have been the shining virtues of that culture and civilisation?" Commenting to this observation of Sardar Patel L.P. Singh has rightly remarked: "To describe a man who could offer such advice to government servants and talk so feelingly about compassion, as only a man of iron is a grossly unfair, and simplistic, delineation of a rich, many-faceted personality".[23]

Although, Sardar Patel had opted to concentrate his energies and abilities for resolving the country's internal problems, his charity of vision and weird fore-seeing even in the sphere of the external affairs are of noteworthy and more practicable. He had opined against the Kashmir problem being referred to the United Nations or offer of a plebiscite under U.N. supervision. His apprehension of such an action must be prejudicial to India's interests came out very much true. As such Nehru's handling of Kashmir problem weakened the India's position and led it to a position of uncertainty and against the India's interests. Had Sardar Patel handled this tangle he could have solved this problem smoothly by his direct methods such as those he had applied in so many states. Apart from Kashmir problem Sardar Patel had also cautioned Jawaharlal Nehru as to the dangers and against the India's interest which China's occupation of

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Tibet had to give birth in the future. Not only this, on the policy adopted towards Nepal too the Sardar's counsel, not accepted in 1950, in the subsequent years proved to have been absolutely sound and the most practical.

IV

On the basis of the facts and analysis of the preceeding parts of this study, certain conclusions regarding the role of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the democratisation of the Indian administration during the years of power (1946-50) can be drawn:

In the words of J.B. Kripalani, "The Sardar was the greatest administrator we had.[24] Indeed, it is only rarely in the nation's history that a colous like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel appears; and it was our great and good fortune that he was here at the important and critical period in Indian life. Sardar Patel was a staunch supporter or protector of the All India Services, not because he wanted them to become groups of Superior people, enjoying the benefits of power, but because he wanted them to provide the steel frame that would stand all the stress and strain of democracy and maintain the steady onward march of the nation by offering correct advice to ever changing bosses. He laid the foundation for the evolution of a suitable atmosphere for healthy growth of complete confidence and perfect understanding between the Ministers and Civil Servants.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India, played a key role in strengthening the emerging political and social institutions of the country. He was too keenly aware of the need of stability and consolidation in view of the revolutionary processes, that was at work at that time. As V.L. Mehta has said about Sarda, "what made him great as a political administrator, while he remained a leader of men and a statesman, was his study of details, his knowledge of facts, combined with a deep insight, width of outlook and long-range vision. It is rarely that one comes across an individual possessed of all these qualities that make for greatness-courage, knowledge, of what is right, honour in action".

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We may add that Sardar Patel was not only saved India from the grave danger of disintegration of fragmentation but gave her a united entity and a homogenous administration. Moreover, along with the background of his experience in different areas of public life during the struggle for freedom, his views on vital socio-economic problems, which have their operational significance for administration have also been examined. And, it is in the light of this perspective that some of the highlights of his achievements as a very powerful member the Central Government for a few but very critical years have been narrated. Apart from these, an attempt has been also made to highlight some of his specific qualities of administrative leadership. And, it is only in this broaden perspective Sardar's rare and singular contribution to the Indian administration at its beginning phase can be evaluated. In the few words, his contribution to the Indian administration during his years of power, though very short span, was the most praiseworthy and in the all fairness his solid contribution in the building up of the Indian polity and the democratic administrative infra-structure needs to be judged and assessed by the norms of times and history and the total context of the contemporary society and political compulsions.

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EVOLUTION OF LAW AND ORDER ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

S.K. Chaturvedi

Law and order Administration : Past and Present

The basic functions of public administration since ancient times remained to ensure peace, collect revenue, provide justice and defend the frontiers of the nation from any external aggression. This is true even today. The goals of secularism, socialism, equality, liberty justice and fraternity set up by the fathers of the constitution can only be realised if these pillars of administration are strongly held by the system. This is also true in the context of developement planning. The objectives of development planning can swiftly be achieved if the agency responsible for the maintenance of law and order functions properly. Only then the system can march forward successfully, the aspirations of the masses can be realised and fruits of development can be preserved for a better tomorrow.

Meaning of terms Law and Order

It seems relevant here to understand the meaning of twin concepts, 'law' and 'order'. In most simple language term law can be defined as the 'rules of conduct' laid down by the society in order to preserve itself and to ensure its members a peaceful life. The society also prescribes penalities for those who deviate from adhering the 'rules of conduct'-product of the experience of several generation and civilization. To check the defiants of the laws, society and on its behalf the state creates agencies like Police and Judiciary, which may bring about peace and punish the defaulters. In this context maintenance of law means to curb and to check those defaulters of law who flay the rules of conduct, meaning there by use of the

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proper force in detection of defaulters, investigation in their defiance and getting them prosecuted by the proper authority.

On the other hand, the literal meaning of order is 'arrangement' that is to say the routine public life of the people should run so smoothly that there may not be any chaos in the society because if once chaos becomes the order ot the day, the chances of the defiance of law i.e. set rules of conduct, becomes possible. In this backdrop maintenance of order means prevention of commissioning of offence and maintenance of peace in the society. In other words, it may be said that if proper arrangement is prevalent in the society there may be less commissioning of offence and peace may be ensured to the individual. Contrary to this, the moment order breaks, defiance of law begins. Thus for the proper maintenance of law it is necessary that there should be proper maintenance of order in the society or the proper maintenance of order is the pal bearer of proper maintenance of law. It may be said that law and order administration connotes to the management of public affairs whereing each is expected to regulate his life according to the known rules of conduct having social thereby state sanction behind it, failing which it is the duty of state to prevent all impediments coming in the way and thus maintaining the peace. As stated above police is the agency which has been entrusted with the job of the maintenance of law and order. Therefore any discussion in respect of law and order administration will at the very out set relate to the police administration. The present paoper tries to discuss law and order administration in historical perspective. It also traces the reasons which have made the law and order situation precarious in the present. Further, the organisational and functional structure of the police, its weaknesses are also being discussed and effort is being made to extend some suggestions in this context.

A peep into the past

The threads of a definite law and order administrative system may be traced back in the history of later Vedic age. In those days the job was being performed by the village people collectively under

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the leadership of 'Gramini', and elected head of the village. A 'Sabha' having adult fellow villagers used to advice him from time to time. However, there is a mention of officer known as 'Ugra' and 'Rakshak' in the Rigveda who were held responsible to regulate the society according to 'Dharma' and 'Rita'. A more specific system of law and order administration was prevelant during the Mauryan empire. Kautilya, the mentor of the kingdom, laid down a strong law and order agency to manage the centralized monarchial system. At village level the community oriented policing system continued. However, in the cities a well delinieated system having perfect expertise, functional decentralization and administrative accountiability was made to work. It may be noted here that law and order was being orgainzed on territorial basis. The most significant unit was district, known as 'Vishya', sometimes 'Ahara' and composed of about 3,000 villages. The smaller units were known as 'Sthaniya', 'Dronmukha', 'Karvatika' and 'Sangrahan' being constituted on 800, 400, 200 and 10 vilages. 'Rajjuka', 'yukta' and 'Gopa' were the officers appointed by the system for general administration along with the maintenance of law and order in the region. The people's cooperation and coordination amongst officials of different levels used to be sought in containing the crime and nabbing down the criminals. In the cities, however, the entire law and order administration was being organised on territorial and functional basis having a well knit hieravchy and accountability. Geographically, the city used to be divided in four segment and each segment was under the control of 'Sthanik', under him was 'Gopa', an officer for keeping vigilance on 10 to 40 houses. Constables, known as Rakshak used to be deployed in the streets, on the crossings (Chatushakha or chowki) and on the outer fringe (Gulm or Gumti) of the city. A round the clock vigil was being maintained. For the detection and prevention of crime expert officials such as 'Chaur-Rajjuka' (C.I.D.), Vivitadhayaksha (Forest Security Officer), Navadhyaksha (Coastal guards), Mudradhyaksha (Passport Officer) etc. used to be deployed. Different types of expert infomers were the backbone of the law and order system and the entire set-up was under the charge of 'Nagradhyaksha'. The system which remained operative for about

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1500 years with little change here or there clearly indicates its usefulness and substantiates the fact that a perfect law and order mechanism was in vogue in the ancient times.[1]

The medieval age witnessed great political instability in the country which invited the barbaric clans of Central Asia to India. Right from the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni to Bahadurshah Zafar, India remained under the control of Turks, Afghans and Moghuls. They defeated the native feudatories but prefered not to disturb the administrative structure at grass root level for the reasons that they never wanted to face a popular upsurge because most of them were aristocratic, urban, pleasure seeker and merry makers in their outlook and attitude. Hence, leaving aside that the autonomy of the village head was plugged to some extent, they left the old order to function. Its collective character remained intact. The existence of 'Mir Mulla' in cities and 'Mukaddam' in the villages confirms this.[2]

Economy in those days was completely agrarian hence the rate of migration was too low. Therefore, generally, the district of those times were village oriented. However, if there happened to be any city within the jurisdiction of the district its policing structure used to be different than the general structure. It may be noted here that in Hindu Police administration too city policing was different from the village police administration, and the Turks prefered not to change this. In urban police system also they continued with Durgpal an officer of Hindu times. His designation was ofcourse changed as 'Kotwal'. He was the city chief performing all the duties including police duties. In some respect he may be considered as the counterpart of the Commissioner of Police of present times. Generally the city used to be divided in Mohallas and the local nobles were asked to maintain peace in the area while keeping strict watch on the anti-social elements. Thus at lower level even in the cities the policing activities were community oriented. A highly centralized intelligence set up was also operative in those days. The civic workers of lower rank like sweeper, washerman etc. were asked to keep watch on each and every house of the city and apprise Kotwal

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twice a day about unusual incidents and the people. Based on such informations Kotwal remained successfurl in nabbing down criminals and containing their activities.[3] In Short it may be said that a highly centralized police organization with a functional specialization was in promulgation during those days. However, the nature of policing was considerably community oriented. It may be relevant to note here that the concept of keeping personal police and also of deploying criminal races for the policing activities was in vogue in those days. The police system of Vijayanagar sufficiently speaks about this.[4] The system enunciated by the Turks continued with little change during Afghan and Moghul regime. Later Marathas also followed the system with such a success that Lord Eliphinstone, Governor of Bombay, appreciated the same in unequivocal terms.[5]

Law and Order during Colonial times

The downfall of Maratha power in south and weakening of the Moghul power in the north influenced all segments of social life. Seeing a shattered agrarian system and instable political situation local feudatories declared themselves free of central control. This provided an opportunity to the Britishers to install their rule by inciting dissension and creating faction amongst Indian rulers and later defeating them in the battle ground one by one. From the point of view of law and orde and security, the period from the mid eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century may be considered as most challenging. Famines, anarchy, crime and thugee were common. A chaotic situation prevailed throughout the country. The age old administrtive structure was thrown out of gear. Portaying the hopeless conditions David H. Baley remarks - "the administration of police was hopelessly disorganized, mischievously corrupt and utterly inefficient. Armed gangs of free bootters like the pindaries, marathas, afghans and bandits roamed throughout the country. The villagers settled dispute order stolen property by means of surprisraids on one anothr at night."[6]

After the grant of diwani rights in Bengal in 1757, the East India Company found itself in the role of collection of revenue and

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protection of their own interest which required policing functions of all sorts. They implemented a model in which zaminadar used to perform policing work under the control of collector. This continued until 1782. However, when Lord Cornwallis took over, he did away with this system and separated judiciary from revenue and executive. yet, the things could not improve and as H. Strachey has to mention that "it remained inefficient and bad."7 it was observed that "the system is inefficient, the magistrates are overwhelmed, the Darogas and their subordinate officials are corrupt, the village watchmen are poor, degraded and often worst than useless and the community at large oppressed and inconvenienced in various ways are not only disinclined to afford aid to the police, but in most cases had rather to submit quietly to be robbed than to apply to the police officers for assistance to apprehend the thieves or to recover the stolen property."[8] Perhaps the colonial regime never felt a genuine need of police. Later, under the chairmanship of M.H. Court a commission was established which tried to provide a police according to the needs of British. Its main objective was to create an economical and less dangerous police having military character. Yet the conditions could not improve. Trevelyan in his comment wrote that the police system is weak and this was accepted by the Fraser commission report (1902) which at the very outset mentioned that "police force is far from efficient...it is corrupt, oppressive and has utterly failed in secruing the confidence of people."[9] However, the Britishers made it to accept the court commision's recommendations. Thus they created such a law and order system which was coercive and ready to put down any uprising with heavy hands. however, Act V of 1861 may by crowned with the fact that a civil police came into existence. yet the superior police postingss right from the Inspectior General to Assistant Superintendent of Police were given to the military officials. Only in 1893, an Imperial Police Service was introduced and the cadres like Inspector General of Police, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Superintendent of Police and Assistant Supeintendent of Police included in it. The Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police used to be recruited through a competitive examination giving them a gazetted rank. The cadres

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were transferable throughout the country. The non gazetted officers from the rank of Inspector to Constable used to be recruited from the provincial services. British rules maintained a hierarchy structure strictly based on the logical principle of accountability and performance of duties. The Superintendent of Police on one hand was responsible to the District Magistrate and on the other accountable to the Deputy Inspector General of Police.[10] It is here that the dichotomy Superintendent of police and District Magistrate relationship starte which is still continuing and is being dealt in the paper else where.

It is evident from the above that the law and order administration which was more or less a community oriented collective functioning became completely centralized in the hands of bureaucratic setup during colonial days which, with the passage of time, pulled police and people apart in the midst of mistrust, fear, and to some extent mutual hatred. This effected the law and order administration negatively more particularly in last two decades.

Structure in Post Independence:

In post independence, constitutionally, the maintenance of law and order kept as a state subject (Schedule VII, State List, 2nd para). Though the state governments have a major say in the enforcement of laws and ensuing order, the law itself is uniform throughout the country.

The existing law and order administration owes its origin to Act V of 1891 which is purely colonial in essense and objective Though amendments were carried out in the Act in the years 1952, 1966 and 1989 in post independence, but its basic character remained by and large intact. To provide the police a democratic image a number of states set up sommissions. Some of them, such as U.P., Bihar, Delhi, Maharastra, Madhya Pradesh, Pujab laid down important suggestion in the context. However, nothing significant could be done. Lastly, the Government of India also setup a Police Commission in 1979. It also provided meaningful suggestion to restructure the police force

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in fastly changing environment. The existing structure of the police force in the state is being headed by an Inspector General and Superintendent of Police assists him in the district in the maintenance of law and order and prevention and detection of crime. However, with the spurt of population, urbanization and crime, the security of common man has become a subject of attention, as such now few more levels of supervision have been introduced in the organizational structure of the police. Whereas Director General of police now heads the over all force in the state, he is being advised by the officers of the same cadre in different areas relating to law and order and prevention and detection of crime. Thus a cooperative leadership, keeping into consideration the specialization of job, have been introduced at the state level. The state has been divided into zones and an officer of the rank of Inspector General has been posted for a general superintendence and direction of the force in about six to seven district. However, for an intense direction and supervision an officer of Deputy Inspector General's rank has been made responsible for two to three districts. Similarly at district level, where the area and the population requires an intense attention the district has been bifurcated into rural and urban segments being controlled by an I.P.S. officer of Superintendent's rank and to coordinate their work in a more united way a senior and experienced officer known as Senior Superintendent of police is posted in the district. It may be noted here that whereas in colonial days a district use to be created on an area of 11474 sq. kms. now it is being organised on an area around 7980 sq. kms. and a population of about 17.30 lakhs, which, of course, varies from region to region.[11] The job of Director General is considered to maintain law and order in the state with the help of subordinate staff and also apprise the government about the situation or crime and tension in the state. He advises the government on the problems and on the other hand, manages a view that the force can function effectively. Whatever functions are discharged by the Director General in the state, the same is being carried out by Senior Superintendent of Police or Superinterdent of Police in the district. A district is divided into several areas known as 'circles' being managed by the Deputy Superintendent of Police.

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Each circle has a number of police station being headed by Inspectors of Senior Sub Inspectors depending upon the number of the cases to be investigated under the different sections of the I.P.C., the nature of population and the area. He is being assisted by Sub-inspector (investigation officers), head constables, in form of Moharir or the Chief of the out post or Beat and the Constables as main force for discharging all such duties. As per the recommendation of National Police Commission, a police station in rural areas should be created on 60,000 of population, 150 sq. kms of area and 700 cases to be investigated under different sections of I.P.C. and local Acts.[12] However, in the present the police station is being organised on an area of 1070 sq. kms. or so and caters the need of about 1.25 to 4.00 lakhs people. Thus a Constable is supposed to ensure security to 5403 person and keeping surviellance on 2.8 sq. km. of area. In towns and metropolices, of course, the situation is not such. There a police station is located to provide protection to about one lakh people residing in an area of 20 to 25 sq. km. hence, a Constable looks after the security of 1 to 1.5 thousand people[13] depending upon the nature of population, density and intensity of crime. The Fraser Commission about 85 years back when the social structure was not so complex and crime structure was conventional suggested that a Constable should be appointed to police 400 to 1500 people.[14] Now the things have undergone sea change as such the span of surviellance should have been narrowed down but the same has gone further wide.

Structurally, the district headquarter has three wings-namely, special squads, area organization and ministerial staff. Whereas circles and police stations comprise the area organization, confidential office of Senior Superintendent of Police and Additional Superintendent of police, English office, Accounts Branch and Reader's office composes ministerial wing, depending upon the intensity and nature of crime some special squads are also created. Apart from this a reaerve police line, local intelligence unit, fire station, arms store, and other infra structural inputs are located in the district. Similarly at the Thana level ministerial wing, areal sub division known as beat, arms

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section and lockups are generally located. However it may be mentioned here that most of the Police Stations particularly in the rural areas have weak communicational as well as vehiculr facilities. Even in the towns the picture is not much rosy. As such the response time in the rural areas varies from 24 hours to eight days whereas in the cities from half an hour to 24 hours in general. Functionally, Superintendent of Police is supposed to provide direction and supervision to the force while maintaining law and order and prevention and detection of crime in the district. He also discharges functional duties and is required to keep close contact with the people. At police station level most of these duties are performed by Station House Officer or Station Officer. Going through the entire structureal and functional setting it has been observed that organizatioally the district sufferes from many and material power in almost all the functional segments. Obviously, the police stations are also handicapped on these count which ultimately speak on their performance. The chowkidar who is considered to be the basic security officer in the rural areas is generally illiterate coming from the down trodden caste, poorly paid and so much under pressure of the affluent people that he is of hardly any use as far as rural policing is concerned. The district police suffers from mobility also. It may not be out of place to mention here that as much would be the mobility so effective may be the police in containing crime. Though Home Guards are now being used for the assistance of police force in the districts but they have failed in providing any substantial help to the otherwise weak police system.

It may be mentioned here that for the maintenance of law and order a quick investigation of crime and prosecution of criminal is needed. Keeping into consideration the fact the Fraser Commission (1902) suggested that an Investigation Officer must not investigate more than 72 cases in a year. Later, Maswood Committee raised the quantum to 80, K.K. Hazari Committee to 100, supported by Gordon Committee. But the Khosla Commission and Shetty Committee (Administrative Reforms Commission) suggested that not more than 75 cases should be entrusted to a investigator for prompt, proper and

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effective investigation.[15] This has also been supported by the National Police Commission. However, in practice an investigation officer is supposed to investigate considerably higher number of cases than the prescribed limit resulting in weak investigation of delay in the same which gives birth to corrupt practices at the very outset. Often the cases are prepared in such a way that generally suspect gets acquittal before the Court of law in the absence of concrete evidence and firm witnesses. It is this fact that abour 51.9 percent cases ended in conviction under various Acts of IPC during the year 1982.[16] This rate of conviction seems to be instrumental in boosting the moral of the police force as inefficient, dishonest, and barbarous lot out to involve innocent people in false cases and extract illegal money from the aggrieved. In their opinion criminals operate under the shadow of the local police officials and hence they prefer not to bring crime and criminals to the notice of the police. Further, they fell that police personnel hardly performs the desired patrolling. The general view is that the constables on patrol duty prefer to stay with local affluents and therefore the unsocial elements in the connivence of the local elite commits crime freely. They extract money at the time of writing F.I.R., rounds up innocent people and exploit the situation of natural calamities even. It is this hostile and 'no confidence' attitude of the people towards the police that relationship between the two is at lowest point. It may be noted here that if the police remained unsuccessful in containing the terrorism in Punjab, adverse Police-people relation has been one of the significant reason.

On the other hand, the sub system of police in the ambit of larger political and administrative system is facing the problems of leadership, autonomy, accountability, specialization and devolution of power. Further, the ranks of the Police administration is also not satisfied with the service conditions, rate of compensation and availability of the facilities etc. Thus broadly few problem areas may be identified in relation with the law and order administration such as organizational, functional, personnel and constitutional.

It is evident from the above resume that throughout the agees of the Indian history there had been a well knit police organization

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to maintain the internal peace, However, in the post independence, with fastly changing socio-economic, political and coutural environment the maintenance of law and order has become a complex exercise and is going to be further complex with each passing day. Efforts are being made to disturb the internal peace and destablize the policy. In this perspective internal security has become as important as the external one. However, not enough attention has been paid towards the law and order administration.

The plan for a national prosperity is likely to remain elusive if ordered civilization does not exist and for an ordered civilization a highly peaceful and progressive environment is needed. Thus law and order is the pal bearer of peace, prosperity and developement. It is high time that a serious thinking should be made by the policy planners in this direction to that peace and security may be ensured to the last man in the society.

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JUDICIARY, ADMINISTRATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Jaytilak Guha Roy

The struggle to preserve, protect and promote human rights is as old as human civilisation. Sadly, even more than four decades after the United Nations proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,[1] the struggle for human rights not merely continues but becomes more intense too. Every day, in country after country, human rights are now being violated, irrespective of whether a country is developed or developoing, whether it is governed by a totalitarian or a democratic regime. To quote a well-known human rights activist, "Each violation of human rights, wherever it occurs, is a threat to the welfare and dignity of the entire human family. The protection of human rights therefore is a worldwide responsibility which transcends all racial, ideological and geographical boundaries."[2]

Ironically, human rights violations are quite common and frequent in India, the home land of Buddha, Ashoke and Gandhi. Apart from some major flaws in the Constitutional guarantee of human rights which will be discussed lager, there has been proliferation of human rights violations in India since late sixties due to overwhelming practice of terrorism not only by small, clandestine violent groups committed to political change but also by the state and its apparatus of agencies to forestall such political change, or to maintain the bankrupt ruling group in power. what is more distressing, state terrorism and also other forms of Government or administrative lawlessness have been gaining increassing acceptance from the common men. In the case of Bhagalpur blinding, for instance, the local people demonstrated against the supension of erring

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police officials. To quote Justice Krishna Iyer, "The status of human rights has been steadily deteriorating, the common man being drugged by the argument that private violence and its militant aggravation, that is, terrorism, demand state terrorism and reckless pare-military operations (an O'Dyer doctrine, in different dress), hardly realising that violence breeds more violence, that indiscriminate state killings catalyse the generation of whole families of terrorists from areas where vicitms, martyrs and cross-fire innocents belong?"[3]

In democratic polity as ours, judiciary being the watch-dog of the constitution must be the last line of defence against any onslaught n humn rights of the citizens. It is, therefore, necessary to examine from time to time how our judiciary responds to human rights violations. This paper is a modest endeavour to this end.

What Human Rights Are?

Since the concept of human rights is "an idea with a history, an idea that changes in both content and social function,"[4] there is still immense disagreement as to the meaning and contents of human rights. Without getting involved in such conceptual controversies, humnan rights may be said to be those rights which are essential for the dignified and decent human existence as well as for the adequate development of human personality. To speak more broadly, human right are those "fundamental rights to which every man or woman inhabiting any part of the world should be deemed entitled by virtue of having been born a human being"[5]

Human rights, thus conceived, constitute two categories of rights" (i) rights which are essential for the dignified and decent human existence, viz., the right to have basic human needs like food, shelter, clothing and health and the right to work; and (ii) rights which are essential for the adequate development of human personality such as the right to education, and the right to freedom of culture.

Human rights, therefore, to longer imply merely civil and politi-

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cal liberties for the individual, conceived as some kind of protection or safeguard against state power by the classical as well as contemporary western liberal scholars from John Stuart Mill to John Rawls. The bearers of human right in contemporary societies, and more particularly, in developing societies, must have an *implicit* right to be and remain human.[6] They must have some automomy of choice in planning their own survival. They must have not merely the right to life, but rather the right to subsistence. This is, in fact, the new trend in human rights thinking which results in growing recognition of the idea that economic and social rights are a prerequisite for the enjoyment of civil and political rights. This shift in the focus of human rights thinking from civil and political rights to economic and social rights has led to thinking in terms of relevance of human rights for the disadvantaged groups such as the workers (in unorganised sectors), (landless) peasants, Tribals, women, children and prisoners,[7] or more broadly, peoples and person collectively suffering from various kinds of exploitation and discrimination. Interestingly, despite the First World's insistence on at least equality of status between civil and political and economic and social rights, this tilt towards the priority of collective economic and social rights became a subsantil list in Resolution 32/130 of the General Assembly in 1977, which set out the pronciples on which the future work of the United Nation in the field of human rights should be based. Even though the Resolution recognised all human rights as "indivisible and interdependent", priority should be given to the rights of peoples and persons affected by apartheid, racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination and agression, and by refusal to recognise the fundamental rights of people to self-determination and of every nation to the exercise of full sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources.[8] It is against this backdrop that the status of human rights in India need to be evaluated.

Human Rights, poverty and Development

The problem of human rights, in situations of mass poverty as ours, is, in fact, a problem of redistribution, access and needs.[9] In other words, it

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is a problem which is intimetely linked with the problem of *development* or devlopmental strategy. But what is development ? What is the aim of development ? Does development mean prosperity alone ? Can development be excluded from the normative end of equality ? Truly speaking, development, particularly in the context of Third World situation, does not mean prosperity alone. Development without rational, if not equitable, redistribution of wealth would mean prospertiy of the few, but not prosperity for all or at least for the majority of masses. In developing countries as ours, the political elites by virtue of their position as planners and decision-makers, play a very dominant role in the process of social change and development. It is unfortunate that the political elite in th Indian Republic belong (according to David Aptar's model) more to *Maintenance system* than to *development* system.[10] This implies that they are committed more to maintenance and preservation of the existing exploitative political, economic and social systems than to reconstruction of the society by attempting to mobilise and use available resources and political energies for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden people.[11] No wonder that the nation-building and developmental strategies pursued by such status-quist political elites would aim at "the maintenance of elite domination and economic growth with a grossly unequal distribution of its benefits", and would consequently render the poor as poorer and the rich as still more richer than their counterparts even under the colonical rule. According to the latest estimates more than 300 million people in our country continue to live below the poverty line. With unbriddled economic dispartities, growing unemployment of youths, increasing feeling of relative deprivation among various groups, heightening of social tensions, bankruptsy of our political leadership, all-pervasive corruption and other problems of developmental disorder, the status of human rights in the world's largest democracy must have been reduced to a considerable extent. What then does the constitutional guarantee of human rights whatsoever mean for the deprived and dispossesseed?

Constitutional Guarantee of Human Rights in India: Rhetoric or Reality?

The Preamble to the Constitution of India begins with such loud-sounding words as "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA" which are nothing but a great farce. The Constitution was framed by an as-

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sembly of elites, known as the Constituent Assembly of India, which was an indirectly elected body having representation of only 28.5 per cent of adult population and barely 15 per cent of the total population of the then India, "Having not been elected on the basis of universal adult franchise", observes a recent study forthrightly, "the Constituent Assembly was incapable of representing India and its people. The people were never associated with the task of framing the constitution either in the beginning or in the end. Neither the framers were directly elected nor was the end product of their labours the constitution, referred to the people for their final approval in a referendum."[12]

The elitist domination in our constitution making is amply revealed in the initial exclusion of certain basic human rights such as the Right to Food, Right to Shelter, Right to Work, and Right to Medical Care. "The exclusion of these rights in the Constitution", observed Professor A.R. Desai very aptly, "prevents any basic security to millions of citizens, who have no other source of securing purchasing power in a socio-economic framework, which operates on the basis of production for profit and market basically by private owners of means of production."[13]

The second evidence of elitist domination in constitution making can be had from the preferential placement of traditional civil and political right over social and economic rights. The first set of rights has been incorporated as justifiable fundamental rights in Part III of the Consitution, whereas the second set of right which is more important to the poor and backward Indian people has been placed in Part IV of the Constitution as non-justiciable Directive Priciples of State Policy. Commenting on this elitist exercise during the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, a scholar on Gandhian studies wrote:

"When the Interim Report of Fundamental Rights was placed before the Assembly, it was seen, to the utter surprise and dismay of many members, that the economic and social rights, which were more important to the common man, and for which Gandhi had spoken and written so extensively, had been placed at the second

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part of the Report and were made non-justicible-a distressing evidence of the double-standard in the role of politicians and leaders in paying lip service to the ideals and programmes of the 'Father of the Nation', while showering glowing tributes in words.[14]"

Even the traditional civil and political rights in Part III embodying Fundamental Rights and the preambulatory promises for JUSTICE, LIBERTY, EQUALITY and FRATERNITY" are capable of being made *non-functional* by parallel constitutional "provisions for preventive detention Emergencies with eclipse of the rule of law, authoritarian disruption of State-level democracy through President's Rule (Article 356), conditinalities for every fundamental right which comsume or erode the finer essence of these great rights..."[15] In fact, constitutional conditionalities for every fundamental right under the garb of "reasonable restrictions" coupled with subsequent black legislation like the National Security Act, the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, provide enough scope for denial of these rights by arbitrary administrative decisions and actions or administrative abuse of statutory, discretionary powers. It must be conceded that "reasonable restrictions" remain *reasonaable* so long as such restrictions are imposed reasonably. The test of reasonableness lies in observence of the bare necessities of natural justice, reaffirmed in Maneka's case,[16] that is, the rules that no man should be condemned unheard, that bias, whether personal or pecuniary, should not affect decision making, and that reasons should be given for a quasi-judicial decision affecting the citizen. The formulation of these rules by Indian judiciary may not always have been crystal-clear; but "the underlying message," as an eminent jurist, Professor Upendra Baxi, has eloquently observed, "is that every attempt be made by the administration to be scrupulously fair, and to ensure that the rules themselves are tolerably clear. And yet cases in which wiolations of natural justice occur in decision-making by the executive continue to come up before the courts and theri number seems to be on the increase rather than declining".[17] In this context, the following observation made by Justice Krishna Iyer deserve our attention too:

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The National Security Act, other reincarnations of the repressive Rowlatt Act in the shape of anti-terrorist legislation, and other Punjab-related pan-Indian statutes are proof of the pachydermic disposition of the Executive to human rights. Thank God, Regulation III of 1818, under which the British picked up Gandhi with facile legality, is no longer extant. But to the shock and shame of every Indian democrat, one discovers the archaeological success of the Tamil Nadu administration in salvaging, from the debris of Brituish Indian history, an Act (the Prevension of seditious Meetinge Act, 1911) which was used against partriots like Tilak... That any State, or for that matter the Union, should dare to deaden fundamental rights by invoking an ancient British-Indian legislation makes anyone in Free India blush.[18]

In a constitutional democracy as ours, judiciary is an important instrument not only for redressal in the matter of violation of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution but also for the prusuit of the "lofty ideals" enunciated by the preamble to the Constitution. Regrettably, the structure of judicial administration envisaged by the Constitution of India bears further evidence of elitist domination in constitution making. Our English-educated, West-oriented Constitutional *pundits* rejected the Gandhian idea of an austere, decentralised Panchyati Raj justice-delivery system, and instead, opted for a complex, integrated and pyramidic structure of judicial administration based on Anglo-saxon model of legal system. In this system bequeathed by our colonial masters, the doors of the law courts are open like, what Lord Darling said, "the doors of the Ritz Hotel". Justice is so costly as also time-consuming that *access to justice* inevitably means *denial of justice* at least to those mute millions–"the little Indians"–who live in abject poverty, utter ignorance and social backwardness. No appreciable improvement is any where in sight despite the command of new Article 39A to provide for free legal aid to these classes of litigants. The laborious report of the Elevanth Law Commission headed by Justice D.A. Desai on Gram Nyayalay which was forwarded to the Government of India as far back as August 1986, has not so far been implemented. There are

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thus reasons to assert that our constitutional guarantee of human rights whatsoever are more a paper rhetoric than a reality at least for half of the population, if not more.

Response and Commitment of the Apex Court to Human Rights

Of three principal organs of the state–the legislature, the executive and the judiciary–the weakest is the judiciary. To quote Justice H.R. Khanna, "It has neither the power of the purse nor the power of the sword, neither money nor patronage, not even the physical force to enforce its decisions. Despite that , the courts have by and large enjoyed high prestige amongst and commanded respect of the people. This is so because of the moral authority of the Courts and the confidence the people have in the role of the courts to do justice between the rich and the poor, the mighty and the weak, the state and the citizen, without fear or favour."[19] In the case of the apex court, the degree of such confidence is bound to heighten.

The Supreme Court of India, being at the apex of the Judicial administration, has been described as "the sentined on quivive". The Constitution has conferred on it so wide jurisdiction that it can "reach and curb injustice" perpetrated by any judicial or quasi-judicial or administrative body. The role, response and commitment of this apex Court, therefore, are of utmost importance for preservation and protection of the human rights essence of the Constitution. Even a modest assessment on the basis of certain important decisions of the Supreme Court of India would make it amply clear that the response and commitment of this Court to human rights are twofold. There has been, on the one hand, a progressive trend of judicial activisism or judicial creativity while, on the other side, there are also instances of "lukewarm" commitment of the Supreme Court to basic human rights.

Judicial Activism

The period from late-seventies to mid-eightees witnessed a progressive trend of vigorous judicial activism in certain areas con-

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cerning human rights. During this period, the Supreme Court of India played a creative role in its quest for judicial activism which resulted in vast expansion of the frontiers of public law and formulation of multi-dimensional legal strategies including public interest litigation (PIL) for providing access to justice to large masses of people who were denied of their basic human rights and to whom constitutional guarantee of rights and freedom had no meaning. As a part of this enthusiastic judicial movement towards *anti-poverty* or *people-oriented* jurisprudence, the Supreme Court liberalised the traditional rule of *locus standi* in a series of cases[20] in order to liberate itself from the "shackles of procedural limitations" and thereby to enable any public-spirited individual or social activist group to invoke the jurisdiction of the court or set the machinery of justice in motion by a letter, telegram or even a post card for enforcement of human rights, liberty and freedom of the poor masses who constitute the "the low visibility area of humanity". Article 226 of the Constitution had thus been held to be capable of ventilating "collective or common grievances as distinguished from assertion of individual rights."[21]

Judicial remedies had been attempted, even *suo motu*[22] by the Supreme Court, as in *Asiad*[23] and *Salal Hydro-Electric Project*.[24] Whereas in the first case, the Court appointed three Ombudsmen to make periodical inspections of the sites of the construction work for the purpose of ascertaining whether the provision of beneficients labour laws such as the Minimum Wages Act 1948, Equal Remuneration Act 1976, the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1938 were being carried out in respect of the workmen engaged in various Asiad Projects, the decision in the later case indicated the limitations of judicial remedies. As the Court had observed in that case:

We are aware that the problem of child labour is a difficult problem and it is purely on account of economic reality that the parents often want their children to be employed in order to be able to make two ends meet... This is an economic problem and it cannot be solved merely by legislation. So long as there is poverty and des-

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titution in this country...it is not possible to prohibit child labour altogether, and in fact, any such move may not be socially or economically acceptable to large masses of people.[25]

Nevertheless, there are certain areas where the dynamic role of judicial remedies can hardly be ignored. Such a role, after *Batra I*,[26] for instance, imparted to the habeus corpus writ a versatile vitality and operational utility that made the healing presence of the law live up to its reputation as bastion of liberty even within the secrecy of the hidden cell in prison. Even in respect of prison labour, judicial remedy was made available to the prisoners as the Supreme Court directed the Government of Kerala to pay reasonable wages (Rs. 8 per day) to them.[27] problems relating to bonded labour and custodial violence were other areas which involved human rights violations and necessiated judicial remedies throught PILS.[28] Judicial remedies in *Hussainara*[28] went to the extent of release of nearly 20,000 undertrials languishing in the jails of Bihar unnecessarily long (in many cases) because of "notorious delay" in investigations and trials and their inability to furnish necessary security for release on bail. "it is a travesty of justice", as the Court observed in this case, "that many poor accused, "little Indians" are forced into long cellular servitude for little offences because the bail procedure is beyond their meagre means and trials don't commence and even if they do, they never conclude."[30]

Lukewarm Response to Human Rights

There are also instances of lukewarm response of the Supreme Court to basic human rights requirements. In *Kishen Pattanayak V. State of Orissa,* [31] for instance, it was alleged vide two writ petitions that the starvation deaths of the inhabitants of the districts of Koraput and Kalahandi were due to utter negligence and aollousness of the administration and the Government of Orissa and that the starvation deaths, drought diseases and famine had been the continuing phenomena in these two districts since 1985. Judicial remedies were, therefore, sought against evasive and careless administrative response to such pressing needs. Surprisingly, the

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Supreme Court took over three years in finally disposing of the petition despite Justice P.N. Bhagwati's first order dated December 5, 1985 in which the court had stressed the value of expedition in such petitions, and directed that "The writ petition shall be placed on for hearing and final disposal on 4th February, 1986."[32] The Court conceded that "the happening of one or two cases of starvation deaths cannot altogether be ruled out", and yet, at the same time, came all out in the defence of the administration by arriving at a conclusion that there was no reason to doubt that adequate measures were being taken for the purpose of mitigating hunger, poverty and starvation deaths, and therefore, no specific relief under the petitions was called for. "Thus, with the decision of the Supreme Court', observes Professor Pande very poignantly, "ended the much published journey of the *Food Petitions* without properly assessing the import of the petitioner's claims and without addressing itself to the existential realities of the system."[33]

The *Pavement Dwellers Care*[34] is another glaring example of the Court's lukewarm commitment to basic human rights requirements, The key issue in the case was that the pavement dwellers had claimed a right to shelter which was being denied to them by the relevant Municipal Corporation's action for their eviction. The Supreme Court accepted the privilege to shelter as an aspect of right to life under Article 21 of the Constitution. The decision was historic in the sense that the shelter need was, for the first time, transformed into a constitutional right. But the court also pronounced that the shelter need could be subjected to reasonable restriction required for keeping the pavement clear for the road users–the morning and evening walkers and holiday joggers included. Thus, the court, in the words of Professor pande, "preferred to make the shelter seekers need subservient to the road-users need."[35]

Summing Up

In the context of socio-economic realities of contemporary developing societies as ours, there has been a revolutionary change in the perspectives and priorities for human rights. Consequently,

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there is now growing recognition of the idea that economic and social rights are a prerequisite for the enjoyment of civil and political rights. Our foregoing discussion is just a modest exercise to examine the status of human rights in contemporary Indian society in terms of relevance of such rights for various disadvantaged, dispossessed and downtrodden groups. The elitist domination in our constitution making and its implications for the constitutional guarantee of human rights have also been discussed. The implications may be summarised as follows:

1. Exclusion of certain basic human rights such as the Right to Food, Right to Shelter and the Right to work in the Constitution.

2 Preferential placement of traditional civil and political rights over social and economic rights.

3. Non-functional entity of even the traditional civil and political rights guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution embodying Fundamental Rights due to parallel constitutional provisions for preventive detention, etc., catch-all constitutional conditionalities for such rights coupled with subsequent black legislations.

4. Rejection of the Gandhian idea of an austere, decentralised Panchayati Raj justice-delivery system, and creation of a complex, integrated and Pyramidic structure of judicial administration based on Anglo-Saxon model of legal system for which justice becomes too costly and time-consuming to reach to the poor and oppressed groups.

Our analytical study in regard to the response and commitment of the Supreme Court to Human Rights reveals that even under the prevailing constraints and compulsions which are inherent in the inbuilt structure of our judicial processes, the Apex court has played a creative, activist role as the protector of human rights for the large masses of Indian people who remain in the low visibility area of humanity. Even so, it must be conceded that judicial activism alone

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cannot provide an enduring solution to the growing problems of human rights in developing Indian society. In the ultimate analysis, such solution would hinge upon the political will to bring about an all-round socio-economic development for the upliftment of deprived, disadvantaged and dispossed masses of our people.

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PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA—THE EMERGING SCENARIO

S.S. Singh and Suresh Mishra

Decentralisation is needed in order to counteract the evils of a highly centralised type of planning and decision making. The centralised type of planning cannot adequately take care of all the requirments at different territorial and sectoral levels of the planning process. Planning has to move closer to those levels where better informed decision making would be possible. While planning thus gets decentralised, it would tend to become more area specific; that is it would be possible to establish close complimentary between development schemes and local potentials, problems and priorities. There is no doubt that planning process cannot succeed purely on bureaucratic lines. Active participation, involvement and support of the local people are needed. participation achieved only if planning is carried to the lower sub-national levels. Thus decentralisation is needed for effective mobilisation of public participation.

The history of the decentralisation movement in India prior to Independence has shown that most of the initial experiments in decentralisation were adhoc in nature and were not comprehensively principles of decentralisation. Three major lacunad may be distinguished in our earlier experiments These were:

1. Lack of public participation in the administrative system in the required degree;
2. Absence of well defined spheres of action at different planning levels and;
3. Lack of proper and effective functional arrangements to make decentralisation operational.

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However, since Independence with the emphasis shifting on Rural development, as the majority of the population lives in the villages, decentralisation of the planning process has assumed greater importance. Decentralised planning can be successful only when peoples' participation is pursed both as an end and a means. As an end it is an inevitable extension of the national effort and commitment to bring the masses into the mainstream of development process for establishing an egalitarian socio-economic order. As a means, people's participation should sub-serve the object of all components and aspects of development.

In order to meet the challenges of rural reconstruction the Community Development Programmes was launched with much fanfare. However it remained a programme run by the bureaucracy without local level participation. The programme could not generate the required enthusiasm and it was felt that the remedy lay in decentralisation of responsibility and power to levels below the state.

Balwantrai Mehta Committee

In 1957 the Balwantrai Mehta Committee was appointed to study and report on the Community Development programme keeping in view "economy and efficiency" and to assess the extent to which the programme had succeeded in utilising local initiative, and in creating institutions to ensure continuity in the process of improving socio-economic conditions. The Committee felt that development cannot progress without responsibility and power being given to the community. It was with this objective that the team recommended an early establishment of statutory elective local bodies and devolution to them of the necessary resources, power and authority. Therefore, in order to encourage people's participation and to overcome the defects of the community development programme, Panchayati Raj Institutions came into being in all most all the states. These became the basic institutional apparatus through which socio-economic transformation of rural India was to be achieved.

1. To secure the maximum participation of the people in socio-economic development.

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2. To decentralise the administrative apparatus down to the village levl.

3. To carry the democratic process and local self-government insitutions to rural areas.

Positive Contributions of PRI'S

Ther are several positive contribution of Panchayati Raj. It has provided an institutional framework for a working association between the elected representatives of the people and government servants. It has raised the level of expectation of the people and their representatives, thereby enabling them to put pressure from below upon government officials. The establishment of Panchayati Raj has made it imperative for national and state level political leaders to estabish linkages at the local level and seek the support of elected local leadership for winning elections, thus predisposing them to greater accessibility. It has also facilitated democratisation of the traditional village leader and the election of some members for lower income and unprivileged groups. Increased interaction to local leaders with higher level political leaders has made them relatively more active participants in the national development process, than was the case before the emergence of Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Panchayati Raj has also contributed to the emergence of a group of entrepreneurs in rural India who have been willing to take advantage of the facilities and incentives proviede by government agencies for increasing agricultural production, by using fertilizer, improved seeds of high yielding varities and new agricultural production. By using fertilizer, improved seeds of high yielding varities and new agricultural methods. This group has contributed greatly to the "Green Revolution" in rural India. However the tragedy has been that these positive features have remained confined to only select states like, Gujarat, Karnataka, West Bengal and Maharashtra. By the large if we look at the overall picture of the functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions in India their actual impact on socio-economic and political transformation in rural India has been dismal.

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Failure of PRI's

Inspite of these positive features in due course of the time the strains in the functioning of the PRI's were visible and the desired forth coming. The involvement of the common man in the activities of the Panchayati Raj Institutions was limited. He did not necessarily identify himself with these institutions. Many Panchayats were superseded and elections were not held for many years. The whole process of development though panchayati Raj gave an opportunity to the rural elites to emerge as centers of power, and these usually was an alliance between local political leaders and government functionaries at this level, which frustrated any effort on the part of the rural poor and disadvantaged groups to meaningful participation in decesion making, implementation and benefits. The whole concept and approach of power and benefit sharing was missing. As a result concentration of power and wealth in the rural areas was visible. The functional aspects of Panchayati Raj had its own weakness. Therfore, the need to review the existing system was felt, so as to transfer power to the people in real terms. In 1977 the Ashok Mehta Committee was appointed to make suitable recommendations.

Ashok Mehta Committee

The Ashok Mehta Committee drew up three phases of Panchayati Raj in India after Independence. From 1959 to 1964 it was the phase of ascendency, 1965 to 1969 was the phase of stagnation and from 1969 to 1977 was that of decline. The Committee recommended the reorgaisation of the Panchayati Raj bodies into two main tiers. It felt that the three tiers in vogue at present may continue for some more time, but in the long run only two tiers should take the responsibilities of local and regional development. Development necessitates that the first point of decentralisation below the state level should be the district. Historically the district has been the pivot of local administration for centuries. For planning, Supervising and co-ordinating developmental programmes, administrative and technical competence of the requisite calibre is available only at the district level, and not at a lower say, the sub-divisional or the block level.

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The committee recommended that the block should not be the first point of decentralisation. It should only have an executive committee of the Zilla Parishad as in Maharashtra to implement the development programmes formulated and approved by the Zila Parishad. It however adds that in view of the fact that in some states the block is regarded as a decentalised unit closer to the people, it could continue as a transitional measure. In view of the fact that the existing village Panchayats are financially as well as leadership–wise weak, the committee recommended the consitution of Mandal Panchayats. Another reason for such recommendation is that the people now want better quality local services which village panchayats with their meagre resources cannot provide.

The Mandal Panchayats having a population of 15,000 to 20,000 would have adequate resources, manpower, talent and threshold to launch various developmental projects. The committee has also suggested a tie up between the Panchayati Raj Institutions and the much needed focal points for spatial development. It suggests that each Mandal Panchayat should be based around a service centre which would be a big village, a small town or a central village accessible almost equally from all other villages forming the Mandal Panhayat. The Committee has further assessed that the inability of the Panchayati Raj Institutions to come up to the expectation lay in their weak financial resources.

Therefore we see that the Committee recommended a reaching changes in Panchayati Raj set up. The impact of these recommendation can be seen in practice in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, the two states that adopted the Mandal Model based on the Ashok Mehta Committee recommendations. However before the implementation of the report could ensure, the Janata Government fell, the Congress Party came into power in 1980 and the Ashok Mehta Report was not politically acceptable.

G.V.K. Rao Committee

The Congress government however understood the importance

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of effective decentralisation and responded by appointing another committee under G.V.K. Rao to suggest ways of revamping rural local government in 1985. The Rao Committee recommended a bold scheme of democratic decentralisatin in which the district level body was to be of pivotal importance.

L.M. Singhvi Committee

In 1986 appeared the L.M. Singhvi Committee Report submitted at the instance of the Ministry of Rural Development. After tracing the growth and development of democratic decentralisation, the Singhvi Committee resurrected the nearly forgotten Gram Sabha, comprisisng all the inhabitants of a village and called it as the embediment of direct democracy. Besides it wanted to vest Panchayati Raj with constitutional status, saying that a seperate chapter should be added in the Constitution of India so as to make the identity and integrity of the Panchayati Raj Institutions 'reasonably and substantially inviolate'. It wanted the establishment of Nyaya Panchayats for a cluster of villages. As regards the participation of political parties in Panchayati Raj elections, it itself did not volunteer any definite recommendation and wanted a governmental decision which is pragmatic, workable and censensual and in consultation with different parties of the land.

Sarkaria Commision

The Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations (1988) did not favour the idea of L.M. Singhvi Committee to confer constitutional status to the PRI's. The Commission advocated that the power of enacting any law on the Panchayats vests under entry 5 list II exclusively with states. Uniformity in these aspects of the law throughout the territory of India is essential. The uniformity can be secured by adopting inthe following order or preference any of the alternatives given below;

(i) By law with respect to this matter made by all the State legislature in accordance with a model bill prepared on

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the basis of consensus at the forum of the Inter-State Council, recommended by us to be established under Article 263.

(ii) By a law on this subject made by Parliament under Article 252(1) with the consent of the legislatures of all the states.

(iii) By a Parliamentary law uniformly applicable throughout India containing provisions analogues to Article 172 and 174 of the Constitution.

Adoption of alternative (i) or (ii) will not require any amendment of the Constitution. However as a condition precedent for adopting alternative (iii), those aspects of the matter which are analogous to Article 172 and 174 will have to be carried out of the ambit to entry 5, list 11 and transposed as a seperate item of list III. Recourse to alternative (iii) may be had only as a last resort.

However inspite of a number of committees being appointed to suggest ways and means to revitalise Panchayati Raj Institutions, it has been observed that these institutions have not been able to acquire the status and dignity of viable and responsive people's bodies due to a variety of reasons including absence of regular elections, prolonged supersession, inadequate representation of weaker sections like the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and women, insufficient devolution of powers and lack of financial resources. Article 40 of the constitution, which enshrines one of the Directive Principles of State Policy, lays down that the state shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. However in the light of the experience in the last-forty years, it has been observed that the State Governments view the Panchayats with suspision and have only added to their decline.

Constitutional Status

Any attempt in the past to revitalise Panchayati Raj Institutions have met with little success and as said earlier through decades these institutions have only weakened, thereby generating a new

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debate as to; how to strengthen these bodies, which are vital for upliftment of the rural population? One of the ideas that gained currency in the late eighties was that the Panchayati Raj Institutions should be conferred a Constitutional Status, by enshrining in the constitution certain basic and essential features to impart certainty, continutity and strength to them. Since 1989 three attempts have been made to confer Constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. The whole exercise was started by Shri Rajeev Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India. The Sixty-fourth Amendment Bill was introduced in the Parliament in 1989, but due to its very controversial nature the bill had to face defeat in the Rajya Sabha. With the fall of the Congress Government, in 1990 the National Front Government introduced the Seventy-Fourth Constitutional Amendment Bill, however this bill also lapsed with the dissolution of the 9th Lok Sabha. Again in 1991 the Congress Government introduced the Seventy Second Constitutional Amendment Bill seeking to confer constitutional status to Panchayati Raj bodies. The bill is still pending, parliament sanction.

All the three Bills have been introduced under different political circumstances. Therefore it would be worthwhile to analyse the main features of the 64th, 74th and 72nd Constitutional Amendment Bills and also to compare them so as to highlight the difference in their approach.

Sixty-fourth Constitution Amendment Bill

The Sixty-fourth Amendment Bill seeks to make it obligatory for all the states to establish a three-tier system of Panchayats at the village, intermediate and district levels. However, states having a population of less than 20 lakh would not be obliged to establish panchayats at the intermediate level. The term of the Panchayats shall be for five years and in case of dissolution they shall be reconstituted within six months.

Another significant provision stipulates the Election Commission will be responsible for the superintendence, direction, control of

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preparation of electoral rolls and the conduct of elections to the Panchayats. It has also been provided that the account of the Panchayats should be kept in a form prescribed by the Governor on the advice of the Comptroller and Auditor General. The CAG report in this context is to be submitted to the Governor who in turn, shall cause it to be laid in the concerned State Legislature. Another significant provision relaese to the Constitution of a Finance Commission every five years to review the Finances of the Panchayats and recommend principles on the bases of which the State Legislature may determine the taxes to be appropriated by or assigned to the panchayats.

It has also been stipulated in the proposed Bill that all seats in Panchayats at all levels will be filled by direct elections. However, the State Legislature may provide for the representation in Panchayats without voting rights of members of the Legislative Assembly. Another major provision relates to the reservation of seats in favour of women. As nearly as 30% of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat, shall be reserved for women and allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

The sixty-fourth Amendment Bill was criticised on various grounds. The opposition parties termed it as direct attack on the federal features of Indian Constitution. The other objectionable provisions were a rigid three tier system, entrustment of elections to the Chief Election Commissioner and audit of accounts to the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. There is no doubt that the bill aimed at centralisation through dicentralisation and it was not a product of a national consensus.

Seventy Fourth Amendment Bill

On the other hand the 74th Amendment. Bill introduced by the National front Government in 1990 guranteed the autonomy of the States. The controversial provisions of the Sixty-fourth Amendment Bill like the provision for the conduct of elections by the Chief Elec-

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tion Commissioner and audit of Panchayat accounts by the Comptroller and Auditor General were dropped, which removed the suspicion of central interference with the grassroot organisations.

The Bill provides for a Gram Sabha at the village level and for Panchayats at the village and such other levels as the State Legislature may decide. Thus every State is free to experiment with the Panchayati Raj, taking into account the local factors and not adhere to a rigid three tier system. The Village Panchayats are to be filled by direct elections; any other Panchayat partly (50 percent) through direct election and partly by any other mode to be decided by the State Legislature.

The Panchayats will have a fixed tenure of five years unless dissolved earlier. It is not clear from the Bill who has the authority to dissolve Panchayats and in what circumstances. However fresh elections will have to be held within six months. There is also the provision for setting up of the State Finance Commission which will decide how taxes, duties and tolls are to be divided between the State and Panchayats and also to determine how these are to be assigned to them.

Therefore we find that Bill takes the line of least resistance and reflects the nature of the Government in power. The National Front consists of various constituents and therefore it was imperative to have an legislation that would have any resistance. As regards reservation for women, the Bill goes ahead of the sixty fourth Amendment Bill by reserving 1/3 of the seats.

However the Bill could not become an Act as the 9th Lok Sabha was dissolved. But the urgency and need to tone up the Panchayats continued. Every Political Party promised in its 1991 Election manifesto to revitalise the Panchayats and keeping its promise and the the Congress Government brought about the Seventy-Second Amendment Bill to confer Constitutional Status to Panchayats Raj Institutions.

Seventy Second Amendment Bill

Within a span of three years this was the second Bill brought about by the Congress Government however the two bills (64th &

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72nd) differed greatly. Several objectionable and controversial provisions were removed and the views of the opposition parties incorporated. It tried to balance between the 64th and 74th Amendment Bills. Infact the 72nd Amendment Bill to a very large extent is similar to the 74th Amendment Bill as introduced in the parliament by the National Front Government.

The Bill provides for the constitution of Gram Sabha. Gram Sabha means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Panchayat at the village level. The Gram Sabha may exercise such powers at the village level as the legislature of a State may provide. It provides for a single tier Panchayat at the village level and if the need be the Legislature of a State may provide for the constitution of Panchayats at the intermediate of the district level or both.

All the seats in a Panchayat at the village level and intermediate level, if any, shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area. The seats in a panchayat at the district level, if any shall be filled by election in such manner as the Legislature of a state may provide. The Bill further provides that not less than one-third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women and not less than one-third of the total number of offices of chair person in the Panchayat at each level shall be reserved for women.

The term of the Panchayats is for five years with a provision for reconstitution within six months if dissolved sooner. The Governor of a state shall as soon as may be within one year from the commencement of the Act and thereafter at the expiration of every fifth year constitute a Finance Commission. It leaves to the jurisdiction of the state Legislature to provide for the composition of the commission, the qualifications and other details. In matters of elections, audit of a ccounts, imposition of taxes etc the state Legislature has been empowered to make provisions.

We find that the Seventy Second Amendment bill as said earlier

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has vested the state legislature with wide ranging powers in mattes connected with Panchayats. The Bill tries to cushion the differences and controversios that had gripped the Sixty-Fourth Amendment Bill. It is also interesting to note that political realities and compulsions have forced the Congress Government to bring about a new legislation which goes against its own legislation that was brought about just in 1989 in the form of the Sixty Fourth Constitutional Amendment Bill.

Conclusion

There is no doubt the according Constitutional status to Panchayati Raj Institutions is a welcome move aimed at revitalising these institutions and initiating a new phase in participatory democracy and rural development which is the need of the hour. But unless these measures of the provisions contained in the Bill are implemented in all sincerity, the Panchayats may not be able to play an effective role. There has to be a genuine commitment to decentralisation and it is the political parties that have to ensure this. There are many provisions in the Constitution which do not have much value due to their non-implementation. There are states which do not intend to even constitute Panchayats due to political reasons.

The fear that grows out of experience is that no matter what status you confer to Panchayati Raj Institutions, the state Governments would not allow them to function as institutions at the local level. There is a nexus between the rural elites and the state Government. Therefore how and to what extent the present move to accord Constitutional status to Panchayati Raj Institutions will guarantee the survival of these institutions and enhance their prestige as well as increase popular participation, which would enable them to function as true institutions of local self-government is the question that needs to be answered.

It is important to note that a fundamental issue underlying any decentralisation programme is how much (if any) of the proposed

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decentralised system of planning and governance should be embodied in legislation, and whether this legislation should be ordinary legislation or part of the nations Constitution. On the one hand, the need is to clarify the roles and responsibilities to each level of governance and planning, thus reducing conflict and confusion, is supportive of the adoption of a detailed legislation, but at once, the need of the system of planning and governments to be flexiable and to be capable of modification in the light, of experience speak in favour of the use of administrative and not Legal procedures, or at best, ordinary Act of the Legislature rather than constitutional law. In practice, a lot depends on the political dispensation of the country or the state concerned, including the degree of decentralisation to law in the political system.

There is no doubt that legislative enactments have helped institutionalise decentralisation but they have generally tended to fluctuate. Amendments at short intravels have more or less neutralised the effect and impact of the legislation therefore mere legislations do not make reforms. what is needed is a true and genuine commitment (political will) to decentralisation without which the Panchayati Raj Institutions will not be able to fulfill the aspirations of the people and the prevailing confusion may only deepen further.

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PANCHAYATI RAJ : AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

E.A. Narayana

Rural Development is the main thrust of national development effort in the developing countries. The approaches and strategies or rural development adopted in these countries depend on the ideological orientations of the elite, the structure of political power and the perception of national needs.[1] Rural development is not as easy as starting or expanding large organised industries. It cannot be equated with mere agricultural development, however, important it might be to rural development. Rural development is far beyond the mere increases in agricultural production. The concept of development is now being conceived as an integrated process of economic and social development with social justice.[2] it is an inter-related process of change involving not only economic and social but also cultural and human factors. Rural development is thus not just economic development but comprehends social and political as well. Analysing the reasons, for the failure or inadequacy of the older model, of economic development, the exponents of the 'new political economy' assert that without such a wide ranging transformation economic development is not possible or meaningful. In other words, social, political and economic dimensions are inter-dependent, with the accent on socio-political dimensions providing a corrective to the conventional pre-occupation with economic growth. All the aspects of rural life are inter-related, no lasting results can be achieved by dealing with an individual aspect in isolation. This does not mean that no particular problem should be an aid towards the formation of a total picture and integrated plan.[3] Providing more opportunities for participation by rural people in decisions which govern their lives.

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Participation cannot, however, be specified simply as a dependent variable–or objective–since in some respects it may be an independent variable–a means to other rural development ends.[4] Peoples participation here means involvement of people in planning and implementation of programmes and projects.

The political as well as administrative leaders of many countries, as men of affairs, have recognised the need for organisations which are indispensible to the implementation of any kind of public policy. They have been as much concerned with the organisational gap as with technology or resources. They have attempted to build an institutional infrastructure and to bridge the institutional gap through efforts. Community leaders and social workers have also perceived the need for grassroot organisations and have launched local groups of various sorts. This led to the creation of a plethora of new institutions-political, economic, social and administrative. Attention is particularly drawn to people's institutions because the programmes of development, it is generally agreed, are to be carried out not only by the state bureaucracy but also through effective public participation.[5] Establishing and sustaining viable institutions is a major element in the operating strategy of modern political elite planners and administrator in the develop countries. Therefore, local organisation is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for the accelerated rural development.[7]

In India more than three-fourths of population live in rural areas, spread over six lakh villages. Gandhiji's view that "India lives in Village's" still holds relevance. Development in India will have relevance only when the people living in these villages are made its beneficiaries. In a country where more than 40 per cent of the people are living below the poverty line and millions are unemployed, the increase in the standard of life of these poor, deprived, ignorant, ill fed, unemployed people should be the major thrust of rural development. It is widely accepted that without rural development there can be no sound or substantial basis for national development. The importance of the rural sector in Indian economy is vital.

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The Government of free India took up the gigantic task to plan for the socio-economic growth, to lessen the incidence of poverty and create conditions for development of the rural communities as enunciated in the Constitution of free India. Various steps for the betterment of villages has been taken from time to time. Rural development is, in fact, the pivot of administration at both central as well as state and district levels in India. The immediate impetus for change in rural development machinery was provided by the efforts at planned development. First, it took the shape of the community development programme and later the panchayati raj. Implementation of economic and social development programmes, undertaken by the Government with the launching of the five year plans led to the growth of interest in rural local government.[8] It was realised that effective implementation of rural development programmes calls for a great deal of initiative and participation on the part of the people themselves.

The importance and the need for people's participation in development activities was being stressed in the successive plan documents of the Government of India. In fact, the sixth plan document (1980-85) placed more emphasis on people's participation than the previous ones. It stated: "The planning process in a democratic country can acquire fuller meaning and depth if the people not only associate themselves in planning for their development but also participate consciously in plan implementation".[9] The successive Five Year Plans have emphasised the need for promoting people's organisations to secure this end. The Panchayari raj institutions were established throughout the country to ensure people's participation in planning and implementation of rural development programmes.

Panchayati raj is an inter-connected, inter-dependent, federal, democratic, and decentralised structure of rural local self-government at the village, block and district levels based on decentralisation, devolution and democratisation of power and responsibility for the specific purpose of planning and implementing rural development and welfare programmes with people's participation and active co-operation.[10] The introduction of Panchayati raj institutions was a revolutionary step

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towards rural upliftment in this country. It was expected that the Panchayati raj would bring a change in the entire rural life of India, thus changing the traditional backward society into a modern democratic society. It was expected that these institutions would prepare the village plans in such a manner that their backwardness could be effectively halted and the villages would develop a progressive outlook and mode of life. An attempt is made in this paper to examine and asses the contribution of panchayati raj to rural development.

Community Development Programme and National Extension Service:

The move to diffuse power to grassroot bodies was first initiated through the programmes of community development projects. The community development programme started on October 2, 1952 to synchronise the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Originally 55 community projects started all over the country. Initially each project was to cover three blocks of 100 villages each with a population of 60,000 and a total area of 150 square miles and was to cost Rs. 65 lakhs over a period of three years. The expenditure was reduced to Rs. 1.5 lakhs per year following the implementation of the Growmore Food Enquiry Committee's recommendations to start national Extension Service blocks. The objectives of the community development projects are to assist villages in having effective panchayats co-operatives and schools and through these village institutions plan and carry out integrated multiphased village, block and district plans for increasing agricultural production, improving existing villages crafts, and industries and organising new ones, providing minimums essential health services and improving health practices, providing required educational facilities for children and an adult education programme, improving housing and family living conditions and providing programme for village women and youth.[11] II made the community contribution a condition precedent to development schemes being undertaken by the community programme in an area, to ensure the aided self help character of the programme. It was also intended to confine government assistance to plans which come from the people and not to those thrust above. Community development, with its accent on people's willing co-operation was, thus, considered a better approach.

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The physical achievements of the programme in terms of coverage of villages, people's contribution to various projects, in material and non-material terms, and its implementation of agricultural, industrial, constructional and social service action plans were nothing less than impressive.[12] However, the programme has not succeeded to the extent it was expected to succeed. Politically, it was ineffective as its attempt to "proceed smoothly without friction towards general consensus was unrealistic."[13] The political leaders all over were disillusioned with it. Economically, it displayed a "duble weakness." First it enlarged social services more rapidly than the production of rural incomes. Secondly, it did not sufficiently improve the economic conditions of the depressed poor, the share croppers and labourers.[14] The new programme called for the discarding of traditional ways of administration of regulatory mentality-and the handig down of orders from above. It sought administratiors who had faith in the capacity of village people to tive the necessary leadership in self-help programmes. In many wasy it is evident that this evolution has fallen short of expectations and has not shown the flexibility that the programme requires.[15] It was found that the CDP did not encourage popular initiative. The organisation and administration of CDP reposed little trust in the citizens. Only lip service was paid to the local initiative and cooperation. The advisory bodies formed to harness local initiative and mostly manned by the nominated personnel gave neither any indication of durable strength nor the leadership necessary to provide the motive force for continuing the improvement of economic and social conditions in rural areas. Without popular participation, it appeared as a governmental rather than a popular programme in character and sustained more by hope than achievement. Thus there is a widespread confusion between what is intended and what, in fact, exists. These factors led an agonising reappraisal of the objectives, priorities and policies of the programme.

Balvantray Mehta Report:

The Balvantray Mehta Committee made the first and the most comprehensive review and assessment of the suitability of the organisational structure with reference to the aims of the community development programme generally, and in particular its success, in

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utilising local initiative and creating welfare to ensure continuity in the process of improvement in the economic and social conditions in rural areas. The Committee found that one of the least successful aspects of the CDP was its attempt to evoke popular initiative. The Mehta Teams' disillusionment with the performance of the CD bureaucracy led to its suggestion for strengthening representative institutions. "So long as we do not discover or create a representative and democratic institution, which supply the local interest, supervision and care necessary to ensure that expenditure of money on local objects conforms with the needs and wishes of the locality and invest it with adequate power and assign to it appropriate finances, we will never be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development".[16] The Team thus suggested recasting rural development machinery so that the representative institutions would play an important role.

The Committee in its report published in 1957, recommended devolution of power to a body which, when created will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction, the government–reserving to itself the functioning of guidance, supervision and higher planning and where necessary providing extra-finance. To secure this the Committee envisaged a three tier system of rural local government namely panchayat at the village level, Panchayati Samiti at the block level and the Zilla Parishad at the district level. Of these three, however, the most effective body was visualised at the block level. The Committee visualised that all these institutions were to be statutory, elective, comprehensive in duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery with adequate resources, and with enough freedom and autonomy. The committee also recommended the system of rural local government evolved should be such as will facilitate further devolution and dispersal of power and responsibilities in future.

The report has thus suggested the scheme of democratic decnuteralisation as a measure remedial to the failure of the CD movement, to evoke people's initiative and mobilise their voluntary and spontaneous participation. The whole system was to be

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statutory, elective and comprehensive in the scope of its functions with adequate resources, but not cramped by too much control by bureaucratic agencies. The three-tier democratic system was to take charge of all aspects of development work in the rural areas. Of the three tiers, the village panchayats and Panchayat Samithis were to be the main local bodies for developmental activities. In the opinion of the Team, functions the existing local agencies then were performing would be performed with greater efficiency by the panchayati raj institutions (PRIs). The Balvantray Mehta Committee's report was widely welcomed and influenced significant changes in the organisational set up of the CD programme. The National Development Council, while endorsing, in January 1959, the introduction of Panchayat Raj at the district and block levels, suggested that each state should so evolve its Panchayati raj structure as would be suited to the peculiar conditions prevalent in the state. Acceptance of panchayati raj with necessary variations to suit conditions in states was also favoured by the Central Council of Local Self Government.

Progress of Panchayati Raj:

Panchayati Raj or democratic decentralisation was accepted as a model for rural development and established in most states. It was inaugurated first in Rajasthan in October, 1959. Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu followed suit in the same year. Assam and Karnataka introduced the system in 1960; Gujarat in 1963; and West Bengal and parts of Bihar in 1964. In Kerala, a new and comprehensive Panchayat Act was passed in 1960 and was implemented. Legislation for upper tiers was also undertaken. It was however, not materialised till 1980; due to political instability and frequent changes of the Governments in the State. The District Administration Bill was, at last, passed in 1979 and it got President's assent in 1980. It took another decade for implementation of the Act. The traditional councils of village elders are still in existence in the hill states of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram and the Union Territory of Lakshadweep. The original legislations of many states have been amended and brought several changes in the panchayati raj system

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in their respective states. Some states, like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, have even repealed old Acts and enacted new legislations.

At present fourteen states and union territories have three tier system of panchayati raj, while five states have two tier and one-tier system is in existence in nine states and union territories. The states and union territories which have one tier system of panchayati raj at village level are Goa, Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Dieu. In Pondicherry there exists panchayati raj system at the block which is called the Commune Panchayat. The Panchayats at villge level in Pondicherry have not yet been constituted though there is a provision for the same in the Act. In Delhi, the Panchayat Samitis at block level are created under the executive orders of Lt. Governor of Delhi but they are non-statutory bodies. The two-tier system consisting of gram/gaon panchayats at village level and Panchayat Samitis at block level is in existence in the states of Haryana, Manipur and Orissa. In Assam, the two-tier system consists of gaon panchayat at village level and mokhuman parishad at sub-divisional local. In Kerala it consists of panchayats at the village and district councils at district level. The three-tier system of panchayati raj is in existence in Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradsh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Chandigarh. In Andhra Pradesh the three-tiers are at village, mandal and distrct levels while in Karnataka they are mandal, taluka and district levels. In Gujarat and Maharashtra the second or middle tier is at taluka level instead of block, the taluka and block being coterminous whereas in Tamil Nadu, the third tier is at development district level instead of administrative district level, which is known as District Development Council. In all other states the gram panchayate is at village level, panchayat samithi at block level and zilla parishad at district level.

Panchayati Raj is thus under implementation all over the country except in states of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland and the Union Territory of Lakshadweep. As on March 1987, there were

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2,17,300 gram panchayats covering 5,79,132 villages and a population of 630 millions, 4,525 panchayat samithis and 330 Zilla Parishads in the country.

Achievements of Panchayati Raj:

A period of more than three decades had lapsed since the submission of the Balvantray Mehta Committee report and its implimentation. The Panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) have taken root and have gathered momentum in many states. Considerable thinking on various facets and working of the scheme has been stimulated. There are many significant achievements of the PRIs in social, economic and political fronts. Their achievements have been substantial, even spectacular in some fields like agricultural production, family planning, primary education, etc. As a result of the introduction of democratic decentralisation in rural India, a process of modernisation of the stagnant rural society has definitely began. The access of the rural people to the central and state government resources and institutions have been increased. The rural people have become more aware of their rights and of their role in the development of their area. The PRIS have succeeded in providing opportunities to the neglected and weaker sections of the rural society to participate in the development affairs of their own localities. Where administrative and financial support has been forthcoming, the contribution of Panchayati raj has been significant in the formulation and implementation of local development plans, an important component of national development strategy.

Panchayat Raj was regarded as a important milestone in the process of democracy in our country. Panchayat raj has led to the emergence of a new, enlightened and better equipped leadership which has now started playing importannt role at the state and national level politics.[17] The Annual Report of the Ministry of Community Devolopment for the year 1964-65 enthusiastically recorded an all round progress. "The entire country is now covered by CD blocks and PRIs in all tiers (Village, block and district) have been established in twelve states. It quoted the findings of an inde-

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pendent study that" in panchayati raj bodies younger and better leadership was being thrown up–there was a fairly high degree of satisfaction among the people with the working of the PRIs and a high degree of participation in the elections". More importantly the study found that'a decrease in caste tensions was noticeable and weaker sections were also getting representation in these bodies'. The income of 50 per cent of the panchayat members was less than Rs. 100 and only 5 per cent of the panchayat members had incomes exceeding Rs. 500/- per month. Evolution in this direction has a remedy for environmental inadequacies in the sense of changing traditional rural power structure, and of institutional and cultural premises.

The contribution of Panchayati raj to rural development has gone beyond remedying enviromental inadequacies. From the standpoint of managment, it has helped bridge two important kinds of gaps: organisational gaps and gaps in performance. In developing countries, the former has been considered critical. Panchayati raj has filled a major gap in this regard. Its contribution to improving performance or implementation is equally impressive. There is a considerable research base to warrant confidence of planning and the efficiency with which available resources can be utilised; or improving delivery systems; strengthening of administrative accountability; improving responsiveness and bridging 'empathic gap' in development administration. The Panchayati raj has provided in general participatory correctives to elitist premises among technical and administrative functionaries. It has brough administration closer to the people and has made the bureaucracy more responsive and responsible to the people aspirations and has also provided a permanent infrastructure wholly answerable for rural development. The panchayati raj has proved that the local bodies representatives have the capability to manage their own affairs and undertake rural development programmes effectively. Besides, Panchayati raj has improved communication and speed and strengthening the rural development lobby. The local bureaucratic and political leaders are in a position to put pressure on the central and state government agen-

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cies and thus to obtain large amounts of national resources for rural development. The Panchayati raj has, thus, many achievements to its credit in undertaking local planning and implementation, in introducing democratic seedtrilling in the Indian soil, in breaking the gulf between the bureaucratic elite and the people and in generating a new leadership not merely relatively young in age but prosocial change in outlook.[18]

Limitations of Panchayati Raj:

The achievements of Panchayati raj have, however, fallen short of the expectations of the mass of the rural people. Inadequate powers, paucity of funds, failure to hold elections regularly and a host of other factors have made Panchayati raj institution ineffective. Decentralisation has been seen as convenient way for political leaders to rid themselves of responsibility for local development problems by transferring them to local goverment units. At the same time the former do not allow the latter to function effectively and solve their problems. In many cases the state governments initiated, introduced and heavily published decentralisation policies only to see them falter during implementation. Despite attempts to sell the slogan "power to the people"the political elites refuse to introduce Panchayati raj in a meaningful manner of invest their functionaries wide powers-political, financial, administrative and technical. The higher elites or politicians do not believe that the local bodies representatives, not to speak of rural people, have capability to manage their affairs and undertake rural development programmes effectively. Moreover, the political elites consider panchayati raj as power mechanism and not so much as a development mechanism. The state politicians are reluctant to part with more functions and powers which amount to digging their own grave. Where the challenge is formidable the state ministers even go to the extent of superseding the local bodies.

The role of Panchayati raj in rural development has been further restricted with the constitution of District Planning Boards in some states. In Andhra Pradesh, for instance, there is a District Planning

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and Review Board in each district. It is headed by a Minister nominated by the Chief Minister. It consists of the MLAs and MPs of the district. The Chairman of the ZPP is its Vice-Chairman and the District Collector its Member-Secretary. It was observed by the critics that these planning boards might become all powerful reducing the Zilla Parishads to the position of non-entities. The presence of two apex bodies at the district level is also expected to be a source of some rivalry and friction. Initially these boards are expected to formulate and execute annual district plans. Under the Andhra Pradesh Act of 1986 the state government may also entrust many other important powers to DPRBs and thereby impoverish Zilla Praja Parishads.

Again there are instances of withdrawing the powers given to the panchayat raj institutions. In some of the states namely Punjab, Rajasthan, Orissa and Haryana, the powers concerning control over the junior staff of panchayati samithies, ceiling on expenditure and execution of minor programmes, etc. which were given to the panchayati raj bodies have been withdrawn. More recently, 1985 Act of Karnataka has been amended to dilute the powers of the panchayati raj institutions in the state. There have been efforts in this direction in Andhra Pradesh as well. In the absence of adequate powers, the panchayati raj has been, in practice, playing an agency role and as such it has not been able to inspite locla initiative at lower levels.

Most states have avoided holding elections to the panchayati raj bodies since 1972. The 1982-83 Annual Report of the Ministry of Rural Development says that while Panchayati raj has been established in most parts of the country elections to these bodies are not being held and have become overdue. Government of India has emphasised the need to conduct timely elections. The Panchayati raj institutions, it may be recalled, took over several rural development programmes and if they are defunct the state of delivery system can be imagined.[19] Even today, election to the Panchayati raj bodies are overdue in many parts of the country particularly in the north.

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Lack of resources is a well known problem of panchayati raj since its inception. Although, the number of taxes which panchayati raj bodies may levy is relatively large, the yield from them is small. These are inelastic sources of revenue, more lucrative taxes remaining with the central and state governments. Self raised resources such as taxes, Cess, income from other sources constitute only an insignifican portion of their total income. What is more, the PRIs are reluctant to levy or increase taxes with changing necessity of the community for fear of arousing opposition. Ultimately the Panchayati Raj bodies look to the state government for meeting their expenditure, depend on state government for grantsn-aid, share of land revenue/cess and other local cesses. Jawahar Rojgar Yojana scheme has enabled the panchayats to construct school buildings, community halls, panchayat ghars and village approach roads but they have been unable to maintain these works in good repair.

Another handicap of panchayati raj is the chronic shortage of skilled personnel. Personnel structures and practices do not encourage skilled technicians and best educated or qualified and ambitious managers to gravitate toward Panchayati raj service. Persons recruited to the panchayati raj service consider their employment temporary until they can find posts in central or state ministries and public corporations. Those who remain in Panchayati raj service are often frustrated by low salaries, slow advancement and low morale. It is learnt that official who opted to remain in Panchayati raj in 1959 when it was first established in Andhra Pradesh, could raise to the level of Mandal Development Officer the rank of a deputy tahsildar, whereas his collegue who preferred to go back to revenue department became revenue divisional officer-the rank of a deputy collector-two promotions ahead of the former. Eventually many employees lose their commitment to rural development activities.

The policy changes in the rural development and approaches adopted by the government have affected the effectiveness of the panchayati raj. While democratic decentralisation was being introduced at one level, there was parallel moves within the government

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initiating a shift away from the community or area development concept in favour of a sectoral professional approach. In 1960 government launched an Intensive Agricultural District Programme. Besides IADP a host of other new programmes were launched for agricultural development, area development, employment generation and for the benefit of special groups like small and marginal farmers, and women and children. While all these programmes are initiated by the Centre they are to be executed by the machinery at the state, district and block levels. Operationally, the block touches the cutting edge. In few of the special programmes the block has to play a direct role and in most others it has the indirect responsibility in executing the special programmes. Thus all these programmes are saddled, in one way or other, on the shoulders of the block development organisation, while the latter has been weakened in strength and status. None of the Centrally sponsored schemes are accountable to the local community or even required to relate themselves to it. The voluminous IRDP guidelines do not even make a reference to aided self-help or similar concepts. The PRIs have no role to play except that procedurally the selection of poor households for IRD assistance.

As observed by the Sixth Plan: A potentially viable and useful structure of Panchayati raj exists in form, but its effectiveness has been limited in practice. There has been considerable erosion in the powers and functions of these institutions in many states. Adequate financial support has generally been denied to these institutions in most states, often even in respect of the 'transferred' schemes and programmes. These institutions themselves have shown little inclination to raise their own resources locally. Besidee, there has been a general apathy at the administrative and political levels towards strengthening these bodies. All those factors, exogenous as well as endogenous, have left these potentially dynamic peoples institutions, in virtually moribund state in most parts of the country. This observation and the limitations already mentioned clearly indicate that the PRIs are to work under tremendous pressure with inadequate powers and finances, with excessive dependence on state govern-

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ment, with undue political intereference from above and with too much mistrust in them.

Conclusion: A Need for Revitalisation of Panchayati Raj:

Inspite of the above limitations panchayati raj bodies have emerged as institutions of development. The establishment of panchayati raj represented a major initiative in the direction of institution building in rural development.[20] Our planners and policy makers showed a fine appreciation of the institution building perspective in the fifties when the logic of community development was translated into panchayati raj with a commendable insight into the bearing of the value thrust of democracy on the tasks or structural innovation in rural development administration. The present day policy makers have also realised that without active involvement of panchayati raj we cannot achieve full success in the development of rural areas. The PRIs are able to perform the gigantic task of rural development. It would not be an exaggeration to say that only PRIs can do that job.

The relevance of Panchayati raj is, thus, greater for rural development. The advantages are derived from its ability to involve people in decision-making, bring in awareness and motivate people, build up development psyche, discover dormant resources and skills and endeavour to activise them. It has also the advantage of realistic appreciation of local needs and participation of people in planning which are crucial to the success of the planning effort. This will ensure the accelerated development of the economy coupled with justice. Peoples own representatives at the grassroot level are best suited to induce social change in rural areas. The Panchayati raj should, however, had adequate suitability and vitality, if it is to play its role effectively as if instruments of change and rise among the rural people who desire a better living. It is in this context the PRIs would be suitably reoriented and strengthened to become instruments of social and econimic changes.

Because of the craze for spectacular results and pilling up physical achievements special purpose agencies have been started along with PRIs. Such agencies should be winded up and the activities of

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these agencies should be transferred to the PRIs. The mis-use of scarce resources can be avoided it all the multi-sectoral development programmes like the IRDP, RLEGP, NREP, DRAP, Minimum Needs Programmes, etc. intended for the uplift rural masses are entrusted to the panchayati raj bodies, instead of having implemented them individually by agencies and departments. There is no scope for dis-coordination within the panchayati raj bodies, as there is organic link among them. The coordination is an in-built mechanism of inter-tier relationship of Panchayati Raj.[21]

The Expert Group headed by M.S. Swaminathan set up by the Planning Commission to suggest steps for strengthening the implementation of the programmes for alleviationof poverty stressed, in its report submitted in 1982, that the arrangements evisaged by the government so far including the role played by DRDA are essentially short term measures. In the long run the local development functions ought approximately be entrusted to the utmost extent possible and increasingly to the elected bodies from village panchayats upto zilla parishads. As per the provisions of the Karnataka Zilla Parishads, Taluka Panchayat Samithis, Mandala Panchayats, and Nyaya Panchayat's Act 1985, all functions and functionaries of the development departments at the district and lower levels are transferred to PRIs. All governmental registered societies and corporations dealing with the implementation of specific centrally sponsored schemes, in the anti-poverty field, District Rural Development Agency, (DRDA) for example, were merged with the Zilla Parishad. It has also been widely acknowledged that the involvement of panchayat samithis has substantially helped to boost the performance levels in the sphere of land reforms and in various other areas of development in West Bengal.[22] In Maharashtra most of the development departments like agriculture, education and social welfare, health, animal husbandry, etc. are transferred to the panchayati raj bodies. Efforts may be made by other state governments as well as central government in this directon to strengthen the Panchayati Raj.

The Panchayati raj administration should also be made responsible for formulation and implementation of rural development plans at local

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level or as machinery for decetralised planning. We have completed seven five year plans and the eighth five year plan would be launched in a couple of months. But still the planning is far from effective. Right from the very inception of the planning process in India, it has been envisaged that the planning should be made from below, based on the felt needs of the rural masses and the potentials of the regions. In the process of planned devlopment the elected bodies were howerver, almost entirely conceived as implementing bodies and not as plan formulating bodies.[23] The physical and other conditions with typify the rural-agricultural sector or a particular places, locality or region are not the same everywhere. Since the activities of this sector are considerably influenced by the natural factors of physiography, soil, climate, and vegetation, micro-level planning is a must to take note of local variations and to design the developments in close conformity to the potentials conferred by these resource developments. Moreover, rural-agricultural sector consists of millions of peasant farmers, artisans and others. Each of these millions of people must take the appropriate decision, then alone rural development can take place. People must be involved as closely as possible with planning and development process. Realising the need for local level planning in Karnataka, the 1985 Act empowers the gram sabha to plan for local improvement. Similarly in West Bengal the Left Front Government had introduced scheme of formulation of village plans prepared by villagesrs themselves and the village based district plans other states may follow these states and entrust panchayati raj bodies both plan formulation and implementation of rural development programmes.

Transfer of all developmental programmes in rural aras to panchayati raj of decisions ofplanning from below through panchayati raj do not automatically solve all the problems in way. To enable them work effectively as planning and implementing authorities for rural development PRIs need to be equipped with adequate powers, requisite financial resources and expert personnel. Both the Central and State Governments should put the panchayati raj bodies in position with despatch and endow them with adequate powers and resources commesurate with their responsibilities. The establishment of Panchayati Raj Finance Commission of the lines of Karnataka and the provisions of 64 Constitutional Amendment Bill, would help in solving the problem of finances to some extent. Other long term measurers like enlarged tax jurisdiction, sharing of

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proceeds from select state taxes, and grants could be supplemented. The mechanism of matching grants might be considered to encourage the PRIs to tap fully their own existing tax base. PRIs should have adequate number of multi-disciplinery supporting staff. The expertise to prepare integrated development plans for rural areas has to be posted with the panchayati raj. If panchayati raj institutions are, thus, equipped with adequate powers and resources, and expert personnel and given a fair trial to function as autonomous units of local government without undue interference from the state government, no doubt, they would certainly become the best agencies of rural development.

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DECENTRALISATION, THE CORE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Mahesh Dutt Mishra

All human activities the field of social political and economic progress are at best only experiments and their results are seen after a long time. Decentralisation also is to be viewed as an experinment. Literally it is a negative word but when it is applied in the social atmosphere as a counter to over-centralisation it assumes positive significance. Centralisation is due to the individualistic or egoist attitude of one person, a group or a community, against the rest. The excuses to continue this trend are many. It generates dictational forms in order to dominate over others and to suppress dissent. Conformism becomes a cult in a particular society and when the oppressed beg into resent and voice their grievances an explosive situation arises. Then centralisation has either to use move of coercive power to subjauate the dissenters or yield in accordance with the spiritual self-realisation of its unjust claims. So ultimately all panaceas for solving human problems have to fall back on self realisation or introspection and seek light from the spiritual heritage common to all religions. It is here that the fundamentals of all religions have a significance for social, economic and political problems and not the different forms of worship that are mistaken for fundamentalism. The fundamental unity of all religions is due to their emphasis on an ideal human being seving others through self-lessness, service, love and kindness. And these set the norms for all social action.

In this sphere of Public Administration some kind of centralisation is justified on grounds of efficiency, unity of command and quickness. But normally centralisation is practised and justified by

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those who want to continue their domination over others and perpetuate their exploitatio economically, politically, socially or culturally. The result is dissent and a demand for decentralisation. Movements, agitations and trrorist activities are resorted to by opposing the institutions, laws and practices in order to get them changed. The protagonists of centralised institutions, laws and practices have to wake up and act in time and to avoid confrontation and bloodshed. The intellectuals if they can use their objectivity can help them and should help them.

Decentralisation is a much debated topic in the present context of political activity. In the Indian context more emphasis is given on Centre-state relations and Panchayat Raj. As there is not much controversy about giving enough powers to the village units consistent with the matters that affect them most and with their accepted capacity to discharge their allotted powers. Hence states are free to enact laws and frame policies to give these lowest units some powers and finances which they can use to bring about improvemtn in their socio-economic conditions. The fact that partisan politics has entered the village scene and the evils of groupism and casteism have retarded the growth of healthy politial life, does not discourage the protagonists of Panchayati Raj from continuing this experiment. It is hoped that in due course of time, when Indian politics gains maturity the village activity will also follow suit as the Panchayati Raj system is in itself a training exercise for rural people.

But the Centre-State relations have generated extreme opinions and arguments. The case for more powers to the state is countered by the fear of secissionism. The more both sides stick to their stand creates more of bitterness. In the context of terrirism looming large in many areas an average Indian is terribly confused. The implied threat to national integrity and sovereignity in the demand for more powers to the states is sometimes exaggerated but it cannot be totally disregarded. Some solution will have to be worked out to satisfy the need for a strong centre and to satisfy the case for autonomy. It will possible only when a consensus emerges among the political parties which should develop a national attitude on national

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problems giving up the warring stance. Presently our political parties are more interested in letting down the party in power at the centre by any means. This process has continued irrespective of the fact of a congress of a non-congress govt. At the centre. The country is waiting for the day when the sober elements in all the political groups will assert in the right direction and a consensus would be quickly arrived at on crucial national issues. Then the country will face all the problems unitedly, rising above the so-called ideological differences. Whatever constitutional or institutional changes are necessary to maintain a workable balance between the Centre and the states will be supported by a huge majority of public opinion.

Decentralisation is being suggested in other fields of public activity also on the lines of Gandhian thinking. Gandhi wanted self rule for the common man. His ideal was not merely poltical devolution of power to the village units. He knew the limitations. Therefore emphasized more on economic decentralisation. That is why he gave importance to village self-sufficiency in matters of bare necessities of life. The common rural folk should not depend for his food, (food meant a balanced food consisting of cereals, milk vegetables and fruits) cloth, dwelling, medicine and primary education etc. on any outside supply so that he is not exploited. In independent India he wanted to give priority to this objective. What we find today is absolute dependence of the rural masses on the urban section or on the administration dominated by the urban elite. Cereals unfortunately forming the major element of diet comes from urban godown, cloth is given to then by the Indian mills and the imported stuff has also entered the rural markets, oil, soap and other items are all managed and supplied through agencies beyond their control. This is negation of economic freedom. The political decentralisation introduced in the form of more power to the village through Panchayati Raj was bound to be insufficient in the absence of economic power. So the main question is how to introduce economic decentralisation along with the much lauded political decentralisation. This is going to be our headache in the coming decades. We are not all Gandhian fanatics. We are now enamoured

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of the fine things produced by the centralised industrial sector and the inroads made by multinationals in the sphere of production and marketing will make us thoroughly dependent on the dictates of what is being mischeviously termed as globalisation of economy. I need not add to what is being expressed by innumerable people about the dangers of this new trend. The cult of Swadeshi supported by the demand for decentralisation of Industrial production will save us from the dangers of multinationals though it will take some time. The Charkha will also find a place in the programme.

What I am concerned about at the moment while pondering over the problem of our political and administrative ills is the way a regular loot is going on in the sphere of public distribution system. This scheme in its present form in the biggest black money gererating game of exploitation of the very sensitive requirements of the poor masses. All political pandits and experts of public administration have to work out a decentralised agency of effective control of this much maligned system, which affects the common man as much as the worries of standard of life affect a well-to-do in the days of spiralling price. rise. Rampant corruption in the department of food and Civil supplies has eroded the faith of the common man in the Government in the administration, in the politicians and ultimately in the democratic system itself. He judges the states through his belly and not through the five yearly vote when candidates big and small call him the master. This discontent and other injustices give the disintegrationists, terriorists. Naxalites and other trouble shooters their local support and we fail to contain them. The common man even the illiterate has come to know why prices rise and where does the exorbitant profit go. What I have been suggesting for the past three decades is a system of superision and control of the fair price shops by the elected representative from amongst the consumers and they should be subject to recall. The purpose of decentralisation is to make the people feel that the government is really elected by them and it does look after their welfare. The Panchayati Raj did not create this feeling among the people because of the factors stated above The various schemes for

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rural development specially in agriculture have not reached the poorer sections. Rural industralisation is in its infancy. It could catch up only through decentralisation of cloth industry by encouraging Amber Charkha, handlooms and power looms because these will fulfil the second basic need of the masses after food, other items in rural industries have a very limited scope.

Until we change our priorities in the spheres of production the common man will continue to buy from the marked controlled by the Govt, the trader and to some extent by the politician. This has to be stopped.

Though a decentralised system of politics and economics we can make the people feel that their voice is really heard.

Rousseau had himself used the word "approximate". The challenge to the modern intellectual is to discover fields of human activity where participation of many people would be possible in matters which affect them most. So power has to be devolved both vertically and horizontally at all levels. The purpose of these remarks is to provoke objective thinking on the part of all these who are free of smugness and want to participate in collective thinking for a way out. When the Public Administration pundits will look for possibilites of horizontal decentralisation at different levels and come out with concrete suggestions to check the executive traders and politicians in the arbitiary acts at times indulging in illegal and criminal acts they would have justified their position as experts. The significance of decentralisation lies in making more people participte in the affairs of the state at all levels and in making the democratic process a reality. This is how we establish the supermacy of the 'General will" of course as approximately as it is possible.

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CENTRE-STATE ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS IN DISASTER-MITIGATION AND PREPAREDNESS

C.V. Raghavulu
and
B.P.C. Bose

Administrative relations between the Centre and the States refer to the provisions listed in the Indian Constitutions as well as to the on-going patterns of interaction between the Union and the States. The arena of administrative relatinships has increased enormously with the assumption of the key role by the Centre under national economic planning. In a few other areas also, despite the division of responsibilities by the Constitution, the requirements of administrative convenience make co-ordination between the Centre and the States imperative. Centre-state relations in the sphere of natural calamities is one such area. This paper describes the emerging pattern of administrative relations between the various Central agencies on the one hand and the Government of Andhra Pradesh on the other with regard to disaster mitigation and preparedness programes, especailly those concerning cyclones and floods. We may, however, suggest that administrative relations do overlap with financial and political relations. Such an overlap may tempt one to enter into a debate encompassing the wider arena of Centre-state relations. Notwithstanding such temptations the authors of this papers wish to place a predominant focus on administrative relations.

Disasters like cyclones and floods necessiate frequent interaction on a wide variety of matters among diverse governmental authorities at different levels — Centre, State, District and local levels. Involvement of different governmental agencies with specific legal

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responsibilities, varying levels of access to information, resources and formal organisational structures coupled with political differences among different sets of political elites often leads to complexity. If the participants fail to appreciate the gravity of the situation it leads to conflicting approaches and often unseemly controversies. It is also not uncommon, as some experts have noted on the basis of their studies of several Third World disaster situations, that the pre-disaster political divisions tend to get activated and find reflection in the relations among various administrative units of different levels.[1] The Inidan situaitons is not an exceptin to this observation.

II

In the Indian federal polity the Union and the states appear to be having a joint responsibility for disaster mitigation. The Constitution does not specify as to whether the expenditure on disaster relief and rehabilitation is to be borne by the Union or the States. However, as most of the subjects where relief or rehabilitation is required are state subjects the concerned state has to bear the expenditure. There is also a historical reason. Famine relief, for instance, has been associated for long with remission of land revenue. Cyclone relief also carried a similar remission of land revenue. In addition to this, the subjects of economic and social planning, electricity and production of food stuffs, edible oil seeds, oils, raw cotton and raw jute are listed as concurrent subjects. As such, the Union Government tends to have policy making responsibility, for rehabilitation programmes in the relevant functional areas. As the Indian Meteorology Department (IMD) and Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) which deal with the collection of weather data and the Indian Posts and Telegrapsh, the All India Radio and Doordarsan which have operational responsibility for disseminating information about weather are all central agencies the Union Government cannot absolve itself of responsibility for disaster preparedness and mitigation. It is also important to recall in this context that the Union Government had played a crucial role during the last century in framing disaster-related policies by evolving a famine code which was applied to cyclone/flood situations as well. At the Union level, a cabinet sub-committe presided by the Prime Minister, consisting of the Ministers of Food and Agriculture, Planning, Finance, Defence, Health and Industries, formulates the broad policies.[2]

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The cabinet sub-committee is also known as Crisis Management Group (CMG). In the event of a major natural disaster such as drought, famine, cyclone or an earthquake, CMG comes into opeation. At the next level. the union Ministry of Food and Agriculture is the nodal Ministry to coordinate the policies and activities of the various ministries and the work of the agencies dealing with disasters. At the official level, the Relief Commissioner (Ex-officio Additional Secretary of the Department of Agruculture) heads the coordinating committee of officials concerned with disaster preparedness and mitigation. He presides over the Crop Weather data.[3] The Committee feeds the cabinet sub-committee with information relevant to policy making. It also gets activated whenever there is a disaster. The Indian Meteorological Department (IMD), through its chain of radar and observatory network along the coast line and rivers and through the geostationary satellities, tracks the cyclones and analyses the weather data and conveys the information to the port authorities, state governments and district authorities on a continuous basis. The IMD also provides inputs to the Flood Forecasting Organisation of the Central Water and Power Commission to enable it to issue flood warnings to the state authorities whenever the situation warrants.[4] Besides the IMD a number of central agencies such as the Posts and Telegraphs, the All India Radio and Doordarsan share the responsibility for transmitting cyclone/flood warnings to the various state agencies and the potential victims. The messages are also conveyed to the military authorities in proximity of the disaster area. The other central departments/agencis concerned with disaster situations are Health and Family Welfare, Home, Education, Social Welfare, Railways, Civil Aviation and Communications. The Reserve Bank of India, the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the General Insurance Corportion of India, the Industrial Development Bank of India, the Agricultural Refinance and Development Corporation, NABARD, the Tobacco Board and other Central financial or policy making institutions at the regional or local levels in the disaster-affected areas have a significant role in the rehabilitation phase.

By virtue of its authority over international financial transactions the Union Government alone has the power to make an appeal for international assistance and to permit the flow of funds or relief materials to state governments or Non-Governmental Organisation

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(NGDs). Contributions or donations meant for disaster relief and rehabilitation from international instituions, foreign governments or NGDs have to be routed through the Government of India.[5] The Prime Minister also maintains a relief fund, made up of donations from philanthropists, industrial and business concerns and foreign donors. Whenever a disaster occurs a few lakhs to a couple of crores of rupees are offered, as a symbolic gesture, from the Prime Minister's relief fund to the affected state or Union Territory. Howver, even such symbolic gestures are not entirely free from political controversies.

The details noted in this paper indicate that a large number of Central agencies are either directly or indirectly involved at various phases of a disaster. The role of the Indian Meteorological Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the All India Radio and crucial in the pre-disaster stage. The effectiveness of disaster mitigation measures in the wake of an impending flood or cyclone depend to a large extent upon the reliability of the information conveyed and the timely warnings. In the post-disaster phase, several Central agencies get involved: the Director General of Medical Services in arranging the supplies of essential drugs and equipment, the Food Corporation of India in releasing food stocks; the Home Ministry's Mobile Civil Emergency Force in undertaking rescue and supply of drinking water, clearance of roads and restoration of communications; and above all, the military providing reconnaisance, rescue, air dropping of food and other emergency services and supplying transport (aeroplanes, helicopters, boats, etc.). Such services are invariably rendered on a formal requisition from the concerned State Government.

The involvement of these central agencies and the services rendered by them in successive disasters is indicative of a cooperative relationship between the Union and the states in the performance of various emergency tasks. Yet, there are a number of areas in which conflicts have occurred between the Union and the states. Such areas include policies pursued by the Centre and states in relation to natural disasters such as the set procedures, tand the

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quantum of assistance, role of various agencies in disaster relief operations, accounting procedures, damage assesment, etc. In this context, it is not uncommon for Central and State Governments, belonging to different politicial parties to indulge in mutual accusations. One such major dispute was between the Union Government and the Samyukt Vidhayak Dal (SVD) Government of Bihar in 1967. The Centre objected to a unilateral declaration by the State Government that sought more foodgrains from the Centre the latter was alleged to the uncooperative. The State Government wanted to buy foodgrains outright from the neighbouring States. But the Central Government's zonal food trade restrictions stood in the way. Subsequently, the Centre yielded to Bihar Government's demand for a relaxation of the zonal foods trade restrictions. In recent years, the Union Government and Andhra Pradesh got embroiled in the series of conflicts. For instance, in 1977 a major controversy had arisen between the Union and State Governments about the army's refusal to lift the corpses and carcasses. Mr Vengal Rao, the State Chief Minister, belonging to the Indian National Congress, felt that the army which had the requisite personnel and technology should come to the rescue of the State because a major epidemic was likely to break out if the thousands of corpses and carcasses lying around were not removed. Mr Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister in the then Janata Government, turned down the request on the plea that the removal of corpses and carcasses was not the army's job and that the State police could as well do the job.[6]

Another major controversy that figured in 1977 between the Union and the then Andhra Chief Minister was about the rsponsibility for the disaster. The Janta Party functionaries at the Centre criticised the State Government for not taking adequate precautionary measures in the face of cyclone warnings. Where as Mr Vengala Rao, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, accused the Indian Meteorological Department for not properly predicting the path of the Cyclone. He argued that adequte precautionary measures would have been initiated by the States Government in the event of a timely warning by the Meteorological Department about the target area

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of devastation. Such a step would have considerably reduced the number of casulties, Mr. Vengala Rao added. As a result of these controversies, the working relationship between the Centre and the State Government was strained.

It is to be noted in this context that during the last decade Andhra Pradesh was affected by major disasters (drought in 1984, 1986-87 and 1988 and floods/cyclones in 1983, 1986, 1989 and 1990). During 1983-1989 the State Government which was under non-Congress I rule made serious complaints against the Centre that it was not providing adequate and timely central assistance in disaster situations. The then Chief Minister of the State frequently lashed out at what he termed as the Central Government's discriminatory and partisan attitude in regard to relief and rehabilitation assistance.[7]

Observers feel that quantum of Central assistance for drought or flood relief in the post-disaster situations has always been a subject of controversy in Andhra Pradesh.[8] The TDP Government asserted that it was getting a raw deal from the Centre while the Congress (I) leaders including the Prime Minister accused the State Government of misusing the central funds and diverting them to sectors not approved by the Centre.[9]

The Union and State Government held conflicting assumptions about rehabilitation programmes in Andhra Pradesh, in 1978, 1979, 1983 and 1986. The State Government felt that as successive disasters had a debilitating affect on the agricultural economy wiping out earlier investments the damage was not confined merely to the failure of the crop. It was their expectation that the Union Government and the credit institutions under its control would look at it from the standpoint of development and productivity. The Union Government and NABARD and the Reserve Bank of India took a different view. They preferred the standardised approach to rehabilitation and refused to make any major policy changes. Experience in other non-Congress I ruled states is no way different from that of Andhra Pradesh. Assam was affected by unprecendented floods in August-September 1988. During the same period. Punjab, Haryana, Delhi

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and Jammu and Kashmir were also affected by floods. Damage due to floods in Punjab was much less than in Assam. While Punjab, which was under the President's rule, was sanctioned Rs. 100 crores towards flood relief, Assam received Rs. 40 crores only.[10] It gave rise to a new political controversy. Even a symbolic gesture from the Prime Minister's Relief Rund turned into a controversy.[11]

Another hitch in Centre-state relations concerns the observance of the set procedure for determining the quantum of central assistance. As per the prevailing procedure, the state government submits a comprehensive memorandum to the Union Government with estimates of the extent of damage and the quantum of assistance required.[12]

A careful analysis of the various controversies surrounding the different patterns and procedures of central assistance to staets it is difficult to avoid the impression that political considerations received more than the expected weightage. A clear illustraion is provided by the decision to grant central assistance for flood relief—to the tune of Rs. 229 crores to Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana, Delhi and Punjab during 1988 without a visit by Central teams, let alone reports. Where as Andhra Pradesh (1986-87), Assam and West Bengal (1987-88) were sanctioned assistance only after processing the reports of Central Teams. In the matter of accounting procedures also the Centre was stated to be rather too stiff towards non-Contress I-ruled States.[13]

Time and again the *ad hoc* basis and the perfunctory manner of decision making by the Central Government has become a focal point of criticism from the non-Congress I parties. The time schedules suggested by the Centre for spending drought relief money were such shorter in the case of opposition-ruled states than that observed for states under Congress I rule. It is particularly sticking that Andhra Pradehs was directed to spent one instalment of drought relief grant, during March 1986, within four days.

How to assess the damages and whose (Centre or State's) estimates should be relied upon are two related issues in Centre-state

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relations. These are matters falling within the ambit of administration. The centre's point of view is that the state Governments are prone to submit widely varying estimates of damage in their memoranda/reports to the Central Government and expect the latter to provide assistance to the maximum.[14] The state governments, especially West Bengal in 1980, and Andhra Pradesh in 1983, accused the Centre of taking abnormal time in the finalisation of central assistance. Delays in the despatch of Central teams would make a lot of difference in estimation of the damages;[15] the disaster situation may not appear to be so grim after lapse of time. Citing the example of procrastination and delay by the Centre in the case of floods in Andhra Pradesh in Aug. 1983, the Srinagar Conclave of non-Congress I leaders argued that in the event of a natural calamity like a cyclone a central team should at once visit the affected state and central assistance must be provided promptly.[16] As the leader of the central team that visited Andhra Pradesh in Oct-Nov. 1983 admintted that an accurage assessment of the damage is not possible;[17] the exercise leaves considerable discretion to the state and central authorities. Of late, the Centre has also been accused of a discriminatory attitude against non-Congress I Governments, while States like Gujarat are provided assistance even before a visit by the central team others like Andhra Pradesh were treated on a different footing.[18] Even after the submission of a preliminary report on floods by the State in 1983 the Central Government insisted upon the submissin of the comprehensive report before it could despatch a central team to the State for assessing the damage and making recommendations on the quantum of central assistance.

In their rebuttal of some of the criticisms levelled agaisnt the Centre the Prime Minister and other Central Ministers have drawn the attention of the critics to the need for observance of certain norms in providing central assistance and the requirement of submission of comprehensive reports, based on accurate data, by the concerned State Government. Delays might occur, according to them, when the reports are based on partial estimates and incomplete information. Further, as a number of agencies/Departments are usually

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involved processing the reports more time is taken in finalising the recommendations.[19]

While the authors of this paper do not address themselves to the substantive issues involved in Centre-state financial relations the political fallout on administrative relations cannot be ignored. Nor should we preclude from consideration the time-consuming procedures some of which are deliberate. An analysis of the time taken for sanctioning central asistance in the aftermath of each of the four successive disasters in Andhra Pradesh points to the prevalence of non-rational tendencies on some occasions. While the Centre took less than ten days after the Central team's visit to announce the quantum fo central assistance in 1977, 1979 and 1980 it took about nine weeks for the same in 1983.[20] For the delay in processing the Central Team's Report on floods in Andhra Pradesh, when contrasted to the procedures followed in the case of Gujarat and Punjab the Union Government's attitude attracts criticism.[21] More distressting, however, is the fact that in all post-Independence disasters the time taken for channelling central assistance is much more than what it was a century ago.[22] One would expect that with the Government's access to modern technology, space-age communications and rational models of decision making the time should have been reduced. But that has not been so.

The situation calls for depolitisistion of matters relating to natural calamities by evolving institutionalised arrangements, both for purposes of estimating the damage caused by a natural calamity and for deciding the time and quantum of central assistance. Arora and Jain, based on their study of the Rajasthan case, suggest the sanction of one per cent of the total annual plan assistance as advance to the State the moment the latter presents its report to the Central Government.[23] One should go beyond this. One per cent of advance plan assistance would constitute only a small sum in tackling major disasters. It may be more rational to categorise disasters into there types, depending upon their scale, intensity of damage, death toll, etc. According disasters may be categorised as major, medium, small-scale. For the major disasters about 10 percent of the Centre's annual

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plan assistance may be advanced to the affected state. In case of medium and small-scale disasters, the amount could be 5 per cent and 2 per cent respectively.

If a visit by a Central team to a disaster area is mandatory the visit should take place within one week after a disaster strikes or immediately following the submission of a preliminary report by the concerned state government. The main purpose of the Central team's first visit is to categorise a disaster into major, minor or small-scale. The last point concerns the composition of the study teams. Their composition should be broad-based to include experts from outside the Government and a representative of the Government of the affected state. It is not advisable to dispense with study teams altogether. The study team provides a great educational opportunity to member representing Governments at different levels about each other's policies, the norms and limitaions of the Union Government, and of the State affected by a natural calamity. In the past, such interaction has been a source for evolving complementary relationships among the administrators operating at different levels.

As the political process was characterised by high intensity of conflicts between the Central Government and the governments of the opposition-ruled states accommodationist approaches were at a discount much less to speak of uniform patterns of central assistance for disaster relief and rehabilittion. The personal dispositions of successive Prime Ministers also set the tone of relations between the Union Government and that of the opposition-ruled states. While Mrs. Gandhi was criticised for overcentralisation and deinstitutioalisation her sucessor, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, was accused of carrying her mantle besides adding a confrontationist style. The consensus model of the post-Rajiv era, mostly an outcome of the minority-nature of the successive Governments at the Centre, is yet to find its fullest expression. It is hoped that in the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (INDNDR) political wisdom and humanitarian considerations will set the tone of centre-state administrative relations in disaster situations. Without such an approach the rulling politicians will be discriminating against sets of disaster victims lo-

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cated in some geographical segments at certin points of time rather than the politicians in authority in the concerned states.

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1. Torry, W.I., "Bureaucracy, Community and Natural Disasters", *Human Organization*, Vol, 37, No. 3, Fall 1978, pp. 302-308. Also see Davis, M., "Audits of Political Perspectives", *International Organization*, Vol. 29, Spring 1975, pp. 501-12; Glantz, M.H. (ed.), *The Politics of Natural Disaster : The Case of Sahel Drought*, New York Praeger, 1975; and Shear, David, "International Long-Term Planning for the Sahel", *International Development Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1976, pp. 15-20.
2. In framing these policies, the deliberations or recommendations of agencies like the planning Commission, Finance Commission, National Development Council and Consulttive Committees attached to each Ministry of the Union Government and the Parliamentary debates are considered.
3. Crop Weather Watch Group was formed in 1979. The Group consists of the Director Generl of Meteorology, the Secretary, Department of Agriculture and a representative of the Planning Commission. See The Government of India, *Fighting the Drought*, New Delhi, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Nov. 1979, p. 4.
4. The Flood/Meteorological Office are located in Delhi, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Bhubaneswar, Assansol, Jalpaiguri, Gauhati, Lucknow and Patna. For the east Calcutta, Paradeep Visakhapatnam, Machilipatnam, Madras and Karaikal. See Abbi, S.D.S, "National Weather Service-Forecasting and Warning", *Disaster Management*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April-June 1982, p. 86.
5. There is a cell in the Union Ministry of Agriculture through which relief materials have to be routed.
6. For details see Cohen, S.P. and C.V. Ravhavulu, The Andhra Cyclone of 1977: Individual and Institutional Responses to Mass Death, New Delhi, Vikas, 1979, pp. 68-73.
7. For instance, Andhra Pradesh is stated to have suffered a loss of Rs. 3,830 crores during 1983-89 due to floods and sought about Rs. 2,541 crores as central assistance. It ultimately secured Rs. 282.35 crores. During 1983-84 to 1987-88 Andhra Pradesh secured only about 10 per cent central assistance to what it claimed. Denying the allegation of discrimination the then Union Minister of State for Agriculture informed the Rajya Sabha that the state had sought more for drought relief than the size of the State budget, during 1985-86 and as such the Centre had to make its own evaluation and sanction funds as per the severity of the situation(s) and not on the basis of what the State had sought. For details see B. Gopal "Dynamics of Centre State Relations: Experience of Andhra Pradesh since 1983", *The Indian Journal of Political*

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Science, Vol. 1, No. 3, July-Sept., 1989, pp. 366-368.

8. See *frontline* (Madras), May 16-29, 1987, p. 43.

9. The then Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, during his visit to the flood-affected areas of the State, accused the Andhra Government of diverting central funds for political purposes. See *Andhra Jyothi* (Telugu) and *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada), Feb. 13, 1987 and *The Hindu* (Hyderabad), Feb. 14 and 15, 1987.

10. for details see *Frontlinge*, June 25-July 8, 1988, *People's Democracy*, Sept. 25, 1988 p. 8. *The Indian Express*, (Vijayawada) Oct. 17, 1988 and *Eenadu* (Telugu), Oct. 18, 1988.

11. After the Sept. 1988 floos, the Prime Minister granted Rs. 20 lakhs to Punjab, Rs. 10 lakhs each to Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir and Rs. 3 lakhs to Haryana. The then Chief Minister of Haryana returned the cheque Rs. 3 lakhs from PMRF to the Prime Minister as a protest against and instead called on the rich people to contribute Rs. 10/- each towards flood relief. See *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada), Oct. 17, 1988 *The Indian Express*, (Vijayawada), Oct. 17, 988 and *Eenadu* (Telugu), Oct. 17 and 18, 1988.

12. The State Government's report is based on data supplied by the District Collectors.

13. In the case of Andhra Pradesh (drought relief, 1985-86) and Assam (flood relief, 1988) and Centre stipulated the codition that the States should submit accounts of relief expenditure for the first instalment of assistance before releasing the second instalment. Whereas in the case of Rajasthan (drought relief, 1985-86) the Centre was not insistent upon the accounting procedures despite the fact that the amount involved was a staggering figure of Rs. 600 crores. For details see P.G. Thakurta "Empty Promises: Rajiv Gandhi", *India Today* Nov. 15, 1988, pp. 49-51.

14. For a statement of the then Union Agriculture Minister, Mr. Rao Birendra Singh, See *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada) Jan, 24, 1984.

15. The practice of deputing a Central Team for assessment of damage in a natural calamity was not in vogue prior to 1960. The members of the Central Team are usually drawn from the Departments of Expenditure, Food and Agriculture, Health and Feamily Welfare and Civil Defence, the Planning Commission and the Central Watar and Power Commission.

16. See *The Hindu* (Hyderabad), Oct. 15, 1983.

17. See *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada), Nov. 1, 1983. Also see *Eenadu* (Talugu), Nov. 4, 1983.

18. Farooq Abdullah, the then Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, has accused the Centre of intentionally and deliberately starving non-Congress (I) State Governments by not providing adequate and timely financial assistance. While neglecting the case of Andhra Pradesh, he pointed out, Gujart was granted rs. 200 central team. See *The Hindu* (Hyderabad), Oct. 23, 1983;

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Deccan Chronicle and *The Indian Express*, (Vijayawada) Nov. 2, 1983; and *Eenadu* (Telugu), Nov. 1, 1983.

19. See the Prime Minister's statement, *The Hindu* (Hyderabad), Oct. 12, 1983. The Union Minister of State for Home Affairs agrued that 'there are certain norms for granting central assistance.... There are certain financial constraints and procedures to be followed. The Centre's attitude towards the (Andra Pradesh) State Government is never step-motherly". See *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada), Oct. 19, 1983.

20. Both in 1978 and 1979, difference political parties were at the helm of affains at the Centre and in Andhra Pradesh. In 1983 the floods occurred around Oct. 2-4, 1983. The Central team visited the State during Oct. 28th—Nov.1st, 1983. The announcement of Central assistance was made on Jan. 7th, 1984. However, the Union Government released a sum of Rs. 10 croes prior to the Central team's visit

21. Contrary to the normal procedure the Union Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 10 crores (Rs. 4 crores as grant and Rs. 6 cores as loan) to the Punjab Government to help cotton farmers. See the statement of Mr Rao Birendra Singh, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture *The Indian Express* (Vijayawada), Jan. 24, 1984.

22. In 1864 it took only three days for central assistance to reach the cyclone victims of Machilipatnam town. See *The Hindu* (Hyderabad), Dec. 2, 1977.

23. See Arora, Ramesh K. and K.T. Jain, "Reducing Delays in Relief Administration: The Case of Rajasthan" in Avasthi, A. and S.P. Ranga Rao (eds.) *Crisis Administration in India* New Delhi, Sterling, 1982, pp. 133-34.

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ROLE OF THE NORTH-EASTERN COUNCIL IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE OF NORTH-EASTERN STATES

R.N. Prasad

Nation-Building is one of the most formidable challenges confronting a newly independent state. Though nation-building is a wideranging concept, its two main ingredients may be mentioned here for their direct relevance to the theme of this paper. The first, the state with a view to deveolping the people irrespective of the place of their habitiation, socially, politically and economically, must so devise its political, Governmental policies, institutions and processes. The second, it must maintain and consolidate its territorial solidarity simultaneouly. These two functions are more important than anything else, its supreme task is, indeed, the sovereign test of statehood. This paper attempts to analyse how these two goals are operationalised by the goernment of India, how these are perceived and interpretedd by a late-comer-the northeastern states in the national mainstream, how a measure of institutional collaboration between the centre and the latter is crystallised and operated, and finally what measures are aditionally necessary to make the collaboration productive of results.

Politically the north eastern region of India, as a result of the North-Eastern Areas (Re-organisation) Act, 1971, stands divided into seven units such as the states of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura and Mizoram and Aruachal Pradesh (then Union territories of Mizoran and Arunachal Pradesh). It covers an area of 2,55,037 squae kilometres and has a population of about 2.66 crores according to the census of 1981. it is, indeed, a fascianting region, a miniature India where people speak different dialects/languages,

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profess different religions and have varied patterns and ways of life. There appears to be a total absence of social intercourse among tribes. Briefly the creation of seven states created the problem of coordination of socio-economic change or development programmes.

The region is mountain locked. It has difficult and regged terrain. Nature has left on this region a stamp. among others, of the isolation, even idyllic, from the rest of the country. This has had its inevitable on the history of this region. it was not until 1826 that this area could be said to have been firmly integrated, politically and administratively with the rest of India. Yet the interest of the British regime in the area remained more anthropoligical than administrative, move academic than integrative till the end of its rule. Being a late comer in the national mainstream, the area has its own legacy and psychological ambivalence in its relationship with the rest of India, though such a feeling is not uniformly prevalent throughtout the region and, moreover, is becoming increasingly feeble with the passage of time. But the fact remains true that except the people in the valley, numerous tribes inhabiting the frontier areas had not been touched by the national freedom movement. So the spirit of loyalty to the nation and partiotism will have to be planted in them, watered and manured by the plains people in general and the central government in particular. The entire region is abundantly endowed with natural resources. It has also an immense potentiality for the production of hydro and thermal electric power. Despite all the natural resources, this region has not been able to keep pace with the progress achieved in other parts of the country and remains economically backward and poor. Even after the advent of freedom, the tempo of economic activities did not pick up as the basic infrastructural facilities like power, trained man-power, communications, and improved inputs for agricultural were either virtually absent or were grossly inadequate.

The region also finds itself in the vortex of politics. Because it has common boundaries with for different nations–China, Burma, Bangladesh, and Bhutan and is tenuously connected to the rest of India by a narrow strip of land. No other region of India occupies

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such a vitally strategic position as the north-eastern region. So the security of the region has rightly been a critical national problem. The central government can ill-afford to remain oblivious of the paramount national compulsion to keep a close watch on law and order in the region and have it militarily equipped. Thus its interest in this region is inevitably intense and deep.

Briefly the entire region represents a unique set of topographical, climatic, economic and socio-cultural condition which greatly differ from the rest of the country. There are also special aspects of political and economic integration both within the region and with the rest of the country. There are difficulties of transport and communications, power and trained manpower, no doubt, but the region has no much required infrastructure both administrative and economic which has led to a poor investment climate both private and public in the industrial sector, the lack of proper development, conservation and exploitation of its ample natural resources and the absence of economic growth. Over the years all, these have multiplied to create a severe adverse economic imbalance in this region. Besides, all the political units are too small to develop their natural resources and also underdeveloped and financially weak. They cannot bear the total cost of even the basic elements of administration, Consequently it has been felt that this region needs special treatment and the adoption of a special set of priorities suited to its special and peculiar needs for its accelerated development. Unless we evolve and work on such a coordinated approach, we cannot better our economic, nor can even survive economically. As Ralph Lynton has rightly said, "if everyhuman group has been left to climb upward by unaided efforts, progress would have been so slow that it is dobtful whether any society by now would have advanced beyond the level of stone age". The region inspite of differences of languages, religion, ethnic composition and ways of life, has a certain geographically and socio-economic unity, which demands organised regional approch and solution to the problem of economic growth through cooperative, coordinated and integrated efforts. From the point of view of developmental planning, the region should be

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treated as one economic unit. Any programme of socio-economic change/development in the region cannot be dealt with in isolation because one or more of the states in the region are bound to be affected by the activities in a neighbouring state. Thus the units are placed in the situation that there is no alternative to acting together and in unison for the socio-economic progress of the region as a whole.

It is to the credit of our functioning democracy that it could devise a scheme providing the smaller ethnic groups the status of having their separate states while at the same time keeping them knit together for economic endeavours. Moreover development also points to the need for bringing these separate states into a kind of relationship of joint action in matters of common interests. The North-Eastern Council is an articulation of this urge towards an integrated development of the northeastern region of India, which will be to the advantage of all the member units and at the cost of none.

Organisation of the North-Eastern Council:

It is with the aim of reversing the British policy of isolation and replacing it by a policy of cooperation and coordination, the central government has decided to set-up the North-Eastern Council, common forum for dispassionate discussion on the common problems of this region, which is an unmatched administrative innovation in the field of centre-state cooperation in India. It is the only institution in the country mainly designed to meet the peculiar needs of this region of the country. No such body exists or even has been proposed fot other parts of the country. The council's objectives enjoin upon it to work for an integrated development of the region as well as for its security. A combination, so explicitely articulated, of these two functions has not been attempted in other parts of the country. Even nó organisation in the country seeks and depends on such an active and extensive participation of the constitutional office of the governor as the does the North-Eastern Council.

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Briefly the North-Eastern Council has come about as a logical culmination of the Process of political reorganisation of the north-eastern region. The government of India constituted the council under the North-Eastern Council Act of 1971 passed by the parliament. The council formally came into being under a presidential order with effect from August 1972. It was inaugurated by the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on 7 November, 1972 in Shillong. Inaugurating the council, the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the council would be able to fulfil the expectations vested in it. Smt. Gandhi said that the primary purpose of the council was the development of the region for greater Human Welfare. She added, "The first principle of development is coordinated activity. I have no doubt that the different units of this region will gain by such coordinated work. To day even sovereign government cooperate in matters such as trade, the utilization of river systems and water resources for irrigation and power, the building of high way and railways and the utilization of mineral resources. Such cooperation does not in any way lessen the authority of individual governments"[1] She further said, "There are sectors such as transport and communications, power, marketing, institutional financing, training, preparation of feasibility, studies for industries etc, in which a regional approach would be most welcome. Vision and practicability are two key tests of good planning"[2] While emphasising the need for removal of regional disparities, she laid great stress on Self-reliance and said, "When we speak of developing along socialist lines, our aim is not only to overcome poverty as a whole, but to remove the inequalities between class and class and between region and region. The process of economic development often aggravates regional disparities. That is because development tends to be faster where there is already the infrastructure of power, communications and trained man power. We are trying to help such an infrastructure to come up in the other regions as well. But growth does not and cannot come about as a gift. It does not flow merely from allocation of funds. Growth is generated by determination and hard work".[3]

The council consists of the following members namely–The

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Governors, and the Chief Ministers of the seven states Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, Mizorm and Arunachal Pradesh. The President may also nominate a union Minister to be a member of the council if he deems it necessary. The President nominates one of the members of the council who shall act as the chairman of the council.[4] Accordingly, the common governor of Assam and Meghalaya has been nominated by the President of India to act as the chairman of the North Eastern Council. The President may if he deems it necessary so to do, nominate another member of the council to act as the Vice-Chairman. The council has secretariat with the Secretary assisted by advisers on planning, finance, and Security and other technical and non-technical staff as determined by the government of India. The chairman of the council as the directing, supervision and controlling head of the Secretariat, is also the link between the council and the Secretariat. The council is the policy deciding body. The secretariat is to assist the Council's members in the matter of drawing up of plans and their execution. The administrative expenses of the Secretariat including the pay and allowances payable to its staff are borne by the central government. The office of the council is located in Shillong.[5]

The council meets at such time, the chairman of the council may decide. The chairman or in his absence the Vice-Chairman if any or in the absence of both the chairman and the Vice-Chairman, any other member chosen by the members present from among themselves presides over a meeting of the council. According to the Act, the Central Ministers of Defence, Finance, Home Affairs and Planning with a view to assisting the council in the discharge of its functions shall nominate an officer to attend the meetings of the council.[6]

But to some scholars, the composition of the council is not satisfactory. Since the council was constituted for the twin purposes of development and defence, it should consist of ministers of these departments of the central government if it is to function effectively. It is true that these departments are represented by one of their officers. But this is not enough, for obvious reasons. If there is

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discussion on matters of policy, they must be referred to the minister concerned and wait for his opinion. The officers of the departments cannot speak with authority on matters of policy. Therfore, the council should include the Union Ministers of Cabinet rank of Finance, Defence, Home and Planning.[7]

Nature and Functions of the North-Eastern Council:

The North Eastern Council has been constituted with the primary object of effecting a fast and balanced Socio-economic change/development of the North East Region through coordinated regional planning with a special set of priorities best suited to the peculiar need of the region. Since the region lacks an adequate and effective infrasturcture for further utilization of its abundant natural resources and substantial manpower, the council will attempt to supplement the efforts of the constituent units in developing adequate infrastructure for the speedy economic uplift of the region. The council also plans to provide the necessary mechanism and the forum for joint consultation and concerted action in the sphere of planning and implementation of industrial. agricultural, power, communication projects and flood control projects, gradual substitution of traditional method of cultivation by improved ones, development of trained manpower and exploration and utilization of vast mineral and forest wealth is in the region. However it must be remembered that the council is an advisiory body and is not an executive organisation. The council has funds of its own to control or to operate on. The council has also no power to raise financial resources. It does not alter the relationship of member units with the central government. The centre will not use the council to interfere in the affairs of the participating government.

The council can only recommend matters of common interest of developmental questions to the member states. It is for the government of India to decide whether to provide funds. The implementation is mainly to be carried out by the member states, as the central government may decide on the recommendation of the council. The main functions of the council, which have been specifed

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in section 4 of the North-Eastern Council Act of 1971, are :

1. Formulation of unified and coordinated regional plan in regard to matters of common interest and importance of the member states in the fields of economic and social planning, in-ter-state transport and communications and power of flood control projects, which will be apart from state plan.

2. Fixation of priorities of projects and schemes and their phasing from the point of view of implementation.

3. Deciding the location of projects and scheme included in the regional plan.

4. Recommending the allocation of benefits and expenditure to the member states regarding the projects in the regional plan.

5. Reviewing and coordinating the implementation of the projects included in the regional plan.

6. Reviewing the progress of the scheme and recommending to the government of India the amount of financial assistance to be provided to the agency entrusted with the execution of the projects.

7. Recommending the government of the state concerned or to the central government the undertaking of necessary surveys and investigation of projects in any states represented in the council to facilitate consideration of the feasibility of including new projects in the regional plan.

8. Besides, the Security of the region is another important concern of the council. So the council reviews from time to time the measures taken by the constituent political units of the region for the maintenance of security and public order therein recommends to the government of the states concerned further measures considerd necessary in this regard.[8] The Act makes it clear that the council's most

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important function will be to bring about coordinated socio-economic change/development of the region with funds provided by the central government without intererring with the respective plans of the member states. But the different projects will be executed by the state government concerned. This feature distinguishes the NEC for Zonal Councils. The Prime Minister, while inaugurating the NEC, characterised it as "a promising innovation in regional planning". The Act further empowers the NEC to review the law and order situation in different constituent units. It is true but the council can only recommed measures to the governments concerned in this respect. So this does not purport the dilution of the autonomy of the member states. This being a border region has some extraordinary security problems which must be admitted and as the best security is economic prospertiy, so also economic prosperity is perilled by lack of public order and Security.

The Council, with a view to translating its objectives into practice has appointed a number of expert committee's for over-all economic development of the region. The Road Committee reviews the existing communication facilities and recommends steps for improvement of the existing system and construction of new road. The Electricity committee is to examine the legal, technical and administrative implications of setting up of a single regional electricity board. The Technical power committee works out a detailed programme for investigation of the thermal and hydel potentialities in the region, draws up a schedule for generation, bulk transmission and distribution of power and also indentifies specific schemes. The Barak River Project Committee is to draw up an integrated Soil Conservation, afforestation and power generation scheme in the Barak river basin and watershed areas. The committee on jhum research is to examine the related problems of jhum control, Soil Conservation, afforestation and flood control in the region and to recommend the feasible definite projects as solutions to these problems. The agricultural Training Committee is to examine the question of organised training in agriculture and the need, if there be any for setting up another Agricultural university

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in the region as well as the feasibility of starting Agricultural Polytechnics in the region. Thus the different committees, after detailed deliberations and particularly considering the view points of the state governments on the respective subjects submit their views and specific proposals for carrying out investigation or survey work or undertaking development projects at different places. Collating and coordinating these reports, the NEC Secretariat prepares a five year regional plan of development to coincide with the country's Five Year Plan.

Since the states of the north-eastern region have been included into one marco planning region, the government of India by constituting the North Eastern Council has recognised the need of transfering more resources from the centre through a regional plan for accelerated development of this area which has immense resource potential, though the deficiency of technical know-how and Socio-Economic obstacles of technological transformation of the resources still persist.

This matter has relevance in the wider context of achieving balanced regional growth of the country. As is true, economic progress in the developed states has been more than in the less developed ones. This is, of course, not a uniquely Indian problem. Even the developed countries like USA, UK, France, USSR and Italy have sharp disparities in the rates of growth of different regions. So regional planning agencies/bodies have been functioning in some countries to tackle this problem. In England, there are ten Planning regions. Each Planning region has a regional economic council. France is divided into 21 planning regions and each region's plan is integrated with the national plans. Similarly in USSR, there are regional economic councils to formulate regional plans for developing industries and infrastructure.

Whenever any backward region of a country requires inflow of investment from the central or federal government, it is the general practice to effect such flow of funds in a planned manner through some regionl development agency. In Italy, there is a regional planning body called Southern Development Agency through which the Italian government has been making massive investment in public

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works programmes for developing Southern Italy which is relatively less developed then northern Italy. The north eastern region of our country is also an area with rich natural resources, but the level of their exploitation being very low, the average per capita income of the region is lower than the country's average. Besides, the available resources have to be properly developed in order to provide employment to the population of the working age and also to improve the living standard of the people. Secondly the progress of exploitation of power, minerals, forests, soil and water resources is directly related to the development of transport and communication facilities (Road, Rail, Water, Air). But both the development of the infrastructure and the natural resources depend on two main inputs, such as capital and organisation on all these counts, the prospects for the rapid development of the different political units separately and the region as a whole fully depend on the coordinated and comprehensive plan of development of available resources with increased mobilization of capital, expertise and enterprise. The fact is true that private capital does not feel to invest on the development of the infrastructure in the region. The state government's resources are also limited. Therefore adequate amount of capital for investment of the development of infrastructure can come only from the central government which should be better utilised if done under a coordinated plan for the region as a whole rather than done in a piecemeal way by the different states.

As experience show, simply to spend more money in a backward region does not improve the living standard of the people. The development of backward regions can only be possible, if action to develop all the three sectors of productions viz Primary, Secondary and Tertiary is initiated simultaneously. For the development of one will be dependent on and sustained by the development of other sector. For instance, agricultural production will increase if transport lines are extended to the interior areas so also availability of transport facilities in the form of trucks/railways wagons will depend on the increase in agricultural products sufficiently. Similarly rise in industrial production is as much dependent on the develop-

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ment of infrastructure as the latter is to be sustained by increasing volumes of industrial production. Thus industries cannot be developed without improving agriculture. The supply of power, machinery and fertilizer, which are the products of industries, also facilitate improving agriculture. Because the organisation of economic activity in order to develop all the three sectors must be on sufficiently wide resurce base so that simultaneous improvement of the three sectors is possible. Only then the aggregate growith rate of the region will be accelerated. The NEC is, thus, expected to help achieve this by formulating unified and coordinated regional plans. To develop the region, fixing priorities of projects as also their phasing out from the point of view of their implementation and routing flow of funds from the central government for investment on the regional development projects.

The concept of regional planning does not conflict with state authority. As the NEC is an advisory body, most of its decisions are arrived at through consensus opinion of the member states. And the regional plans, which are prepared by the NEC, also rreflect agreement among the members about the need for and the location of different projects. The member units of the NEC have their respective State Planning Boards or Planning Departments which prepare five year and annual plans for their respective states and get them approved by the Central Planning Commission. So an important function of the NEC will have to ensure that the state plans are devetailed to each other as also the regional plan. In this regard the NEC will not only act as a link between the State Planning Boards and the Planning Commission. As the Planning Commission is also of the opinion, the NEC development of the various units in the north-eastern region by preparing a regional plan to provide infrastructural facitilies and for drawing up projects of a multistate character.

Working of the North-Eastern Council:

The NEC Plan has two components, viz., one implemented by the member units directly and the other by central agencies and the

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NEC sponsored regional corporations. The NEC through its plan components has made sigificant strides contributing quite considerably towards the strengthening of the basic infrastructure for the growth of this region. The larger number of schemes ranging from setting up of nursers and farms in agricultural sector to the building and strengthening of various types of institutions for higher education and training including surveys and ivestigations of various natural resorces, which have been sponsored and assisted by the NEC are showing encouraging results. The experience of the last few years has generated reasonable confidence about the utility of initiating a series of regional schemes not only to get over the backwardness of the weaker units within the region itself.

The North-Eastern Council has rightly given top priority to the removal of the inadequacy of transport and communications and also the programme of power generation. The council has approved the construction and improvement of about 5,872 kms of road in the 5th and 6th Five Year Plan and at the beginning of 7th Five Year Plan. In the current 7th Five Year Plan period, the council with its financial assistance is to complete road about 2,044 kms. The planning group of the council has prepared a master plan for roads upto 2000 A.D. in the region in consultation with state PWDs which is now being considered by the Planning Commission. From its begining the council has been playing a very vital role in getting the broad gauge line extended from Bongaigoan to Guwahati and also convincing the Railway Board the urgency of undertaking the construction of six more new railway lines to bring the states like Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh into the Railway Map of India. These new railway lines are already under construction. The extension of broad gauge line to Dibrugarh, strengthening of the Lumding Badarpur Railway line are also receiving serious attention of the council and provisions have been made in its plan for undertaking surveys and investingation for the prupose. Besides, the North Eastern Council has sponsored the construction of bridges over the mighty river Brahmaputra at Bhomoraguri, near Tejpur, Jogighopa and another in upper Assam at

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Bogibil near Dibrugarh. The construction of the bridge at Bhormoraguri near Tezpur has been completed in 1985 at a cost of Rs. 74 crores, which adds another dimension to the improvement of communication system of this region. Briefly these new roads and bridges include these having importance for border development as well as for facilitating the setting up of industrial projects and also for opening up areas for mineral exploration. The council with a view to developing inland water transport has financed the construction of five jetties and also a scheme to improve river terminal at Badarpur.

In the field of power generation, the council has given financiai assistance to construct Kopili Hydro Electric Project, Doyang N.E. Project and Ranganadi Project. The Kopili project has already been commisioned. This 150 MW project would remove the shortage of power to an extent in the region. The Doyang and Ranganadi Hydel Projects are being implemented by NEEPCO. Besides, the council has been engaged in the task of exploring the possibilities of harvessing the water resources for power generation and also to extend the facilities for the growth of a regiobnal transmission grid.

Agriculture in the region has its shortcomings which are manifested in the comparatively lower rate of average yield, lower utilization of fertilizer and virtual absence of irrigation. The existing system of shifting cultivation or jhuming has complicated the problems of agriculture. The council has been attempting to wean away the tribal cultivators from the practice of shifting cultivation by sponsoring piolet schemes to settle jhumia families and also introducing them with improved practices by making available to them high yielding and certified varities of seeds through regional nurseries and farms set up all over the region. The schemes of the council in the field of agriculture also include the provision of short term courses in agriculture, and allied subjects, expansion of training, teaching and research facilities in the Assam Agricultural University and other selected institutions and establishment of many foundation seed farms for various crops.

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The agro-climatic condition of the region suits to the growth of a variety of fruits in abundance. The council has, therefore, set up a number of fruit nurseries in the hills and plains of the region to develop horticulture. The north-eastern region lacks of marketing and processing of agro-horticultural projects. The council has set-up the North-Eastern Regional Agricultural Marketing corporation to give facilities of marketing and expert guidance to the fruit growers. Besides, the council has undertaken many new schemes to develop sericulture, horticulture, fisheries, plantation crops like coffee, tea, rubber, and cardamom in the region and also been supporting the expansion of facilities for studies in modern agriculture, animla husbandry, nursing, dental surgery and pharmacy courses. It has also assisted financially to develop mental Hospital, Tezpur, cancer institute, Guwahati, and pasteur Institute, Shillong, School of Veterinary Science, Cachar, Textile Institute, Guwahati, Fishery Training Institute, Joysagar, and Assam Administrative Staff College, Guwahati. It has set up the North-Eastern Handicrafts and Handloom Corporation to promote marketing of handicrafts and handloom products and also improve their designs and textures. The corporation has also opened a number of sales emporia in the big cities of the country and the hair of sales centres within the region is being set-up. Since the council has emerged as the foremost advisory body engaged in Regional Planning, it has been expanding its sphere of socio-economic activities every year. Now the Council has a new shell of programmes for popularising the use of renewable resources of energy, protection and multiplication of endangered species of plants and orchids and provision of special health and welfare servicws. Some institutions such as Regional Medical college, Imphal, Tripura Engineering College, Agartala, graduate Nursing College, Guwahati, Regional Police Training College, Barapani, Shillong, Training Institute for Judicial Officers, Guwahati and Institute for Science and Technology, Itanagar, Regional College of Physical Education, Agartala set up by the council are worth mentionig as regards the supply of the necessary man power in the region. Apart the council has sponsored a training programme for the information officers and editors of the government journals of the region to equip them with latest com-

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munication methods, bothe visual and spoken, suitable for this region. The Training Course was conducted by the Indian Institute of mass communication. The council is thus making every effort to build up effective manpower by providing opportunities to train local people. The council has also estanlished a documentation centre to promote research and dissimination of reliable information. The Law Research Institute of the Guwahati High Court has been entrusted by the council to collect and document customary laws of the different tribes in the region.

The North Eastern Concil has been expanding its activities in the sphere of Socio-Economic change of the region. It provides a regular forms for the member units to discuss their common problems of supply of eseential goods, difficulties of roads and air communication and development of post and telegraph and such other subjects of common interest. The council has been focusing the problems of the region for proper understanding of the various agencies of the central government. It has been able to bring eminent experts to the conference tables and also the seminar rooms to exchange of thoughts and views about the development of infrastructural facilities in the region since the council concerns the preservation, protection and formation of rich indigenous culture of the local people, it has constituted a Regional Cultural Advisory Committee to protect traditional folk arts, music and dances. The North-Eastern Council has already implemented a host of schemes involving an amoount of Rs. 28 lakhs (1973-74), Rs. 100 crores (5th Five year plan), Rs. 340 crores (6th Five Year Plan and Rs. 675 crores) (7th Five Year Plan). Besides, financing a larger schemes through the state government and other agencies, the council has been acting as a coordinating agency in the sphere of transfer of appropriate technology, development of research and scientific studies and expansion of banking and other related economic activities. The North-eastern Council is, no doubt, an instrument of Socio-economic change in seven north eastern states.

The aims with which, the North-Eastern Council has been set-up, are being realised to an extent year by year. There is no doubt

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in it. But after having analysed the functioning of the NEC for about two decades, it can be said that the NEC has not yet become an effective instrument to solve the Socio-economic problems in seven north-eastern states probably owing to its structural defects, local pulls and pressures, ethnic tensions and regionalism at work in the region; though the council has spent the massive amount of money on the creation of infrusturctural facilities for the balanced development of region.

The North-Eastern Council prepares the blueprint to secure the balanced development of the region under several handicaps, such as, dearth of technical experts in its secretariat, non-availability of the state plans in their final form, even uncertainty about the country's plan and central sector pronjects to be located within the region. There also seems to be a tendency among the member units to look upon the council as an additional source of funds to execute schemes which are of immediate concern to the state concerned. This may be true, as the resources position of the constituent units is very tight while the member states have to take up urgent development schemes to overcome their backwardness. Conflicts may also arise when every state government will pressurise the council to introduce new schemes–in its area. This may be kept in mind by the council experts while introducing new scheme. So a balanced development of the region would call for sinking of much pulls and pressures to facilitate collective efforts to develop the infrastructure of the region which will be a foundation to launch more effective and larger plans of development by each member state within its own area. It should be mentioned here that the NEC sponsored projects have a regional character in the sense that either the location of the project covers more than one state or its benefits would accrue to other states besides the state where it is located. The council should chalk out a regional plan so that it should reduce the regional imbalances.

The task of the council should not only remain to mere allocation of the total outlay to various sectors but must have a constant watch on the problems which may arise from the execution of

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schemes. Suitable remedias to solve such problems should be initiated. Not only but the council should also arrange of providing scarce raw material, technical know-how and trained effective man power for the successful implemetation of a scheme. The member state governments should also take interest in quick implementation of the projects. They should also allot land area and other facilities needed for the location of the projects because these projects would benefit them greatly in the longrun.

The NEC has the weakest point that it is an advisory body. So it lacks of it own agency to supervise the execution of its own sanctioned projects. It has to depend on the member states for the implementation of the projects. But some of the state could not implement the schemes alloted to them for some reasons or other. Some state have diverted the funds allotted for a particular purpose for some other purpose. As a consequence, the NEC sanctioned projects have been often abandoned by many of north-eastern states. Some states have faileed to appoint competent persons for the implementsation of the schemes alloted to them. They are more concerned with the appointment of the sons of the soil than with the promotion of common good.[9]

The establishment of the North-Eastern Council for bringing about an integrated economic development of the region is a right step in the right direction. So the NEC with a view to securing the balanced socio-economic development of the region, has been pouring the massive amount of money into the coffers of north-eastern states–under the five year plans. The NEC's regional development plans also aim at removing regional imbalances. Despite there has been neither reduction in disparities in consumption and income evels, between this region and the rest of the country nor in regional imbalances. Not only but the council has been unable to create sufficient infrastructural facilities in the region to provide empolyment to the population of the working age. As a result, these states are faced with a large reservoir of educated youth with no prospects of employment, while alcoholism and drugs have affected a wide cross section of people. The mere flow of central funds

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without ensuring their proper and effective utilization is bound to prove self defeating. The experience of seven north-eastern states proves this. Massive central grants in these states have only helped to create a new propertied "middle class" bereft of values and which thrives on cass opportunism, patronage, nepotism and corruption. The fruits of development in the form of huge central grants have been pocketed by the politician–bureaucrat–contractor lobby and the condition of the common people have not registered even marginal development. What were once strong, integrated societies, are becoming socially and culturally distorted. It is also experienced that no tribal state governments of whatever political persuation, have been able to formulate a plan for self sustaining economic development for a society, making the transition from a village based tribal structure to a more modern set-up. Thus the development process itself including the tribal welfare and development programmes of the central and state governments has helped rise to new economic, political and social forces and institutions that generate the present social and political tension. Hence it must be ensured that the fruits of development must reach the masses. This will necessitate a well thought-out, coordinated policy for the speedy development of the region. Since north-eastern states are rich in natural resources and also have a valuable traditional village systems, the NEC and the central and state governments must endeavour to integrate them into a development plan that would create employment, preserve the environment and reduce the state's dependence on the centre.

The council owing to its composition cannot be a very virile and vigorous institution because it runs the risk of remaining bogged down with local pressures and parochial outlooks and thereby thwarts the realisation of its declared aims and objectives. Besides, the region has also inter-state jealousies which outweigh the pool of mutual good will, thus keeping the field of collaboration restricted, vulnerable and unsteady. if to evolve a coordinated economic outlook on most matters is only the aim of the council in the foreseable future, it is not likely to be achieved at any rate. It is true that every political unit seeks, among others, self-sufficiency and

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autonomy in as wide an area of operations as possible and hence a full-fledged state cannot be expected to so order its economy as to remain merely complementary to others.

Thus council may, howerver, achieve a modest measure of effectiveness, if it sets its sights not too high. In other words, the council should adop time bound-realistic goals and thereby demonstrate its functionality in the lives of the local people. If the council's forum, on the contrary, is used for discussing development in terms of idiems, which have little meaning and relevance for the people of the region, it would not show results, thus failing to impress the common people. Not only but if the council permits itself to remain excessively exposed to local compulsions and demogoguery, it might turn out to be yet another white elephant in the series. As is true, the government of India being obliged under the act has to bear its expenses and not its constituent political units, is not in the least relevant.

The statutory function of the council also includes a balanced development as well as the maintenance of public order and security of the region. The council has also a security adviser to assist in reviewing the law and order situation in different member states. Despite the council, as is experienced, has not been able to translate its statutory role in maintaining public order and security in member states, though it has completed more than seventeen years. It has not played a constructive role in helping the resolution of ethnic tensions and terrorist activities in the region. Ethnic conflicts and acts of terrorising, intimidation/kindnaping loyal citizens, collecting money foreibly and killing of innocent and defenceles people by some extremist unlawful organisations in its member states particularly Assam Meghalaya, Manipur and Nagland have created a dangerous law and order situation in the region thus posing a threat to national solidarity. Since the councils' two objectives vis-balanced economic development and maintenance of public order and security are interdependent, an exclusive emphasis on the latter aspect is apt to alienate the constitutuent political units from the council's creator, the government of India. So the best security of the region is the economic prospecrity of the region through its development. States-manly approach

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of the council and the union government should be to reflect local needs rather than the predilections and prejudices of the experts regardless of whether they sit in the councils's secretariat or in the office of the planning commission.

Inspite of the council's failures in achieving its declared objectives to a great extent, it may not sink to the present position of the Zonal Councils because of two reasons. Firstly the council receives a massive amount of money from the central government which is used to finance the regional plan. The funds used for financing the regional plan are in addition to the state plans of the individual constituent political units. Hence the council may remain active if only owing to the financial carrot at its disposal. The Union government appears to have evolved a practice of according the most favoured teatment to the council sponsored schemes. Secondly, the council has a permanent secretariat staffed with experts such as, Secretary, Financial Adviser, Planning Adviser and Security Adviser. The Secretariat, thus provides continutiy and to an extent mitigates fissiparous parochial pulls and pressures.

But it should not be presumed that after the regional plan is ready and approved, the council's function is over. The formulation of regional plan is not a one time job, as no development plan is static. Pllanning is a continuous process. It is closely linked with the needs, hopes and aspirations of the people and it grows, as the needs and desires of human society grow. It must be consistantly reviewed, analysed, assessed and redrawn. So that it is continuosly purposeful.[10]

However, misunderstandings about the scope and nature of the North-Eastern Council have cropped up mainly due to wrong appreciation of facts. The misconception is that the council is an instrument of the central government to impose its authority and will on the constituent political units, which will clearly mean abridgement of the constitutional powers enjoyed by these units. This is completely wrong fear. As the governor B.K. Nehru, who was the first chairman of the council observed, "This never was and is not today the intention of this organisation". The North Eastern Council is an advisory body and the statute makes it a point to emphasise it. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, while inaugurating the council, emphasised that 'it is not a super government. It does not

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abridge the power of the states and the union territories in any manner what–soever. It is an advisory body and not a supervisory body. It does not alter the realtionship of the member units with the central government. The central government will not use the council to interfere in the affairs of the paticipating government".[11] The council is, thus, not an external agency. The council is a new experiment, a promising innovation in regional planning for the benefit of all like all human institutions. It will survive and flourish only, if it is found to perform a useful fuction otherwise it will gradually fade away. Let us hope that it will live up to the great hope that has been placed on it and that it will increasingly be of service to all its member states. As the fact remains true, the council's usefulness will be justified and enhanced, when the people of this region take active interest in its activities and growth. The North-Eastern Council, as is expected, will provide a practical solution to the problem of regional economic imbalances.[12]

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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Ashok Kumar Mukhopadhyay

Introduction

Government urban areas is a speialised job which differs from the art of national/regional administration and from governing rural areas. The nature of national/regional government is essentially different in that it is concerned with different kind of problems and the administrations's relation with the poeople is not necessarily direct and intimate. Urban government differs from rural government insofar as their socio-economic environment is different and the nature of the problems to be addressed is also different. Urban government insofar as their socio-economic environment is different and the nature of the problems to be addressed is also different. urban government has to work in the midst of a set of peculiarities of its own, viz first, concentration of large population in geographically small areas creates congestion in living pattern: slum life is intrisically an urban phenomenon; secondly, urban people are engaged in heterogeneous occupations and professions; thridly, urban people are conscious of their rights and dues; fourthly, urban life is basically atomistic and marked by a sense of anonymity and aloofness, hence it is difficult to generate a high degree of community feeling; fifthly, urban life is heavily dependent on organised infrastructural services requies well-thoughout-out planning for development and the chance for improve services would be brighter with involvemnt and participation of the people in urban government. It is not enough to elect the government but it is necessary to devise institutional mechanism for community participation in urban planning and development. Success of urban development and civic

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service management depends on cooperation and participation of the people, especially the poorer section. People's active involvement and cooperation with intelligence and understanding is the key to success of urban development.

Urban Community Development

Urban Community Development (UCD) seems to be a useful approach for providing community services with grassroots participation in identification, execution and maintenance of development projects. It is suitable for decentralised delivery of selected community services at relatively low cost and is replicable in other areas of urban planning and development. For some time past urban community development projects have been under-taken in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Kanpore and other cities by such agencies as Central Socail Welfare Board, Bharat Sevak Samaj, American Friends Service, Ford Foundation, Swedish Swallows, Lutheran Services and others. Generally projects for community welfare have been started in deprived or backward areas and slums. A sense of patronage usually enters in service management and delivery, and local people normally look to external assistance for ameliorating local environmental conditions. This state of affairs is not conducive to efficient management of urban services. It is however necessary to awaken the local community to the potentialities of its inherent strength in self-organization, mutual cooperation and sharing of responsibility in managing development projects with the active participation of the area or mohalla committee. Community organization will not only have to be undertaken by the people themselves but the municipal and stte authorities would have to encourage and promote it by active assistance and giving appropriate facilities so that people could come together and work for their social ameliortion and improvement of their physical and social environment. The institutional support of the municipal authorities and of the government is necessary for the success of urban community development because the nature of urban living and its demands are too complex and gigantic for being tackled by the voluntary and organised community efforts only.

Development of urban services needs to be planned and implemented always with a reference to a well-thought-out national urban

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development policy. Urban community development assumes importance in respect of motivating people for optimum use and careful maintenance of services and furthering urban development and enrichment of local life. UCD should be no means be taken as a panacea for all the weaknesses and failures of urban government in providing serivces.

There are many underutilised resources in any urban area, for example, well-established local branches of international organizations like Lions Club of Rotary Club, local groups like university service organizations or neighbourhood sports and cultural groups. The challenging job of identification and systematic involvement of such groups can be performed through appropriate organiation of urban community development. In urban development process it is very much necessary to establish linkage between the underprivilaged and the formal sector of urban economy like banks. Much of the economic activity of the urban poor in the Third World countries takes place in informal sector of the economy through personalised services rendered as domestic servants, washer-men, molk-men, vegetable vendors, rickshaw-pullers etc. Some enterprises like bidi-making, agarbati making, basketry, leather work, carpentry, tailoring and even light industries feed larger enterprises in the formal sector of the economy. UCD projects should try to integrate this informal sector with the formal sector.

The possible areas where development projects can be organised with community participation include shelter-building, health and faimly planning special nutrition programme, informal and pre-shool education, training for imparting skill, economic support programmes by arranging to give pattas of house-sites, forming building organisztions like developments committees, mahila mandals, welfare councils etc, organising community involvement programme of social and cultural activities.

The essence of the action strategies followed in any UCD programme is that they must be voluntary and creative in nature. The first task is undoubtedly to motivate the underprivileged com-

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munity to some action programme. For achieving this target it is necessary to enlist the cooperation of the privileged community, involve the potential beneficiaries at the decision-making level, identify and select the leadership in the community for receiving training, establish understanding and cooperation with outside organizations, share people's way of lie and make them understand the nature of the problems, and finally, to build optimism for carrying out the programme.

Ingredients and Organization

The important ingredients of UCD programme are (i) selection of the right kind of staff and their training (ii) effective coordination between the community's enternal and external resources, the (iii) linkages between voluntary organizations and the target community, between the target beneficiaries and financial institutions in the formal sector of the urban economy, and between physical improvements of living conditions and community development process as such.

These functional ingredients cannot be satisfactorily taken care of by the municipal authority alone. The Indian urban scenario is infested by a host of authorities engaged in their respective sectoral functions. The municipal authorities have mostly to depend on the central government and the state government for planning and development, finance and even personnel for discharging basic municipal functions. There is a four-level linkage in urban planning and development : (a) level of ideology where the link with the national government's thinking or urban development is found in respect of defining goals, assessing resources and framing the broad contours of policies; (b) level of direction where the state government is empowered to play the key role; (c) level of planning where, again, the state government or its agencies of regional or metropolitan development are concerned in respect of both strategic and structural planning; and (d) level of implementation where the local municipal authority either by itself or in collabortion with higher-level authorities is concerned with implementing development

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projects.

Moreover, because of colonial legacy of administration and professional partisanship host of other kinds of functional authorities are found to be engaged in planning and development of urban areas, for example, improvement trust, development authority housing board, slum clearance board, water supply & sewage disposal authority, transport corporation etc. They share the functions of urban governance with the muncipal authority and help reduce the central role or urban local government in urban development.

It has been argued that the urban local government in India does not possess sufficient differentiation or sophistication in organization and also fails to achieve integration through an effective executive system. Hence the duplication in organizaiton is justified. But it has to be borne in mind that some pattern of organization and behavious seem to be more appropriate to certain environment and task characteristics. None of the conventional organization engaged in urban planning and development cannot establish the correct liaison and understanding with the poor the underprivileged section of the urban population. Nor do these organizations play their appropriate role in the urban environment which has its own peculiar characteristics.

What is therefore desperately needed is organizational planning or management technology. Because of variation in environmental factors different organizations need different management technology which is concerned with the ways in which organizations may be re-designed to take into account more fully the energies and competence of the people concerned. The urban environment in India is characterised by some special features such as (i) growing population, (ii) general poverty and high unemployment, (iii) increasing urbanization, (iv) unauthorised settlements, especially on roadside and vacant public land, (v) growing concern for public welfare, (vi) democratic institutionalization in the form of agitational on roadside and vacant public land, (v) growing concern for public welfare, (vi) democratic institutioalization in the form of agitational activities of

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political parties and freqent intervention by courts of law in matters of policy-formulation and policy-implementation, (vii) widespread popular misgivings about officials, and (viii) chronic shortage of basic urban services like water supply, drainage & sweerage, housing, electricity supply, and health.

In the midst of this kind of environment factors the process of urban planning and development has to enlist community participation in order to advocate successfully some development, identify the most urgent programme and implement projects with minimum distraction and interference. That is to say, organization for urban development needs a management technology based on community participation; otherwise wastage of human and financial resources would be inevitable and even a modicum of success would elude the most energetic planner and administrator.

Hyderabad Experiment

The UCD programme in Hyderabad Municipal Corporation seems to have succeeded in eliciting a considerable amount of popular enthusiasm but it suffers from a top-down approach with UCD officials essentially leading the way rather than the community exercising the leadership. This UCD programme was sanctioned as a centrally-sponsored scheme in 1967 and was initiated in one ward of the corporation covering about 50,000 people. The expenditure was shared by the central government, state government and municipal corporation on 50-25-25 per centage basis. The programme was transfered to the state sector in 1969 and was conducted under the general administrative control of the Municipal Commissioner but under direct functional control of its Director. The programme was extended later to more wards of the corporation. Subsequently the main project was supplemented by two satellite projects to cater to the demands of people in the adjacent areas. The UNICEF had been associated with this UCD programme by giving financial assistance.

The highlight of the programme has been the acceptance of the principle that no development project planned and designed at

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hgiher level without any regard to the felt needs at the grassroots is to be thrust upon the people. Appropriate strategies have been evolved to achieve close involvement of the beneficiaries. The experience show that people reciprocate with enthusiasm.

The UCD organization structure at Hyderabad is headed by a Project Officer assisted by a Deputy Project Officer, but below this official level are the key functionaries viz. Community Organisers assisted by Social Workers who are a sort of urban cunterparts of Village Level Workers in the erstwhile community development projects in the rural area. These grass-roots-level functionaries ensure community participation in urban development by widely mixing with the poor and the underprivileged and established the link between these people and the officialdom of administration and formal sector of the economy.

Community Organisers and Social Workers under the UCD programme are not given any formal training. Learning through own experience is their training. A CO is to act as a catalytic agent and not as a school master or religious preacher. His intervention in the lives of the people is in the nature of persuasion about designing development projects. Flexibility in approach is the greatest strength of this methodology of introducing changes in economic activity, health and nutrition programme, housing, education and environmental projects. The CO and his SW-s record and document the problem faced by the community and the solutions arrived at and discuss the ideas in their group meetings with the people. In Hyderabad the UCD project has been successfully implemented in slum improvement and slum housing programmes. The coverage has been wide and has varieties indicating the different levels of social, economic and educational conditions of different communities. Earlier different communities within the same city lived in isolation from one another and their interrelation was marked by prejudies, contempt, jealousies and hatred born of poverty and mutual suspicion strengthened by the barriers of caste, creed and religion. The civic authorities provided basic civic services free but still faced-non-cooperation from the poor and the underprivileged communities.

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There was no rapport between municipal employees and the local community. The CO and the SWs helped to stimulate, guide and sustain teh whole process by working intimately with individuals and groups in the community and bringing in outside help when needed. Undoubtedly the essential skill needed comprises patience, sensitivity and commitment to project aims.

West Bengal Experiment

Since 1989-90 West Bengal has started implementing the centrally-sponsored programme in urban development called Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP), which is an improved version of the earlier programme called Urban Basic Services (UBS) launched under the Seventh Plan in 1985. The Eighth Plan envisages to bring the whole of urban India under the UBSP programme. West bengal's sucess story in US (Since renamed UBSP) has been found in Siliguri municipality in Darjeeling district. Twenty-five more municipalities in five districts have been identified for UBSP programmes in 1990-91.

The objective of the UBSP programme is to enable the urban poor to have access to basic social services such as on-formal and pre-school education, mother and child health care, arranging referal system in health administration, nutrition, suplementation, immunization, assistanc to needy sections of society, cultural and sports activities geared at promoting communal harmony, national integration and civic consciousness. The UBSP is designed to work in harmonious convergence with two other programmes of urban development viz. Environment Improvement of Urban Slumsn (EIUS) for improving physical amenities and Nehru Rojgar Yojana (NRY) for generating income and employment of the urban poor. The target group of UBSP is the urban poor living in poverty pocket or low income neighbourhood or slum, especially the women, children, people of scheduled caste/tribe, backward caste people and minorities. The most novel feature of UBSP is community participation implied in organization of local communities into neighbourhood committees nurtured by field-level staff of municipalities.

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The organizational leadership for UBSP is to come from the municipal authority but the pre-condition of this programme is to enlist the participation of the implimentation. The entire emphasis has been put in building organizations at the grossroots level in such a way as to ensure community participation for community development.

The first stage in the UBSP organiszation is to constitute a Neighbourhood Group (NHG) comprising the adult females of 20 to 25 families. These women members are to elect the Resident Community Volunteer (RCV) from among themselves. Here minimum qualification is that she must be literate but her essential qualification would be her capacity to motivate local people for participating actively in development projects at all stages. It is her main responsibility to arouse in the local people a sense of self-confidence, development-consciousness and self-depandence. RCV has to establish the vital grassroots liaison between the target group of beneficiaries and the project functionaries. She is not a paid employee of the minicipality and she must enjoy the full trust and confidence of the community she serves.

Next in the organizational hieriarchy is the Neighbourhood Committee (NHC) for 200 to 250 families and comprising 10 RCVs who would elect a chairperson from among themselves. With 10 NHCs there is the Bustee (community) level Committee comprising 100 RCVs. Thus each Bustee Committee works for 2000 to 2500 families, and is assisted by a paid full-time Community Organiser (CO). As the key functionary in UBSP, the CO is responsible for maintianing regular contact with the families under his charge and th mass organizations, women's organizations and voluntary associations active in the area for identifying the priorites in socio-economic development of the slum-dwellers concerned. As the leader of the RCVs, th CO has to organise the different services under UBSP and draw the Mini-Action Plan at the bustee (community) level. Recruited by the municipality the CO must be a woman, preferably a graduate and a bustee-dweller and she receives a consolidated monthly pay of about Rs. 1000/-. For every five COs there is a

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Project Officer (PO) looking after 500 RCVs and 10,000 to 12,500 families in buste areas in the town. He draws up the larger bustee action plan called Town Action Plan. Recruited by the municipality as an ad hoc project employeee, the PO has the dual responsibility to see that the COs and the RCVs discharge their responsibilities at their respective levels, and to keep the municipal authorities regularly informed about the progress made and the difficulties encountered in implementing different UBSP projects. A bigger municipality with large number of bustee-dwellers may appoint an Area General Manager (AGM) if the number of POs is three or more.

At the municipal level. the responsibility for UBSP squarely lies with the municipality's chairman who entrusts one of the elected municipal commissioners solely with the UBSP programme. He is advised by a municipality-level UBSP Committee with the municipal chairman as the president and prominent social workers, representatives of mass organizations, officers of concerned departments of the municipality and the representative of the lead bank in the area and others as members. This committee is primarily responsible for coordination and smooth implementation of the UBSP projects. It submits the Town Action Plan to the appropriate district-level committee for approval so that necessary harmony can be achieved between other development plans and UBSP programme.

The thrust of the UBSP programme is the fight against urban poverty with commity participation of the urban poor themselves so that the traditionally exploited and deprived urban poor, especially busteedwellers, can gain self-confidence and become self-reliant in their fight against socio-economic inequality and economic deprivation through their own community efforts. Initially the UBS used to be financed on the formula of matching contributions of the UNICEF (40%), state government (40%) and the central government (20%). It has been proposed that the central government is to give hundred per cent assistance for UBSP under the Eights Plan, but UNICEF would finance the training components (personnel and equipments) of the UBSP.

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In West Bengal the Siliguri municipality has been implementing the UBS/UBSP programme since 1985. The experience gained so far is two-fold: first, degree of popular response is quite encouraging with a high-level involvement of the urban poor at the grassroots level and, secondly, the political parties in a democratic polity can easily reach the urban poor and achieve considerable success in political mobilization and political recruitment. Mobilizaiton of 500 RCVs working at the grassroots level and building rapport with more than 10,000 families for ensuring community participation for urban development has been itself proved to be a great political success also.

The philosophy of communty participation has today become an essential component of urban development strategy in developing countries. Recently another bustee improvement project in Calcutta, sponsored by the British Overseas Development Agency on the occasion of the city's tercentenary, has plced emphasis on it. The BODA has gifted Rs. 100 crore exclusively for improving the living conditions in Calcutta's slums to be spent towards (i) improving physical infrastructural amenties, (ii) developing community health services, and (iii) ensuring communty development through communty participation.

Conclusion

The community development approach is a useful one for providing community services with grassroots participation in their identificaiton, implementation and maintance. Community participation as development technique is extremely suitable for decentralised planning and delivery of selected community services at relatively low cost and is replicable in other fields of socio-economic development. The Hyderabad scheme did not bring out community organizations on self-sustaining basis to look after a wide range of community-level services and amenities. The West Bengal scheme aims at achieving this objective.

Experience of urban community development through com-

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munity participation suggestes that such efforts constitute a useful process to train the poorer sections of society in self-help and mutual cooperation. Community particiation can bring about considerable improvement of local physical and social environment and develop inner strength, organizaticnal discipline, and self-reliance of the community which learns to solve day-to-day problems through concerted voluntary community efforts, seekng outside assistance wherever necessary. In a country like India this approach has definite relevance because here urban population is highly heterogeneous, a large part of which is illiterate and economically as well as socially underprivileged, and communty cohesion is not very high.

Given the basic support by the government and municipal authorities, local community efforts can go a long way to improve the physical environment and enrich the social and cultural life of its members. But if services like water supply, garbage removal, drainage & sewerage, lighting are not provided, the result of urban community development would proportionately suffer and frustration would be inevitable.

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TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES : PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIP

Mahendra Prasad Singh

"The gradual development of the principle of equality is, therefore, a providential fact. It has all the chief characteristics of such a fact : it is universal, it is lasting, it constantly eludes all human interferences, and all events as well as all men contribute to its progress.

Would it, then, be wise to imagine that a social movement the causes of which lie so far back can be checked by the efforts of one generation ? Can it be believed that the democracy which has overthrown the feudal system and vanquished Kings will retreat before tradesmen and capitalists ? Will it stop now that it has grown so strong and its adversaries so weak ?"

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I. New York : Vintage Books, p. 6.

I

The epistles quoted above from one of the classics in American political studies may be regarded as a sort of wringing declaration of economic independence. It is, however, amusing that, even though de Tocqueville devoted three chapters to political parties and liberty of the press and political association in the United States around the second quarter of the nineteenth century, he did not mention trade unions per se. "The two chief weapons that parties use", he writes, "in order to obtain success are the newspapers and public associations" (de Toqueville, 1945, p. 187). Trade unions could, of course, be construed to be subsumed under "public associations". Nonetheless, it is evident

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that trade unions had to wait even longer than political parties as valid and legitimate instruments of interest articulation and aggregation in the evolution of democracy and socialism.

The situation is really not much different in European classic, Robert Michels *Political Parties* (first published in 1911). Even Michels did not have much to say on the patterns of relationship between parties and trad unions; he dilated more on class origins of socialist party leadership and their dispositional and behavioural attributes. The only major observation of Michels having a bearing on the theme of this paper relates to the syndicalist strain in the European working class militancy of the period:

> "The central feature of the syndicalist theory is found in the demand for direct action on the part of the trade union, enfranchised from the tutelage of socialist leaders predominantly bourgeois in origin, the union being self-sufficient and responsible to itself alone. Direct action means that the proletariat is to pursue its aims without the intermediation of parliamentary representation. Syndicalism is described as the apotheosis of proletarian autonomy" (Michels, 1962, p. 278).

The implication is clear that this extreme syndicalist case apart, party-trade union relationship in Michels classic largely remained a penumbral theme.

Logically, the range of probable patterns of relationship between parties and unions may vary from a party-dominant model to a union-dominant model with a coordinate model lying in between in which both the party and the union are autonomous from each other. Empirically, Leon D. Epstein (1967, pp. 146-52) has drawn attention to at least four patterns prevailing in Western democracies. The first pattern is the one typical of the British Labour Party, and, with minor variations, of the working class parties in Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and Norway. In these countries, since the unions preceded the party and/or provide the major membershp and vote for the party, they have a preeminent status in party organization and affairs. The British practice

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is for the national federation of trade union Congress to affiliate with the National Labour Party, giving the union members the benefit of "double membership' unless one exercises the option of "contracting out". Unlike the British pattern, the Swedish and Norwegian unions affiliate locally with local labour parties instead of doing that with national labour parties (Epstein, 1967, pp. 148-49). The second pattern is discernible in post-War West Germany where socialist inspired unions as well as Catholic unions adopted the stance of party-neutrality with a view to maintaining a trade union movement wedded to a common approach in political and policy matters (Epstein, 1967, p. 149). The third pattern is found in continental Catholic countries, e.g., France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, where socialist communitst unions are affiliated with socialist communist parties, while Catholic unions are aligned with Christian Democratic parties. The trade union movemtn thus stands divided (Epstein, 1967, p. 150). The fourth pattern is exemplifide by the Americal practice in which unions are basically autonomus though they maintain non-structural links with middle class parties, notably the Democratic party (Epstein, 1967, p. 152).

If we look beyond the four typological patterns above and seek tentatively to correlate them with their larger contextual features, we get an interesting hypothesis. Areas of trade union autonomy and primacy vis-a-vis party (the American, British, Scandinavian, and the Australian patterns) appear to be either highly industrialized, or imbued with a reasonably influential left-wing ideology, or settled in a new land unencumbered with a strong feudal and Catholic religious tradition. Conversely, the countries where trade unions play a second fiddle to political parties (the pattern in Germany and continetal Catholic countries) industrialization was a delayed development and feudal and Catholic traditions were strong.

II

Trade unionism in India happens to be a fascinating problem of social science analysis. The literature on the topic is rather sparse, expecially at the grass-roots level. It is also mostly produced with a limited

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theoretical vision. This phenomenon of Indian politics, going back at least to the late 1870s, has had a fairly variegated pattern of evolution that defies simplistic theoretical explanation. We have had six decades of trade union genesis and development under semi-feudalism and colonialism, and four decades of evolution after Independence under a system of "mixed economy" in which state capitalism, capitalism, agrarian capitalism and semifeudalism all coexist in a queer amalgamation. This provides a very rich laboratory for formulating new theories of political development and testing old, half-baked and myopic theories that masquerade as the final words of absolute truth and infallible wisdom. Only tentative explorations in this direction seem to have begun (e.g., Pathy, 1988; Bhattacharjee, 1988).

For the present, my purpose in this paper is limited by its title. The existing patterns of relationship between trade unions and political parties in India today are determineed by the extent of industrialization and uneven patterns of capitalist and state capitalist developments in this country. The gradual beginnings of economic liberalization in the 1980s, and a sharp acceleration in its pace under the minority Congress government headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao, has added or magnified the role of another important factor in this relationship : India's growing integration with the world capitalist system and the growth of multinational capital alongside state and private capital. In addition, the changing agrarian structure and broad demographic developments also have an impact on the patterns of relationship between unions and parties.

The conventional wisdom about party-union relationship in India has been that there has always been a close connection between the two with the party being clearly dominant. This pattern supposed to have prevailed during the colonial period, is said to have continued after Independence as well. All this may appear to be theoretically expected in view of the colonial nature of the economy till 1947 and the still limited extent of industrial development since Independence. The pattern would also seem to be consistent with India's strong feudal tradition and authoritarian family structure.

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However, two interesting features of the Indian trade union scene are here particularly noteworthy. First, as in the case of the party system, the trade union system, too, has gradually moved from a predominant party/union system, to a system of multiple plurality. Indeed, the union system became meaningfully and effectively plural in structure even before the party system did. The party system acquired a multipartisan character at the national level only by the 1989 Lok Sabha elections (Singh, 1990 & 1991). The trade union system has been effectively–not just formally "counting" any union irrespective of its strength–plural at least since 1951 (Pathy, 1988, Table 5.5., p. 126). The data reported in the above source suggest that the situation remained largely unchanged from 1951 to 1978. Table 1 in this paper below presents data on the structure of the trade union system in the 1980s. With a little calculation it can

TABLE 1

MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN 1980 AND THEIR PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Trade Union	No. of Unions	Membershuip	Party
INTUC	1,604	22,36,128	INC(I)
BMS	1,333	12,11,345	BJP
HMS	426	7,62,882	Socialists
UTUC(LS)	134	6,21,359	Non-Communist Left
NLO	172	2,46,540	Gandhians
UTUC	175	1,65,614	Non-Communist Left
TUCC	65	1,23,048	Non-Communist Left
NFITU	80	84,123	Non-Party
AITUC	1,080	3,44,746	CPI
CITU	1,474	3,31,031	CPI-M
Total	6,543	61,26,816	

NOTES : Only verified figures of number of unions and membershuip, rather than the claimed cones, are reported here. Often the two figures are widely discrepant. The figures relating to INTUC and BMS do not include those of 13 FBMS and

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one INTUC unions in the Posts & Telegraphs Department, pending scrutiny of objects raised against them.

SOURCE : Government of India, *General Verification Results of Membership of Central Trade Union Organizations As on 31.12.1980.* (New Delhi : Ministry of Labour, Office of the Chief Labour Commissioner (Central), 1985), p. 1.

be seen that only counting the national federations of unions with a membership of three hundred thousand +, at least six central organizations divide among themselves at least five per cent of above of the total unionized working class; INTUC 36.5%, BMS 19.8%, HMS 12.5%, UTUC (LS) 10.1%, AITUC 5.6%, and CITU 5.4%). Indeed, it is interesting to observe that even before Independence the labour scene displayed a remarkable maturity and diversity of perspectives on trade unionism.[1]

The second remarkable feature about trade unionism in India is the growing trend towards union-autonomy from party domination. True, the dominant pattern still happens to be one of close connection between major parties and major unions (Table 1 above). The two largest national federations of Unions–INTUC and BMS–are affiliated with the Congress and BJP. The support of the centrist Congress party and the right-wing Hindu communal BHP by the vast majority of unionized workers, leaving the communist, socialist, and other left unions in the cold with relatively smaller memberships, is divergent with the pattern in Western European democracies where unions electorally contribute in a big way to the success of socialist/communist parties. In any case, there has been evident in India a slow and feeble trend of growing union-autonomy from party control.

This optimistic observation is sustained by a number of inter-related developments, Some of these older and others more recent. In addition to some unions being professedly non-party (e.g., NFITU), some developments in the party system have tended to free some unions from the tutelage of the parties they had earlier been aligned with. For example, with the virtual disappearance of a conventional socialist party from the Indian political scene by the 1970s, we are left

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with some socialist trade union leaders (e.g., George Fernandes) rather than any party per se providing any tutelage to the HMS. The NLO led by Gujarat Gandhians may also be put in the category of independent unions. Besides, a notably new kind of unionism has appeared on the secene in the recent decades. Their emergence seems to be related to two features of conventional working class movement in the country: (1) oligarchical bossism and corruption of the established trade unions and their nexus with parties; and (2) adventurist working class militancy that proved to be abortive. The new unions emerged in the vacuum thus created concentrating on essentially sectional and local/regional issues of the workers in a plant, in an industry, in a region. They are led by a new militant breed of union leaders, often maintaining a respectable distance from political parties. Some of them may also be ideologically oriented, but others may be coldly pragmatic. A.K. Roy, Datta Samant, Sankar Neogy, and others are the acases in point.[2] They thrive on widespread discontent and spontaneous resistance of workers in an industry or a region, and have virtually displaced the established unions and parties in their limited areas of operation. However, they appear to be vulnerable in at least three ways: (1) Being confined to a section of the working class in a region, their militancy is unfortified by a wider working class solidarity against repression by the state; (2) such new unions also appear to be overtly dependent on some individual cult-figures rather than yet institutionalized organizations; (3) the striking power of these new militant unions seems to be buoyed by the transient phenomenon of a working class which is yet to be fully de-peasantized.

Trade-union in India thus face two major dilemmas that are not very easy to ovrcome. First, they must align with political parties to gain political leverage in a society that is highly inegalitarian and authoritarian. And yet a very close identification of a union with a political party is not in the ultimate interest of either. If a union becomes too closely linked with a political party, especially when the latter happens to be the ruling party, the union's leewy to articulate the interest of its clientele is circumscribed. Conversely, if a party becomes too closely identified with workers, its ability to appeal to other seg-

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ments of voters is reduced. Secondly, unions must contend with the dilemma between "economism" (concern with the limited economic needs of workers) and the broader objective of the working class to transform the capitalist system.

NOTES

1. To quote E.A. & Uma Ramaswamy (1981, p.90): "Ideological dissension in the labour movement began with a few years of the AITUC coming into being. There were three distinct ideological groups in the trade union federation: communists led by M.N. Roy and Dange, nationalists led by Gandhi and Nehru, and moderates led by N.M. Joshi and V.V. Giri. There were serious differences between these three groups on such major issues as affiliation to international bodies, the attitude to be adopted towards British rule and the nature of the relationship between trade unions and the broader political movement. The communists wanted to affiliate the AITUC to such leftist international organizations as the League Against Imperialism and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. The moderates wanted affiliation with the I.L.O. and the International Federation of trade Unions based in Amsterdam. The nationalists argued that the affiliation with the latter organizations would amount to the acceptance of perpetual dominion status for the country under British hegemony. Similarly, the three groups saw the purpose of the labour movement from entirely different points of view. The party ideology was supreme to the communists, who saw the unions only as instruments for furthering this ideology. For the nationalists, Independence was the ultimate goal and they expected the trade unions to make this their priority as well. The moderates, unlike the first two, were trade unionists at heart. They wanted to pursue trade unionism in its own right and not subjugate it completely to broader political aims and interests".

2. To name some of these new unions, Sarmik Sangathan in

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Dhulia district in Maharashtra, Bhumi Sena in Thane district in Maharashtra, Chharta Yuva Sangharsh Vahini in Bodh Gaya in Bihar, Bihar colliery Kamgar Union in Dhanbad in Bihar, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in South Bihar, Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh in Madhya Pradesh, etc. See Party (1988, pp. 128-29), Bakshi (1986).

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ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION, REGENERATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : THE NEED FOR A NEW LOOK

C.S. Sood
M.M. Semwal

The publication of Rachel Carson's book, *The Silent Spring*, some three decades ago, unleashed a wave of environtal sentimentalism. Hysteric in nature, this sentimentalism has broadly sought to approach the problem with utter single minded retrograde emotions. Scientists all over the world, acting more on impulse, have been seeking to add ever larger number of items to the list of dont's. This is not to argue that the concern is unfounded, but to suggest that the same norms and standards cannot be applied to every country irrespective of its state of development or socio-economic condition and that the environment cannot be taken into account without giving due consideration to man as an integral part of the scheme of things. The fact is that stress in the environment is not always and essentially a sign of destruction. Bernd Von Droste has observed in this context, "We have tended to look at ecosystems as the outcome of evolution rather than as being constantly subject to evolutionary processes. Disturbance in an ecosystem may well be a moulding, driving force in an evolutionary sense rather than a destructive force."[1]

No doubt the technological explosion of the present century has taken a hevay toll of the global environment. Application of chemicals to agriculture, excessive burning of fossil fuels, expansion of consumer industry and bleeding of natural resources has led to irre-

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versible damage. The scientific community has been able to identify several serious facts about the disturbance of the nutrient, the hydrological and other natural cycles. It is known that the delicately poised atmospheric balance is being threatened by the release of inert and toxic gases, the temperature of the earth is climbing on account of man made green house effects and UV eradiation rates are acquring alarming proportion owning to the damage caused to the thin ozone sphere by the use of CFC and similar agents. All this is no doubt alarming, yet, as pointed out by Jean Dausset, "this situation is not irreversible, since it is largely due to the time-lag between the rapidity of material changes as discoveries are made at increasing speed, and the inertia of mental attitudes whose slow rate of evolution is counted in generations. This significant time lag is causing the current malaise or crisis which we hope, is only a crises of growth".[2] The solution to the present problem, then, lies in seeking to bridge this time-lag through adjusting human physiological and psychological adaptability to the rhythm of inventive creativity.

A lot of the blame for the harrowing environmental situation confronting the mankind at present is placed upon the growth and development of science and technology and its application to the society. This may be true to a certain extent. However, as pointed out by Rosalyns Yalow, "The achievements of science should not be denigrated by an over-emphasis on new problems which these achievements may, in some cases, have introduce. Unfortunately, the problems that persists are those resulting from the unwise use of the gifts of science and technology by governments and those in positions of authority and power."[3] Ironically, the misusers of science and technology themselves are today voicing the crado against these evolutionary forces of the growth and expansion of human knowledge. Governmental agencies are today enforcing illconceived environmental policies with even greater thoughtlessness, haste and lack of understanding than that shown by them in implementing overambitious development programs which relied upon expensive imported technology not always useful in local context. This is likely to produce even worse result for the suffering millions in a develop-

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ing country like India than the denigration of the environmental status has so far produced.

The naked truth is that, thanks to advances in medical sciences life expectancy has increased manifold and infant mortality has declined greatly. This has resulted in a natural increase in population which, in absence of social preparedness to modify the general attitudes towards progination, has caused a virtual population explosion. This growth in population has meant more mouths to feed, more bodies to clothe and more heads to shelter. This has been placing ever increasing demands upon our hebitat which the global environment can hardly withstand. The problem in this context, as pointed out by James Baker, is that "Whereas in the past increasing energy and food requirements could be met by expansion of frontiers, use of chemicals for fertilizers and pesticides and by using available reserves of gas and oil, the finite dimensions are today being confronted by the finite dimensions of the world. We are at the point where we affect both regional and global climate."[4] This paradoxical situation confronts the world with dilema of protecting the habitability of our planet without compromising the development and maintainence of decent standards of living.

The international situation, grave as it is, has two different and antagonistic manifestations. On the one side are the highly deveoped countries, standards of living in which are considerably high, which have largely been responsible for the initial down slide and which are now leading the international movement for conservation of world environment. On the other side are developing countries like India, living standards in which are exceptionally low, which in their zealousness to reap the benefits of development for their people have been responsible for an accelaration of the destructive process and which are now finding it difficult to adjust their development programmes to the absorptive and regenerative capabilities of natural environment. It is this second set of countries which are faced with a much worse challenge. On the one hand they face the task of alleviating poverty, on the other hand, they can ill-afford to ignore the responsibility of conserving the environment for ensuring the

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habitability of the world for future generations. Important as the second considration may seem, it cannot be materialized, without achieving the first objective. This view is vindicated by the Brundtland commission report, which has observed, "A World in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophies".[5]

In brief, conservation of environment means nothing to a starving man. No amount of laws and educational campaigns can prevent the poor from snatching a living from nature. The basic question remains, 'environment for whom?' If the man is denied the right to live, what good would it be to conserve the environment. This scenario can be understood by examining the example of Garhwal Himalaya.

Garhwal, the western most section of northern U.P. lies between 29°, 26′, 31°28′ N and 77° 49′, 80° 62′ E. Generally rugged, this Himalayan zone is representative of almost the entire range of mountain land froms and climatic types. Abounding in natural beauty, Garhwal has been blessed with the richest of treasures of Himalayan flora and fauna. Yet, its people are a miserable lot as, despite being robbed of their rich forest resources by external business interests, they have not been able to earn the benefits of development in return. "Even if there were a word to describe the most backward of people it would have been inadequate to engender the inexplicable misery suffered by the poor Garhwalis. The region has remained neglected even after independence and the conditions here are reminiscent of the exploitative feudal and colonial rule. Even today 75.3% of the total working population in the region is involved in agricultural activities and 77.1% in primary Sector, while only 3.7% of the total workers are industrial workers".[6]

The total land area of this Himalayan fortress is 30090 Sq. Km. The total population of the five districts falling within this land mass in 2453000 (1981). The average density of population in the area is just a shade above 108% persons per Sq. Km.

The district wise details of land area and population distribution in Garhwal are shown in Table 1.

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Table 1

District wise land area, population and population density distribution in Garhwal. (Projection 1989-90)

S. No.	Distt.	Land area in Sq. Km.	Population in (,000)	Population density per Sq. Kms.
1.	Chamoli	9,125	432	47
2.	Dehradun	3,088	951	308
3.	Garhwal	5,440	707	130
4.	Tehri	4,421	594	134
5.	Uttarkashi	8,016	234	29
		30,090	2918	97

59.19% of the total land area of Garhwal is classified as forest land. This, however, includes degraded forest, alpine grassland and at times even barren waste land and perpetually snow bound areas. Land sat imagery of the two divisions of Garhwal and Kumaon shows that this area should actually be some where around 48.62% of the total geographic area. Further, the basel cover and tree density are far from satisfactory in most of the woodland. In fact the actual tree cover is well below 33% at present and some studies place it as low as 23.2%. The district wise distribution of forest land in Garhwal and the status of forest land based on land sat imagery in Uttarkhand are shown in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

District wise distribution of forest land in Garhwal (in Sq. Km.)

S. No.	District	Under forest Deptt.	Private	Puncha-yati	Minis pal & Cantt.	Total	Percen-tage.
1.	Chamoli	3704.86	1043.00	521.49	-	5269.35	57,74
2.	Dehradun	1954.89	148.00	-	-	2102.89	68.10
3.	Garhwal	2469.22	1806.00	376.04	6.07	4657.33	85.61
4.	Tehri	1495.74	516.00	-	204.90	2216.64	50.14
5.	Uttarkashi	2694.26	870.00	-	-	3564.26	44.36
		12318.97	4383.00	897.53	210.97	17810.47	59.19

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Table 3

Gradiant based distribution of forest land

S. No.	Gradiant	Forest land in Sq. Kms.
1.	Above 50°	11202
2.	30° to 50°	7898
3.	10° to 30°	552
4.	Below 10°	5205
	Total	24857

It can be seen that 37.95% of the total forest area of Garhwal occurs in Dehradun and Garhwal, while these two districts taken together account for only 28.35% of the total geographic area of the region. Rest of the 62.05% of forest land in distributed rather unevenly over the remaining 71.28% of the geographic area shared by the three districts of Chamoli, Tehri and Uttarkashi. Looking at the data from another angle, it can be noticed that only 49.59% of the forest land occurs in the two districts of Chamoli and Uttarkashi despite their accounting for as much as 56.96% of the total geographic area. Obviously one can see that the problem of enviromental degradation resulting from depletion of forest is likely to be much more severe in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts both of which lie in the most sensitve zone, i.e., the greater Himalaya. Ironically neither of these two districts are faced with tight land availability position as the density of population is a mere 47 persons and 29 persons per Sq. Km. respectively. Another important fact is that more than 45% of the forest land, as shown by land sat emagery is made up of slopes with a gradiant of more than 50°. It is this particular section of forest land which is the most severely threatened. This is because depletion of forest on steep slopes of such description has caused surface run off rates to increase drastically triggering of an irreversible soil erosion mchanism. Unfortunatly, most of these steep slopes, in case of Garhwal, occur in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts in which lies the catchment area of the ganges and its tributeries. It is virtually impossible to reclaim loaded land and restore it to the forest cover. This is why the over senstive conservationist policies have had to be adopted towards the left over forest cover in chamoli and

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Uttarkashi districts in particular and the entire Garhwal in general.

The forest department, the wasteland development board, the watershed managment project and several voluntary agencies have been working to aforest degraded forest land. All of them, make tall claims about their aforestation efforts. However, if they really had planted all the trees they claim to have planted and if all of them had survived, the entire forestland of Garhwal could hav been planted several times over. The claims are but not true. The survival rates of seedlings and saplings being planted are disappointingly low. Aforestation efforts are not meeting with much success and the vegetation cover is degrading further. Two sets of reasons are responsible for this. The first of them is related to social conditions and the second to the errors of policy planning.

As already submitted, the people of the region, particularly in the rural areas lead a life of utter poverty. Their main occupation is agriculture. Given small holding, unscientific land use practices and topographic and climatic constraints, it does not afford them even a subsistance economy. The picture becomes still more bleak on account of a near total absense of mentionable industry in the region. Despite a lot of talk, few honest efforts at salvaging the situation have so far been made. The result is that there is a gaping disparity between the hill region and the rest of the state, with respect to several important measurable indices, as can be seen from table 4, which is based on the data for the eighth decade and which have not changed considerably since then.

Table 4

Factors showing disparities between hill region and the rest of U.P.

Sl. No.	Item	Hill region	Rest of U.P.
1.	Primary Sector workers	77.1%	78.0%
2.	Secondary Sector workers	4.5%	7.9%
3.	Electricity Consumption (1976) per capita/kilowatt	75.5%	86.4%
4.	No. Of workers per million of population in registered industrial units (1976-77)	3540	6290

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5.	Percentage of industrial produce to total net output (1975-76) at 1960-61).	7.9%	17.71%
6.	Proportion of industrial workers to total workers (1971)	3.7%	7.3%
7.	Proportion of industrial workers (other than household workers to total workers (1971)).	2.1%	3.6%

The status of agriculture in the region, as already stated, in exceptionally poor. Agriculturel land, as shown in table 5, accounts for a negligible portion of the total land area. To this is added the fact that methods employed for optimising crop production have not been applied on account of a variety of reasons. A glanse at the figures projected in table 6 shows that the entire hill region of Uttar Pradesh is far behind the rest of the state in such areas as fertilizers application and consumption of electricity for agricultural purposes. Given such conditions, the vast majority of local people, reliant upon agriculture, can only be expected to be living below poverty line. The gravity of the situation can to some extant, be comprehended by evaluating the true meaning of the district wise figures of per capita gross domestic product projected in table 7. This is the primary reason behind a virutually incessant exodus of able bodied male working population from Garhwal and Kumaon alike.

Table 5
District wise distribution of Agricultural land in relation to geographic area.

Sl. No.	District	Geographic Area	Agricultural land (%)
1.	Chamoli	9,125	4.21
2.	Dehradun	3,088	17.61
3.	Garhwal	5,440	15.13
4.	Tehri	4,421	8.14
5.	Uttarkashi	8,016	3.69
	Total	30,090	9.55

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Table 6

Measurable indices showing disparities between the hill region and the rest of U.P. in the field of agriculture.

S.No.	Measurable Indices	Hill region.	State
1.	Electricity consumption in agriculture (1976-77) per capita/kilowatts.	3.90	19.00
2.	Consumption of electricity (1976-77) per hectare/kiloatt	14.90	79.69
3.	Consumption of Fertilizer (1976-77) per hectare/kg.	21.84	36.82
4.	Gross Value of Agricultural produce per agricultural workedr (1975-76)	Rs. 1767	Rs. 1964
5.	Percentage of area sown to net reporting area (1977-78)	13.68	59.17
6.	percentage of gross irrigated area to gross cropped area (1976-77)	23.50	42.10

Table 7

District wise annualised, per capita gross domestic product figures based on 1970-71 prices.

S.No.	District	Gross domestic product in Rs.		
		1970-71	1980-81	1981-82
1.	Chamoloi	645	506	482
2.	Dehradun	253	368	324
3.	Garhwal	334	351	335
4.	Tehri	368	372	314
5.	Uttarkashi	620	757	613

The perusal of the data projected in tables 4-7 clearly shows that the overall economic condition of the region is despicable. Table

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7 shows that things are generally going from bad to worse. It can be seen that the G.D.P. figures indicate a static or declining trend in the entire regions with the exception of Dehradun. A positive trend, after 1981 census, is visible only in Dehradun district. If the G.D.P. is viewed against available agricultural land position and official environmental policies, the picture becomes vivid. A cross check between tables 5 and 7 shows that the ratio of agricultural land to geographic area is most positive in Dehradun district, where a growth in G.D.P. has been registered. At the second place, from this viewpoint is Garhwal district, G.D.P. in which has more or less tended to be constant. In the remaining three districts agricultural land amounts to less than 10% of the geographic area, a fact which can be held responsible for declining G.D.P. levels. If to this consideration is added the fact that during the late 70's and early 80s, the governmental policies towards forest managment and exploitation changed considerably, the situation can be understood better. Commercial felling of forest was brought to a near total halt. Grazing was restricted severely affecting sheep population adversely. Where as the relatively broader agricultural base of Dehradum District coupled with the economic growth of Dehradum city and its setallites made it possible to absorb this shock, the inadequcy of agricultural land in absence of urban development led to visible adverse effects for the economy of Chamoli, Tehri, Uttarkashi districts. The purpose of pointing out this fact is that a community which is highly dependent on forest produce cannot be expected to respond positively to conservationist and restorative policies unless its economy is restructured.

So far as the question of the correctness of prevailing environmental policies is concerned, one notices several serious flaws. First of all, these policies do not appear to be taking into account the basic energy needs of the people. It can be seen that the people are being asked to keep away from forests which are the principal source of fuel for them without being provided any positive and cheap alternative to fire wood. The fuel load is, infact, considerable. A recent study[7] conducted on village Lata of district Chamoli (now

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within Nanda Devi biosphere reserve) as can be seen from table 8 shows that this is an important factor.

Table 8

Annual fuel requirement (dry weight) of village Lata in Dhauli Ganga Valley.

1.	Average fuel Consuption in summer (per capita/day)	2.8 Kg.
2.	Average fuel Consumption in winter (per capita/day)	3.65 Kg.
3.	Average annual per capita fuel consumption	1024.80 Kg.
4.	Total annual fuel consumption of the village	375 tonnes

The people cannot be asked to go without fuel and as long as the forest is the principal source fuel, it would be virtually impossible to restrain them from causing damage to the sensitive tree cover. The people will keep on flaunting the law as they do not have any alternative. In such a social environment, environmental policies aimed at creating protected zones will keep on meeting with failure on account of local noncooperation.

In the second place, these policies have proved both self defeating and isatrous for local people. Grazing has bee banned in areas considered to be eco,ogically sensitive with the objective of giving the endagered flora an op-portunity of regenerating under conditions of preservation. The result however, have infact been retrograde. Several weeds and sturdy plants, which were previously kept in check by grazing have become dominant, thus reducing survival possibility for endangred species. The case of the valley of flowers is a glowing example of this situation. Its ecological status has declined since its closure in early 80s. It has been reported "Persicaria Polystachya has spread into the valley drastically and is now covering a major area there. In fact the steeper slopes have been occupied almost entirely by this species where its frequency reaches as high as 100%. Considering the valley proper as a whole, it has covered near-

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ly 30% of the area with a relative dominance of about 81.45%".[8] It would not be surprising if similar trends come to notice in the Nanda Devi biosphere reserve and similarly protected ecological zones.

The stoppage of grazing has had serious consequences for the sheep rearers and people engaged in wool industry. The number of sheep heads has declind on account of distress selling and the wool industry is facing a shortage of raw material. This has hit local economy hard prticularly in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts. The overall economic impact of this ill conceived official decision will be fully known only after post 1991 census figures are fully interpreted and evaluated. Yet, it can be observed that things are expected to go from bad to worse in the districts with a declining G.D.P., as , the halt to timber production alone, as can be seen from the trend visible from table 7, has proved to be a strong negative factor in local economy.

A close evaluation of available alpine grass lands of the region, (table 9), shows that there is little need for such extreme policies as have been adopted towards the valley of flowers with counter productive results. This opinion gains strength when the available grass lands in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts (the former attracting more attention as Nanda Devi biosphere reserve and the valley of flowers fall within it), are viewed in the context of local sheep and goat population (table 10). Obviously there exists a positive relation between the grass lands and sheep population. In fact, proof of the possibility of successfully increasing sheep population has been found in terms of the total carrying capacity of high altitude pastures. A recent study,[9] as may be seen from tables 11 and 12, shows that this is particularly true of the Joshimath block of District Chamoli within which fall almost all the villages of the most sensitive ecological zone of Garhwal Himalaya.

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Table 9

Area of Alpine grass lands of Garwal (in Sq. Kms.)

S.No.	Forest Division	Alpine grass land
1.	Uttarkashi	788
2.	Tauns	190
3.	Yamuna	17
4.	Tehri	127
5.	Northern Garhwal & Chamoli	374
	Total	1496

Table 10

Sheep population in relation to available pastures in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts.

S.No.	District	Sheep population			Available pasture land
		1972	1982	1988	(ha)
1.	Chamoli	1,03,923	97,568	88,264	62,171
2.	Uttarkashi	60,886	95,825	28,740	14,334

Table 11

Existing sheep and goat grazing pressure in Joshimath Block of District Chamoli.

1.	Total summer pastureland	7,322 ha.
2.	Population of sheep	17,272
3.	Population of goat	9,326
4.	Total population of sheep and goat	26,598
5.	Existing grazing pressure	363 animal/ha
6.	Area for an individual animal to graze	0.275 animal/ha

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Table 12

Forage production and carrying capacity of selected Alpine pastures in relation to sheep and goat requirements.

Sites	Standard animal requirement (dry-weight) (kg/day)	Production of Forage/hac (kg/day)	Carrying Capacity potential (animal/ha)
A	1.26	7.69	6.0
B	1.29	9.47	7.4
C	1.30	15.43	12.1

A = Lata;
B = Niti;
C = Dronagiri.

Another potentially disastrous consequence of stopping grazing in ecologically sensitive area is enhanced avalanche risk, Leo Lienert, writing about the Alps has pointed out, "Long, withered grass lying flattened in a down hill direction forms a surface that favours sliding and thereby increases the risk of avalanches".[10] The consequences of this natural phenomenon are highly destructive. Lienert remindes, "When snow freezes clinging to stalks of dry grass which have been left unmown in the autumn, an avalanche will carry down all the geass with it and, even more important, all the top soil in which it is growing. After such a disaster, only bare rock of loose stones remain. The descending avalanche becomes a rushing mass of earth and mud. In its wake, nothing will grow and the gaping wound will not heal, the scar mearly spreads as the years go by. Gradually the whole region becomes defenceless against even greater torrents of snow, mud and stones and all because the grass on the slopes was no longer used."[11] There is no reason to support that what is true of the Alps will not be true of the Himalaya in this particular context. It can be expected that serious erosion will take place in ecologically sensitive high altitude areas with disastrous consequences as a result of mindless prohibition of grazing in alpine pastures.

It is more than obvious from the dissection of the case of Garhwal presented in the foregone pages that the answer to the problem of evironment management does not lie exclusively in the field of conservationsim.

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In fact, in the case of a developing society, the real solution lies in reorganizing the economic structure so as to alleviate poverty. Rash conservationism is not only bound to fail in its objective but is also most likely to trigger of serious economic disorder. The need is, therefore, to cast a fresh look on present environmental policies in order to adjust them to socio-economic needs and structures. Only by adopting such an approach can we hope to save the fragile balance of global environment.

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FACING THE WORLDWIDE DECLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT STATE : REACTIONS OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Pradeep K. Saxena

The development state has been a reccuring theme in the literature of political economy more particularly in the context of developing countries because failures of socialistic state and mixed economy, political instability, governments; inability to take hard decisions, socio-cultural problems of the developing societies and significant unwarranted changes at the global level have forced the political economists to redesign their political theories and development models to get appropriate results and indigenous techniques. Besides this, a very peculiar problem exists with the developing countries that they want the technological advancements, which exist in the western, world, without sacrificing or paying any sociocultural cost. Moreover the deep-rooted corruption, bureaucratic bottlenecks and religious and communal sentiments of these societies aggravated the problems of the development state. Moreover, the absence of national character, commitment to certain basic norms of human life and poor perception and understanding of decision-makers about the developmental problems have put up the development economists in a very helpless position towards the developing societies.

In the specific context of India, the problems of development and the state must be viewed in terms of its sociocultual setting and its politico–administrative structures. India as a state must be interpreted in its historicity and tradition while developmental process may be studied as a way of modernising traditions. India as a development state is a state of contradictions, controversies and conflicts. The reasons will discussed in the following paragraphs but the

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paramount reasson seems to us is, at present, that Westminster model is absolutely irrelevant to the country as well as to the society. In this paper, it has been our endeavour to discuss those aspects which are directly bearing on our failures, inabilities, incapacities and minor successes. The political developments and technological advancements and their impact upon the country have been discussed but we, simultaneously, also focussed our attention over the economic compulsions. Therefore, our basic thems of the paper is that the inabilities of the politico-administrative system have been responsible for the decline of the development state.

I

Development state is, Now-a-days, seen as a costly enterprise in terms of the investment of efforts, resources, capital and labour on the one hand and in terms of automatic response, sophisticated act and production of civilised human culture on the other also. It also requires patience, understanding and courage to decide matters arbitrarily. It is also considered as a inable system to yield magic results. Besides, this, making substantial progress both in economic sphere and national unity as well as in achieving consensual model of polity is a far-reaching task for it. Moreover, the compulsions of the competitive world market economy have closely tied up the hands of the development state. Further, the shrinking of the world in terms of communication means, the tensions and conflicts emerging in the development state are magnified far more effectively than the diffusion of constructive skills and attitudes. Lastly, the emergence of U.S.A. as a single superpower in the world and decline and failure of communisim in U.S.S.R. have significantly influenced not only the power politics at global level but also the ideological base of the development state in terms of strategy, norms and actions. On the whole, the changes emerging at the global level have influenced not only the bases of development state but also altered the basic structure of the state significantly.

Looking at the concept of development state, it appears that state emerged as a force to integrate the institutional aims and objec-

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tives of the different organisational forms of modern society. For integration, state centralised power and economy as well as the society. But, the state's control over science and technology has been negligent. Therefore, the boon of technology brought many changes in the structural forms of the modern society and altered the world view. However, the imbalances between the nature of society and technology have resulted into crime, war, violence and terrorism on the one hand and the emergence of military power, market oriented economy and private sector on the other. Moreover, availability of alternative means of energy, production and control as well as the resources have provided ample opportunity to the individual and the society not the depend upon the state for their development. Beside this, the technological advancement has, to some extent, rationalised the forms of society on the one hand and united the different races of human king against each other on the other. Consequently, the division of the world into four worlds has generated a sense of racial discrimination based on colour, religion and location i.e. USA and its allies, USSR and its allies, Asian Cultures, and African cultures. On the whole, international politics in the politics of dominance, governance and control. The tragedy is that the third world countiries are trying to participate in this game and the new business centres like Hongkong, Singapore, Korea are trying to control the third world economy by providing first class technology. as such, third world states are seemed more trapped in the jungle of confusion, dilemmas and contradiction.

II

Looking at India, we find that the role of of the state can be viewed in terms of sustainable, unsustainable development and its future perspective. Sustainable development took place in those areas which were either created by the British rulers or are conditioned by the socio-culture setting of the Indian society namely the administrative structures and institutions like secretariat system, marriage institution, family institutions etc, While those things which were created or introduced after independence especially after 1960 are still being questioned on the basis of their legitimacy and relevance

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in the changing times. Ironically, it is a matter of serious thought that pre-independece institutions are considered more important not only for the present form of society but also for the future. Therefore, the new things, which were introduced after 1960; are not as stable as the old ones. The reasons of this kind of thinking emerging in the Indian society are: first, Indians are not ready to face the conflices, tensions and problems to restore a new form of society in the changing times: second the religious sentiments are so strong which do not permit the society to think in global terms, third, a well-knitted social structure through caste, kinship, Varna and Asharam system are compelling to all the persons on the one hand and to the identity of the country on the other; fourth, the rulers emerged in the politico-administrative system are pro-agrarian and profeudal society because they have a fear in mind that they may lose grip and power over society if sustainable development took place in the Indian society. Therefore, governments do not want to introduce those things which can be fruitful to the people forever. And, if the society is to depend on the government's intervention, the state as an agent of change and development will continue but deny the decline of the development state. In India. Basically the Indian society is not able to live without state's intervention in the development process.

Besides all this, the emergence of divisive forces like communalism, regionalism, terrorism etc. have compelled the state not to give a free hand to the Indian society. The Indian administrative system is reacting sharply against the divisive forces but consequently, suspicion ridden relation between administrators and public have accelerated the corruption process and attracted a considerable role of sex, money and violence in administration. Terrorism in the state of Punjab and north eastern states may be interpreted in terms of struggle against the role of state in the development process which is, allegedly, said, based on discrimination, and ethnic preferences.

India cannot affored alenation from the global changes but the internal problems of the country are so acute and difficult, the country, inspite of its desire and willingess could not respond

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favourably. The opening up of Indian economy to the foreign investors and companies can be viewed as a pre-condition of taking billion dollars loan from the IMF. Although, it is interpreted in terms of privatisation of public services and the decline of development state but in India this is not the case. The review of economic policies of the Government of India shows that the Govt. is opening economy for foreign investors on the one hand and imposing restrictions on the Indian investors to continue its bureaucratic control over the economy. Several organistions Banks, agencies and institutions have been created to provide facilities to the foreign investors and to debureaucratise the economic system of the country. But the continuance of the Indian Administrative Service at the top level and their colonial bureaucratic mentality and behaviour could not yield better results. The absence of professionalism, managerialism and open mindedness towards the open economy have now become a bottleneck to the economy.

The reasons of this kind of contradiction and dual posture of Indian Government can be summarised in the following manner : First, the Administrators were considered as an agent of change in the socialist state but now their role is shifted to private enterpreneure-ship and to the capital investors in the open economy. Therefore, the Indian bureaucracy in not prepared for this shift, secondly, the state emerged as a model employer in the economic sector has now lost its place and the private sector occupied its position; third, market–oriented economy is now being governed by economic forces rather than political or governmental forces; fourth, cultural heritage and old traditions are being reinforced to control indiscipline, violence and terrorism but power has its own role to dictate its own terms. However, the dichotomy of modernisation of traditions and traditioning modernity has lost its relevance in the concept of small is beautiful; fifth, information has been considered as a knowledge rather than power in the Indian society, therefore, state is considered as a symbol of power and knowledge is ignored, sixth, a great difference and gap exists between urban and rural masses and administratige behaviour is governed by these considera-

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tions; seventh, planning in economic sector is considered as guide line rather than a approach, methods and strategy; eithth adminsistrative behaviour is highly governed by socio-cultural factors than rules or law. Therefore, it becomes quite difficult, at sometimes, to rationalise the administrative system; Nineth, sex has not been a attractive theme in the development of Indian culture but the increasing role of sex in the Indian society is generating dual standard of adminstration; lastly the manipulative style of Indian administration is considered as a most desirable element of Indian bureaucracy.

In this background, it clearly emerges that; first, the worldwide decline of development state has not been able to put much impact on the Indian Government due to its (Government) solid base of administration or due to bureaurcratic state; second, India is not happy with this decline because it will generate more problems to the developing nations like India in terms of terrorism, violence and breaking up of social order; third, India cannot afford to liberalise its economic sector to the extent of Europe due to its population, poverty and illiteracy; fourth, the colonial administrative structures are so big and heavy which will take a long time to dismantle them; fifth although a cultural incongruity exists between ruling elite and masses but sensibility has emerged in the Indian administrative elite, towards the public problems irrespective of the extent of politicisation; sixth, Indian administrative system in now worried that the Government cannot do alone the welfare of public and private sector must be involved in the development process but the ruling elite is not sure about the limits, competence, ability and performance of private sector; seventh, the Indian administration presumes that privatization would increase the cost of services and, therefore, the poor masses would not be able to utilise the services; eight, it is also assured that competition between public and private sector to provide public services would affect the sovereignty and authority of Government and administration; Ninth, it is also considered that privatization may affect the democratic process in several ways which would be risky to the problems to small scale industries in different ways and unemployment will increase which would, indirectly,

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put the administration in difficult situation; eleventh, privatization of public services would be premature for the country if it is not properly planned and would create chaotic situations in the country; twelve, privatization is a temporary solution, and strategy to the developing countries like India those are facing complex problems relating to their socio-cultural, religious and techonological transformations; and lastly, it is firm view of Govt. and administration that the state ultimately responsible for the development because if any chaotic situation arises in the country, the state will face but not the private sector.

Conclusion :

On the whole it appears that the worldwide decline of development state is the result of unplanned, unpredictable and uncontrolable technological advancement and the states all over the world were not prepared to face it, consequences on politics, society and the individual. Third world countries are also in difficult position but they are able to manage their societies because they are lagging behing in technological advancement. Beside this the difference between western societies and the developing societies is of rationality, humanity and courage. The developing countries like India are facing those problems which Britain, France, Spain have faced in 16th century. Moreover, the developing countries are still unable to find a suitable political system for themselves. Consequently, they are unable to find their path of development and trying to adopt those ways and means which western societies provided or adopted. It is true that western means of development would rather complicate the problems in developing countries.

India's reactions cannot be as favourable as the western societies responded but the society is adoptins western means by integrating the socio-cultural factors (In Rajni Kothari's words–modernising traditions and traditionising modernity) the structural-functional differences of the two world must be kept in mind when we assess the Indian reactions. Further, the colonial legacies, structures and systems have now become a big problem because it is now difficult to

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abolish them, at this juncture on the one hand and to continue them in this changing times. Besides, the communal, regional and separatist tendencies have forced the Indian administration to continue its conventional role even in the modern world. In such situation, we cannot expect a more liberal, open and modern world view from the Indian administration. Even if the Indian is to respond favourably, the society, the political processes and the base of state power would not allow the state to westernise or privatise the development process.

Inspite of these bottlenecks, the government in the last seven (1984-91) years have tried to open its economy for the private sector and for the foreign investors which may be considered as a disruption from the traditional commitment of establishing Socialist State. However, there are two problems which need more attention: first, open economy and colonial bureaucratic structures are contradictory and would struggle against each other to share power of the state; and secondly, population explosion and vastness of the country would provide a big market to the private investors and therefore they would not be able to earn more profit from the export. Besides this, import of technology would remain a big handicap to the private sector because it will be borrowed on the dictated terms and appropriateness. In other words, the supremacy of bureaucratic state will continue in India irrespective of the Worldwide decline of the development state. In India, the needs of the country will be regulated by the bureaucracy and by its socio-cultural setting. Therefore, it is very clear that when a society cannot transform its social system in the context of changing technology, the relevance of the state in development will continue. India needs drastic changes in its social system and hard-decision-making government at the Centre. India can provide a hope to the World but cannot give assurance. We are making untiring efforts but it will take time to compete with the Western world despite its Ninth position in the industrialised countries of the World.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT : THE GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Sudhir Jacob George

International conflicts including war, time and again demostrate the inescapable basic characteristics of International society, an anarchic and potentially eruptive structure frequently permeated by overt violence. If conflicts of interest within a civil society even those of a principal and antagonistic nature, may be stripped of their explosive character within the frame of the nation-state and channelled into 'peaceful' directions by various institutional and legally binding arrangements for avoiding recourse to the open use of force–conflicts of interest in international society have been interpreted as a social basis for which a kind of open violence might emerge, a violence far more difficult to contain and to counteract in this setting than within the nation-state. If such violence breaks out, there is usually no decisive preventive by a superior and sovereing institution within the international setting which could thus secure 'peace' in a manner conforming to our traditional understanding'.[1]

Several theories and public statements, reckon international society as a social order deficient in several respects. It is assumed deficient with respect to its inadequate basis in law and loyalty; deficient as far as ability to regulate conflict–in the sense that these conflicts of interest ought to be solved without involving violence; deficient also with respect to ability to adjust cognitively and organizationally to changed power configuration and dynamic devel-lopements provoked particularly by technological progress.[2] Thus international society is also reckoned to be deficient as far as the disparities prevailing in it are concerned: production, income dis-

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tribution and welfare measures are much more unequal, then in most highly developed national and industrial societies.[3]

If we take the average nation state as an ideal, or atleast apply a certain idealized image of it to the analysis of international society, then the latter may be characterized as a structure of disorder and chaos, at best a fragile system potentially always at the point of collapse. It certainly does not represent a particularly viable organization. Even traditional efforts of strengthen and secure this deficient social order, aimed at improving its viability and its potential for autonomous change, seem instead to strengthen the existing basic structure or have only a marginal impact on it. The attempts at strengthening social order on the basis of conventional military security policies leads, today as never before to international arms races. The second marginal changes may occassionally be observed in the case of international organization through which, according to the general understanding, cooperative elements should be incorporated into this deficient social order. These elements consist of psycological and institutional bounds of loyalty transcending the nation state. They consist further in provision for conflict regulation, on the basis of supra and international organization designed to contribut either to solving conflicts of interests be-fore these become virulent, or as devices of conflicts mediation if these have alredy esclated to actual use ot violence.

Conflict Formation in Contemporary International Society : Structural Features Capitalisn and Globalization of International Politics

The history of international society is identical with the development of modern capitalism and world wide anticapitalist movements, on a world scale provoked by the existence of capitalism. The globalization of international politics has, emerged from the classical nation states of Europe and their dynamics caused by the development of capitalism. What appears today to be a world wide inter-dependency is to no small extent due to colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The dynamic poles of this development have always been the metropoles of Europe, which

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themselves have competed among each other for leading positions since the Sixteenth Century.[4] The growing predominance of capitalist countries led to the rise of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialist movements. Over time with the emergence of the Soviety Union in 1917 and Communist China in 1949, the socio-economic antagonism between capitalism and socialism was augmented; this in turn promoted the globalization of international politics and also international conflicts.

International Conflict Formation

a) The East-West Divide

Since the arms race between the Socialist world and the West began, since the era of the cold war, the gulf between the two has widened and today encompasses the whole world. Notwithstanding the radical transformation taking place in the Soviet Union and the other East European socialist states, we will continue to face incompatible interests and perhaps variants of the erstwhile tension and conflict between the capitalist metropoles i.e. United States and Western Europe with the now transformed states of Eastern Europe and the emerging states of the erstwhile monolith, the Soviet Union.

On this basis we might project that despite all the apparent 'cooperation euphoria' in Central Europe and between the 'East' and West in general, it will be difficult to develop a solid basis for genuinely peaceful cooperation. What can be observed today as cooperation-Contractual agreements about terriorial status-quo, technology transfer, joint ventures, increased trade flows, etc., will to a great extent reduce the simmering cold war type confrontation, however this will not result in a real break through. For the foreseeable future, the traditional antagonistic conflict formation between west and east may undergo a transformation but not wither away. The militarized competition between the states of the west and the metamorphosing states of the east will not be overcome easily, because the power elites regard it as a reliable guarantee of international and social stablility. Inroads into the military apparata,

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with the objective of numerical limitation of arms are possible and probable–provided these measures do not restrict the qualitiative development of the existing apparata and do not prevent further innovation processes in military technology.

b) The North-South Conflict Formation

To assess the so called North-South conflict formation the structural situation of the Third World within the international society has to be described. Though embedded in a situation similar to that of the West–East conflict formation, the position of the countries hardly resembles the latter in any respect.

Since the penetration of Latin America, Africa and Asia by Colonialism and Imperialism of Europe and the United States, these continents have lost their independence and have been integrated into an international division of labour enforced upon them by the capitalist metropoles.[5] In the past centuries, from the days of uninhibited roberry, colonialism to the present day rapid growth of multinational corporations, relations of deep dependency were created which today characterize the situation in the third world.[6] Nowhere in international society are domination structures so gross and so transparent as in the relationship between the capitalist centres and their peripheries in the three continents of the South. Not only did the capitalist penetration during the past centuries destroy the more or less organic social structures which has been existing there and replace them with new, once created at the drawing boards of European cabinets or as a result of military conflincts carried out in the countries themselves. The colonies thus created were forcibly also oriented towards their metropoles in a manner that left little chance for an articulation and organization of solidarity among themselves and the metropoles.

Thus the under-development of the Third world is not a transitory stage on the way towards self directed development as it prevailed in the history of the industrialization or modernization of European societies. Rather, under-development is a constituent part

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of the historical proces of international society dominated by the capitalist metropoles. The development of these metropoles and the history of the under-development of the Third World are complimentary processes connected through the international economic systems. However it is significant to note that the North-South divide and the consequent confilict formation among them is not a conflict among equals as the classical inter-imperialist conflicts of the nineteenth century. Instead, this relationship resembles that of the master and servant. In more detail, it is characterised by graduated stages of dependency and by dependency chains maintained by specific mechanisims of domination and rule.

c) Intra Bloc/Group Conflict Formation Structures
Inter-Capitalist conflict formation

Just as centuries ago-although today this is much more subject to political controversy than even a few decades agoa dynamic role of interational society from which decisive development impulses have emerged is situated in the capitalist metropoles. The overwhelmig part of the world economy still essentially organized according to capitalist principles–is being directed from such centres. Today the intercapitalist relation patterns are characterized by an inter action density unparalleled in internationl relations. The remarkable factor about this permanent pole in international society is not so much the incomparable density of internaction between the industrial countries but an institutional grid system to secure their common interests-something of decisive importance for the evaluation of potential conflicts between capitalist centres. Today power politics and economic conflicts that still exist between the capitalist metropoles are smoothed out by the institutions established within this grid of interest with the aim to articulate and settle such conflicts. The danger of renewed basic inter-capitalist conflicts has furthermore been restricted by a persisting world wide socio-economic antagonism between East and West. The challenge presented to the capitalist powers by the Soviet Union, China, Eastern Europe and individual Third world socialist countries viz., Cuba,

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leader the western metropoles to the defence of joint capitalist positions, i.e. of the general capitalist interest and it demands that these interests be granted priority over narrow national ones.

Though capitalist countries pursue a strategy designed to resolve by force conflicts in areas outside their own territory (as in the case of Vietnam), there is a real chance that within this scope of modern international society, inter-capitalist conflicts will not lead to military acts of force-with all its consequences, such as mobilization of the military machinery-within their own area.

Conflict formation between Socialist States

The escalation which we observe today between the Soviet Union and China follows classical patterns of power politics. If both powers pursued a rationally calculated policy of detente, their strategy towards each other would be just the opposite of what it is today. Instead of policy of over reaction, a policy of under reaction unilaterally initiated by those powers would have to be pursued. So there exists a tremendous danger that a new axis of the international arms race will be built up further, and this arms race may develop in a similar pattern as the one within the East-West conflict formation–simmering tensions always with the potential of its being transformed into a violent military confrontation.

Conflict formation within the Third World

In the third world most of the conflicts today have been predetermined by the colonial heritage and the policies pursued by the erstwhile colonial powers in these countries. The rationales of this European policy have been objects like the creation of arbitray borders, separtion of ethnic groups, allocation of privileges to some groups at the expense of others as a special trick to secure domination. However it is significant to note that the several inter-state conflicts and/or civil wars in the third world cannot solely be ascribed to local and regional ideosyncracies. This is not only because, as a rule, the metropoles of the west and the anti-centres of

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the socialist states frequently take part in curious alliances and counter-alliances, as demonstrated in the war between India and Pakistan prior to the creation of Bangladesh. In fact this is the old policy of intervention. The general relevance of these conflicts within the third world societies lies in the fact that in general their structures correspond well to the North-South conflict formation.[7] Such conflicts also break out in the metropoles eg., Northern Ireland. Statistics show that these conflicts which arise under conditions of gross social injustice (structural violence) have in the past decades become more frequent then the classical type of war between states. In Vietnam and Banglandesh one could withess that these conflicts in the third world typically contain elements of both inter-state conflict and civil war.

Problems of Peace and Techniques of Conflict Resolution in International Society

As the international society is not devoid of conflicts and the potentials inherent in it for such conflicts to persist is a harsh reality, our search has to be directed towards strategies for the resolution of conflicts, addressed to specific conflict formations or to a specific conflict-strategies which have to be varied according to the level a conflict has attained.[8]

The traditional concepts of securing peace-oriented towards a peace defined as the absence of violence-today prove indequate. This is particularly true, if attempts are made to apply them to all conflict formations and to whatever specific conflicts regardless of their structure. This inadequacy, even danger, is shown wherever a security policy based on traditional slogans *si vic pacem para bellum* with all its consequences is being pursued. In antagonistic situations, such attempts to secure peace provoke arms races. In conflicts within a society based structural violence, this kind of peace policy, carried out under the slogan of law and order, leads to further repression of discriminated social strata of entire populations, thus turning this concept of a focus of peacelessness.

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A comprehensive strategy for peace to minimise and avoid conflicts is indispensable today. Howerver such a peace formulation can be useful only if it is oriented toward the three typical conflict formation prevalent in the international community.

(i) Conflicts involving relatively equal parties i.e. in which symmetrical rather than asymmetrical structures exist. This would apply to the inter-capitalist conflict formulation between East and the West. This strategy for promoting peace may be oriented towards two goals; integration by which the confrontation will be superseded and Association by which the infrasturcture of such formations is changed.[9]

However, integration and association cannot be regarded as generally valid principles for action for peace promotion. They have to be examined in their specific context. Thus the existence of the European Community (EC) makes the use of force between its principle centre members practically impossible. Whether the E.C. promotes peace beyond this, can be decided only by an analysis which determines its contribution to the promotion of social justice in domestic matters and its foreign relations.[10]

(ii) The concept of peace promotion is to be oriented towards those situations in which the traditional concept is useful; where the prevention of the use of force and of thefurther escalation of force represents a first preliminary step towards the solution of conflicts. This is so in most of the third party interventions in internatinal relations.

(iii) Finally, the concept has to be oriented towards conflicts of an asymmetrical st-ructure (i.e. North-South conflicts; configurations implying structural violence). Here the peace promotion strategy has to promote the accentuation of the conflict in varying intensity in favour of the dependent and discriminated. There awareness of their own interests should be raised and improved; the articulation and organization of the interests of such groups and states

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should be built up with the goal of creating a real counterpoise against the other party to the conflict which in the initial situation is the dominant and superior.

Thus in this context, polarization cannot be understood as an arbitrary incitement of a specific conflict. Rather it is required for the promotion of peace in order to establish a conscious and sociologically founded basis for the discriminated, the exploited and the dependent populations and states by enabling these strata to promote their own interests. It is only on this basis, that there would be an opportunity for them to break out of the discriminations social roles assigned to them in the existent status-quo.

The Gandhian Technique of International Conflict Resolution

In the Gandhian technique, there is no difference between private and public morality. Satyagraha explains that the principles of morality which are applicable to the individual are equally applicable to the State or other smaller groups, that modesty, humility, self-sacrifice, and neighbourliness are qualities as much necessary for state as for individuals, and that pride, aggression and breach of faith are morally as much injurious to them as to individuals. The regeneration of the individual is essential for the resolution of all types of conflicts, national or international. By adhering to non-violent values, the individual not only regenreated himself but also betters his relations with others and thus creates a healthy enviroment. Out of his mode of living flows the democratic way of life which tends to minimise tensions and conflicts. In such a society will prevail the spirit and mentality of love and goodwill, cooperation and service, and these characteristics will also be manifested in international relations.

Truth negates deception and secrecy, and would, therefore, tend to wipe out the iron curtain from the international sphere. Non-violence negates war and generates democratic living, for science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Science of non-violence can lead one to pure democracy.[11] Self control

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spontaneously generated humility which eliminates false national egoism and the sense of absolute sovereignty as sources of international tensions and conflicts. Non-aggrandizement, non-possession, swadeshi and bread labour tend to eliminate imperialist causes of international conflicts because these values leave no margin for monopolies, and substitute security, freedom and equal opporunity for all in place of competition economic inequality and exploitation; they thus tend to wipe out cold economic war on the international scale. Fearlessness negates the need for armament in which nations remain engaged with the pleas for self defence, while equality of religions and removal of untouchability negate the racial and religious causes of international conflicts.

M.K. Gandhi was of the view that Na-tionalism is a means to internationalism and pure patriotism and love for one's country is not opposed to the spirit of friendliness and cooperation towards other nations. It is chauvinism, the perverted form of patriotism which breeds international tensions he contended.

M.K. Gandhi, himself never pursued any practical experiments in the sphere of internatinal conflict, and as such the room for speculation about the potentialities and limitations of non-violence is almost limitless.[12] "To a world which has grown war weary this new instrument of the Mahatma has come with great force, but it would be futile to deny that like most human instruments, if it can be used to advantage, it can also be worked to abuse".[13]

Nations which believe in non-violence must be ready to sacrifice everything including the last man. Non-violence cannot permit the subjugation of one country by another. This trend however continues to persist in the international milieu, especially in the economic realm. Non-violence fundamentally believes in the concept of peace and love and if it can be practised in the individual life, it can be very well done in the relations among nations. It lays emphasis upon changing the heart of the opponent or his very tendency to dominate and resort to violence.[14]

To maintain its independence and to remain non violent, each

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nation should be self-sufficient in the primary needs of its people. It should be left to manage its own affairs, there should be no interference whatsoever from outside in the domestic affairs. However independence does not mean isolation but greater international cooperation and inter-dependence. Such healthy interdependence demands, the removal of the iron curtain. A diplomacy which implies secrecy and concealment creates doubts and lacks in confidence; the policy of the State should be clear and open.

By basing its economy of non-violent principles, a state can avoid international tensions/conflicts arising from mass production. Mass production requires foreign makets for the sale of its surplus and thus breed exploitation and war. To avoid these evils the non-violent state should adopt handicrafts and small scale industries as the bases of its economy. Such an economy also provides a check against aggression. For, in the event of an aggression it loses lesser than a country which is dependent on industrialisation; it also takes little time to recover. On the other hand, the aggressor State also knows that by destroying the small scale economy of the non-violent aggressed state, it has little to gain; as such it would not be inclined to spend its energy for nothing.[15]

The non-violent state with its democratic structure should be based on justice and equality; its non-violent character will manifest itself in international relations. Peace without justice is war in disguise because it is devoid of *ahimsa* and harbours enough substance for acute tensions. Where nations do not treat each other as equals, there antagonisms and tensions arise necessarily. Thus peace and justice go hand in hand and the non-violent state will respect freedom and equality of all peoples and nations.

The non-violent state will never think of aggressing against other states but only of rendering service to them throught its own resources. It will abandon armament altogether for which it will itself take the initiative. While discussing the issue of disarmament Gandhi felt that if a nation instead of arming itself to the teeth and then subjugating the innocent weaker people, believed in uplifting

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those people morally it would give better results. He felt that if a nation resorted to voluntary disarmament, it would take a bold step in the direction of disarmament. Some nation has to give the lead. Gandhi was confident that permanent peace was possible because human nature is godly. The non-violent methods fail because the faith of the workers in this is lacking. If only a part of the conditions of non-violence is observed, peace is impossible to attian. Otherwise it should not be difficult. If those who control the forces of destruction, become humanly consious of the result of their use and if they renounce these completely, permanent peace in the world is certainly possible.[16]

The consiousness of the unity of all mankind strengthens the efforts made for the establishment of world peace, and a non-violent state can never enter into a war with another state because it perceives its own well being as an integral part of the good of all nations. Furthermore, the non-violent state, and as a peaceful state it should not allow an invading army to devastate a neighbouring state.

A non-violent state neither anticipates nor provides for attacks from without since it believes in the brotherhood of man and goodness of human nature. If, however, the worst happens and it faces the foreign armed aggression, a plan of action for the various stages of invasion i.e., before, during and after the invasion is suggested, Before the invasion, the non-violent state should try to befriend the aggressor nation by good will, selfless service and the spirit of reconciliation.[16] But if this fails and the aggressor nation invades the non-violent state, then the latter has only two options; either it yields possession and at the same time non-cooperates with the aggressor, or else its people who have been trained in non-violent methods offer non-violent resistance.

Since M.K. Gandhi considered *Satyagraha* to be a weapon equally operative in any conflict situation, intra-national and international, he suggested what may be called the Satyagrahic method of resistance to invasion from outside. He suggested the idea of the human wall when

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confronted with frequent questions from several quarters during World War II. He was asked during the Second World War as to how he would resist non-violently if the Japanese army marched on India through Assam and West Bengal? His prescription to his countryment, to the Abyssinians, the Czechs, the Poles, the English and other victims of aggression was to refuse to fight and yet refuse to yield to the ursurper.[17] Refusal to yield meant not to bow to the supremacy of the victor and not to help him to achieve his object.[18] He advised the Chinese to pursue the method of non-violent resistance against the Japanese invasion.[19] In this regard M.K. Gandhi refereed to Shelley's celebrated lines from the 'Mask of Anarchy':

"Ye are many, they are few
Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war

And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there
Slash and Stab, and maim and hew
What they like, that let them do

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And with little fear, and less surprise
Look upon them as they stay
Till their rage has died away
Then they will return
With shame
To the place from which they came
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you
Ye are many–they are few."[20]

A general pattern of non-violent resistance to armed invasion

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evolves out of M.K. Gandhi's several writings on the subject in the columns of The Harijan. A brief outline of the satyagrahic method is given hereunder.[21.]

a) The first step in defence against armed aggression should consist of sending a band of Satyagrahis who attempt to face the aggressors, talk to them if pos-sible, even while they are prepared to be mowed down, yet not lift a finger in order to hurt the 'enemy' in so called self defence.

b) After this, the enemy may advance to occupy land. There is to be no scorched earth policy. But the Satyagrahi's country should be prepared to live peacefully with members of the 'occupational force' on its own terms. The latter must be made to feel that they are welcome to live as workers and equals sharing in the following and upkeep of the Satyagrahis social system.

c) The Satyagrahi refuses to submit and disobey orders, but does not in any way make the occupational force feel that their lives are threatened.

d) If the courage and de-termination of the Satyagrahi is strong enough, members of the enemy camp will start thinking. This is particularly likely if they are not afraid, or are on the defensive. When this operation begins, the effects of indoctrination to which they have hitherto been subjected will begin to wear out. The process is accentuated if, as pointed out above, the Satyagrahi is prepared to accept whatever is based on Truth in his opponents view.

e) Gandhi's ideal was to convert even the General on the other side as much as the common soldier who worked under the General, to his point or view. If the worst happened, and the General proved intractable, his hope was that, by the conversion of the common soldier the evil represented by the General would become isolatied. This

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the Mahatma felt would constitute the highest achievement that is humanly possible in real life by means of collective non-violence.

The fact is that non-violence fundamentally believes in the onencess of human nature, and thus when there is love from one side the other side is also attracted. The main point is that Hitler's and Mussolini's violence was always faced with violent efforts from the opposite side and thus they never had to face non-violent resistance in their life time. So if non-violent resistance had been offered to them they would have reckned it better then violence. The non-violent resistor's success never depends upon the sympathy of his opponent but on his firm faith in the Almighty. So non-violent resistance is the best method in all circumstances.[22]

M.K. Gandhi was of the view that if non-violence was used in Eurpoe in the Second World War, so many innocent people would not have been killed. He was confident of the results of non-violence because he had practised it in South Africa and India. He had applied it in different walks of life. He was sure of its success in every field. He said that if non-violence failed in achieving the right results, it was due to the lack of human capabilities. Gandhi tried to implement non-violence with a missionary zeal. He was opposed to the British system of administration, associated with exploitation but he never hated the English men. Non violence is directly related to universal love.[23]

Explaning the importance of a world based on mutual respect, love and peace Gandhi Remarked "the better mind of the world today desires not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a federation of friendly interdependent states".[24] According to him therefore, the establishment of an international organization composed of representatives of different states is the necessary step towards the resolution of international conflicts and the establishment of international conflicts and the establishment of international peace. The basis of such an organization must not be force and subjection but freedom and non-violence. He was opposed

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to an armed peace imposed upon the forcibly disarmed.[25] But such a world order will need time to be established, and in case there already exists an international organization, the non-violent state should joint it for the defensive operations against the aggressive power and should aid the organization in the establishment of international peace. However such help in defensive operations will not be in the form of rendering arms or soldiers at the disposal of the international organization, the presumption being that the non-violent state will disband the army and discard the violent methods for the resolution of international conflicts. The non-violent state can, at best, tolerate the paraphernalia of the internatinal organization on its soil under well defined conditions. At the same time, however, it will not prohibit any one of its individuals from offering his personal assistance by way of either being a recruit or giving financial assistance or both.[26]

The oneness of humanity can be attained and a common understanding of problems can be possible through a federation of interdependent states based on non-violence. For, such unity is realised most of all by sharing in each other's miseries and sorrows, which is an implication of non-violence. The partnership in such a federation must be on equal terms. Such an international organization will generate feelings of love and service among the component nation-states.

No community however totalitarian, can hope to survive which does not place some positive values on truth and justice and ahimsa. The militaristic face is one that is turned on others, except in so far as its threatening aspect loses credibility unless it is sometimes turned on itself; every community wears a bening face for its own members.[27] Hence love is always valued, even in its Gandhian forms, though it tends to be relative in certain communities. Further, there is evidence that the values implicit in Gandhian non-violence are the values which all men would stress if they only dared.[28] It should also be remembered that non-violence and satyagraha highlights the suffering of unrestrained conflict, it destroys much of the relish of the soldiers business. Thus, it denies him the pleasures of

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heroism and physical combat, so far as these have outlived the advent of nuclear weapons, presenting him insted with the sordid task of butchery and suppression. As Bertrand Russel has stated "War is brutal and horrible, but seems to be ennobled by the fact that the warrior risks his life. If none resist the heroism is gone, if the brutality survives, it can no longer command admiration",[29]

With a major stockpile of sophisticated nuclear weapons intact, the world is today confronted with a single choice Annihilation or Peace.[30] Peace is indispensable for our survival and can there be any alternative to a stable peace in contemporary international relations then mitigating and resolving all the Simmering conflicts among the nations of the international community on the Gandhian principles of Truct, Justice and Ahimsa.

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STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT

Vivek Misra

The international political system has witnessed vast and important changes since the Second World War. These change continue to take place. The elemination of colonialism, the fight to eradicate neo-colonialism, efforts at strengthening the political independence and sovereignty of newly independent States and the efforts to ensure their economic development and growth have been a worldwide concern. Against this background, we are made to believe that natonal security and international security are being equated with military superiority. This particular concept has given a new dimension to the nuclear arms race between the super powers, which has been a dominant and disturbing feature of the present international relations. In addition to this there has been the conventional arms race and transfer of arms to smaller nations. The establishment of armament industries in the regions where there were none before has gathered momentum. Such developments have aggravated tension and created instability and insecurity leading to increasing arming and armed cofrontations. These forces of destruction challenge the very foundations, fortunes and future of mankind.

Even after witnessing the horrifying and disastrous consequences of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki explosions, mankind has been compelled to live amidst nuclear weapons, with a continuous increase in their number with each passing year. These bombs were built as "Weapons" fo "War". But their significance greatly transcends war and all its causes and outcomes. "They grew out of history, yet they threaten to end history. They were made by men, yet threaten to annihilate man".[1]

Over the last four decades, the nuclear arms race has imposed its

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culture on large sections of mankind. The nuclear arms race was trigerred off by the attempt to freeze the international hierarchial power structure. The very first use of the atom bomb was a clear demonstration of the nuclear weapon as the new symbol and currency of internatioal power. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed not only to impress the world but also to frighten the Soviet Union. Thus the United States had emerged as the foremost power of the world.

The Soviet Union was not far behind and within a few years (in 1949) the Soviet Union also developed a nuclear capability, followed later by U.K. (1952) Frances (1960) and China (1964). Since then super powers intensified their arms race. Now weapons were added to the arsenals, military budgets skyrocketed and confrontation replaced the spirit of *detente*. Gradually the world became a far more dangerous place to live in. It was not only the quantitative sphere but also the qualitative aspect of weaponry which strongly effected the character of the arms race.

The momentum of the arms race has increased rapidly. New generations of strategic, theatre and tactical weaponry replaced the earlier generations. In the U.S. arsenal, the Mx missile replaced the Titan missle; the Triden-C4 and D-5 missiles replaced the Posidon and Polaris submarine-borne missiles; air-launched cruise missiles improved the utility fo the B-52 bombers, which are themselves due for replacement by a new bomber. The Soviet Union developed and deployed SS-20 missiles; SS-21, SS-22 and SS-23 missiles are reported to have replaced the vintage SS-4s and SS-5s. The United States has developed Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles as theatre weapons.[2] Britain and France have undertaken similar modernisation programmes. The United States also has a major modernisation programme. Neutron weapons and nuclear shells for the use of artillery are also beinga added to the arsenals.

Major technological developments leading to the manufacture of neutron weapons, chemical warfare agents; laser-based anti-ballistic missile system, nuclear-missile submarines, have all led to a stage of no return.

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This maddening course of arms race has not been confined to the superpowers only. It has acquired a universal impact. Developing countries are not kept out of it. Arms supplies are made to the developing countries because of significant strategic locations, supply of vital raw materials or the need to attract and retain political support. Even non-aligned nations are not left behind in this game. The worst comes when the neighbours of such countries are subsequently compelled to acquire matching weaponery from the same or alternate sources, thus making a secondary arms race.

These developments in the course of nuclear arms race have divided the global nuclear stratarchy into three distinct worlds. The United States and other industrialized countries associated with it constitute the first world. Whereas the two Socialist nuclear-weapon powers i.e. the erst-while U.S.S.R. and China, along with their associated countries and allies formed the second world, the third world mostly consists of non-nuclear weapon nations including the non-aligned countries. Of these the first two worlds rely entirely on nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon doctriness so as to ensure their national security, the both of them share the belief in nuclear theology. But the third wold does neither accept nor recognize such doctrines. The refusal of some of the Third World countries to sign the NPT or to accept full scope safeguards without their being accepted by the nuclear weapon States, clearly indicated their refusal to be subjected to a nuclear weapon culture from which the first two worlds cannot think to break out. It has been found that the non-aligned and the developing countries are the ones which have been taking vigorous attempts to counter such nuclear weapons culture.

The continuing arms race among the developed and industrialized countries also saw the development of the question of disarmament and the regulation of armaments, growing in equal pace and strength.

The questions are arms control and disarmament has been discussed at various international forums since the discovery of atomic energy and the first use of atomic weapons.

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Since the inception of the United Nations, the combined efforts of Governments, both multilateral and bilateral, have resulted in limited yet significant agreement on various arms limitaion and disarmament measures.[3]

Some of the major multilateral agreements concluded so far either under the auspices of the UN or otherwise[4] include the Antarctica Treaty 1959; Partial Test Ban Treaty 1963; Outer Space Treaty 1967; Treaty of Tlateloco 1967; Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons 1968; Sea Bed Treaty 1971; Biological weapons Convention 1972; ENMOD Convention 1977; The Space Treaty 1967; and Convention on Inhumen Weapons 1981.

These arms control agreemtns simply legitimised the continuing arms race. Instead of checking the growing arms race it invigorated the armaments momentum.

There has been an increased legitimisation of the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. The so-called NPT in fact aims at legitimising the nuclear weapons in the hands of nuclear weapon States and compelling non-nuclear weapon nationsl to acknowledge their legitimacy. The treaty also vested the possession of nuclear weapons with prestige and exempted nuclear-weapon powers from all safeguards. Most of the industrialized nations, claim themselves to be on-nuclear but in fact they all rely on nuclear war doctrines for their security. They also permit nuclear weapons or nuclear-war command-and-control infrastructure on their soil. That is to say that these nations are nuclear weapons powers except that they have a legal licence to the weapons.[5]

Similarly the nuclear weapon free-zone porposals amount to the establishment of a protectorate by the nuclear weapon powers over the non nuclear weapon powers who accept guarantees.

And so is the case with SALT-I simply misleading the world into a sense of forward movement in arms limitation and thereby compelling the rest of the world into accepting arms legitimisation measures as arms limitaion measures.

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The newly independent States and non-aligned nations have a greater state in disarmament. These nations plead with heavily armed, industrialised and affluent nations to disarm. They highlight the various risks which are inherent in the continuation of the arms race and also talk about the burdens which the arms race imposes on humanity. The vast and enormous benefits that could be obtained from a less heavily armed international milieu.

But nuclear weapon states are continung with the spiralling arms race. They have their own reasons in support for it, armaments are used as a "currency of power" which gives them dominance over the international system and also a privileged position in the community of nations. It is not only a confrontation between the East and West but armaments also play a role in the North-South relationship. The link between the dominance the North over South is not only in terms of economic and political terms, but also in terms of military balance. Without the latter the former will not be possible. The developing nations struggle for the New International Economic Order, and is inextricably linked with the struggle for disarmament.

Till recently there has been a difference in the approach to the disarmament between the industrialized countries and developing countries. The industrialized countries regarded the 'King Atom' as the preserver of peace and were also able to combine a high defence expenditure with a high growth rate. Wars were generally taking place in the developing countries resulting in intervention by the industrialized countries. The developing nations were theeatened by the asymmetric use of nuclear, chemical and other sophisticated weapons; finding their defence expenditure highly burdensome. Due to this the developing States put all their state in the efforts for disarmament.

Lately this trend has seen a radical change and there has been a popular upsurge in the West against the continuing arms race. There has been growing demand for a freeze of nuclear armaments as a first step towards negotiating arms control and arms reduction measures. There have been pressures in many European countries to reduce defence expenditure because it no longer appears feasible to combine high defence expenditure with high growth rate.

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Moreover, there has been a growing awareness among the public of the industralized nations about the dangers of nuclear weapons-which may not be able to preserve peace for all time to come and the new nuclear doctrines may result in the concept of limited nuclear war which would be tried out only in Europe. The so-called impression that nuclear weapons are under effective control of the heads of State and heads of Government of nuclear Weapon States is also being challenged.

In the United States, the nuclear weapon freeze compaign is gaining a strong base. Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield were leading 139 members of Congress in demanding that President Reagan negotiate an atomic freeze with the Soviets.[6]

The World Council of Churches held an international public hearing on nuclear weapons and the church both in western Europe and the United States-have become the mouth piece of the public opinion.[7]

Medical and scientific communities have held symposiums on the mecial consequences of nuclear was in more than 180 compuses.[8]

All our achievements in the last 40 years are but a measure of achievements to come, of problems to be faced. Disarmament negotiations up to now have been characterized by the lack of university in participation. They have been conduced by a few big powers or a group of countries.

But during the past three occasions the entire membership of the United Nations was involved in reflecting the view tha disarmament is an issue which is not only vital to all member countries, but also called for the active involvement of all member countries in resolving the problem. These three occasions were the there special sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations which were entirely devoted to the cause of disarmament, held in 1978, and 1982 and 1988 respectively.

The message of the three sessions is that human choice is not between war the peace, but between life on the planet and extinction. It is only through life on the planet and extinction. It is only through complete disarmament and the establishment of non-violent international order by which the fate of the earth can became secure. The humanity has the means available to achieve this salvation.

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In his book "The Fate of the Earth", Jonathan Schell puts in the choice as -- "One day and it is hard to believe that it will not be soon-we will make our choice. Either we will sink into the final come and end it all or, as trust and believe, we will be awakent to the truth of our peril, a truth as great as life itself, and like a person who has swallowed lethal poison but shakes off his stupor at the last moment and vomits and poison, up we will break though the layers of our denials, put aside or faint-hearted excuses, and rise up to cleanese the earth of neclear weapons."[9]

With the mounting public opinion in Western industrialized world about the dangers of nuclear war and the arms race, the struggle for disarmament has been a tremendous change. It is in the minds and hearts of the people of industrialized world that the struggle for disarmament can be fought, because arms race is mostly a phenomenon of the industrialized world and it has to be sustained by the transfer of arms from the developed world. If such a campaign is to be a fitting response to the spontaneous upsurge of popular opposition to armaments, it must go beyond the political and geographical frontiers to reach the people everywhere.

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THE WORLD IN THE NINETIES : REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING SCENARIO OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Shreekrishna Jha

Momentous changes have taken place in the world in the last couple of years. The old power-structure suddenly crumbled. The sharp ideological cleavage which carved out and controlled for years the pattern of international politics in the post Second World War withered away. Consequently, the political map of the world has been redrawn. The international stage today is marked by the presence of new state actors. It indeed is a new world. We have stepped into. Naions are now interacting in a new enviroment with new factors and forces affecting their behaviours. They are yet to fully adjust themselves in the drastically transformed world. Old relationships are being reviewed; new equations are being probed and tried and the emergence of a vialable pattern of international politics is in the process.

Against this backdrop the main thrust of this paper is to reflect on this process. For this, it is also essential to explain the nature of transformation the world has undergone and the factors which have brought about the change.

1. Collapse of Communism

Eversince the establishment of the communist system in the Soviet Union in 1917, socialism became a forceful and attractive ideology. It was projected and propagated by its protagonists as a better alternative to western liberal democracy. The Marxian framework of understanding and interpreting socio-political and

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economic life started gaining wide acceptability. However, the socialist ideology and the Soviet Union did not substantially affect the power-structure of the world. It was only after the Second World War when communism took under its fold the East European states and a little later the gingantic state of the people's Republic of China in 1949, contemporaneously with the ascendency of the Soviet Union as a nuclear power to protect the socialist states and disseminate socialist idelogy in the world that it became a challenging phenomenon. For nearly four decades since then there was hardly any aspect of international politics which was not affected by the idelogical confrontation between capitalism and communism. This capitalism-communism syndrome had great bearing on the shaping of post-war pattern of international politics and its day-to-dya operation and development.

All on a sudden, the communist system in the late eightees started losing its ground on its own in the very country which had served for years as a beacon for the entire communist world. Soon this set in motion the fast dismantling process of the communist system, first of all, in the East European states and then in the Soviet Union itself and as the world moved into the nineties all the communist states, except the People's Republic of China, switched over to the capitalist system in a dramatic volta face. Even the Peoples's Republic of China has not been able to hold on the ideological chastity. It too has made compromises with some of the basic tenets of capitalism.

The collapse of communism has now fundamentally altered the character and complexion of the world. It has obliterated the asymmetical nature of the world in terms of ideology and also made obsolete many of the old formulation in world politics. The strategies evolved and the machinery fabricated to contain and counteract communism have become meaningless. Also, the massive anti-communist forces generated all over the world have become useless.

2. End of the Cold War

The end of the Second World War had marked the beginning of the cold war in the world. It was a new phenomenon in internation-

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al politics. The world was divided into two hostile camps formed around the two Super Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, set against each other and lashed with unclear and unprecedented destructive power quite unheard of in the history of mankind. The mutual rivalry and distrust between the two Super powers and their untiring effort to win over countries to their respective camp accentuated the race for aramament and pushed the world to the point of total destruction. The intensity of this cold war varied, no doubt, from time to time, but it did remain the constant referent of international politics ever since its origin. There was hardly any major international event which was not contaminated by the cold war phenomenon.

There were many occasions when it appeared that the cold war was going to end but it actually did not. It was the collapse of communism which made the final burial of this dangerous phenomenon. In fact, the cold war was essentially interlinked with the ideological incompatibility and clash between capitalism and communism. Naturally when communism collapsed the cold war lost the main source of its sustenance and automatically ceased. The end of the cold war has had instant and wide repercussions on the structure and nature of international politics, for it had been the major determinant of politics in the post war period.

3. Reunification of Germany

The collapse of communism and the end of the cold war made possible the re-unification of Germany as that country had been divided on account of those two phenomenon. Germany has been a major power in international politics throughout the modern period. Its division constrained its political ambition and role. Nevertheless, its western part maintained itself as one of the leading industrial and economic powers in the world. The unified Germany has now assumed considerable political importance in the changed scenario and its full potentiality is yet to be realized and felt. Never-theless, it is a power now to reckon with.

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4. Integration of Europe

The end of the cold war set the trend for the realignment of powers in world politics. It was this trend which expedited the pace of integration of Europe. Nations of Europe now refer to themselves as 'European family' or 'European Home'. They have devised ways and means for their integrated-economic system and social policy. European states are now not only conglomerated political actors. They tend to project themselves as a single political force in international community. The East-West tangle is now thing of the past. The East-West conflict framework for understanding and analysing international politics of the continent in the post war period is now totally meaningless and obsolete. Europe is to be understood in new perspectives; its role is to be assessed in the light of their commonality of interests and their quest for unity and integrated personality in the game of nations.

5. Dismemberment of Military Alliances

The politics of cold war, as has been pointed out, had led to the military grouping of states against their threat perception. As Europe was the place of origin of the cold war, two such military alliances had come into being in that context, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) of the western bloc against the perceived threat from the Communists in Europe and the Warsaw Pact of the Communist bloc against the former. The Warsaw pact stands dissolved as the member states have discarded the Communist system and organised themselves politically on western line. The NATO has been kept alive structurally but the purpose for which it had been formed is non-existent. Paradoxically enough it is considering the admission of the Soviet Union against which the alliance was formed. Hence if NATO is to continue, its purpose is to be redefined and it has to be made meaningful in the changed secenario. Similarly the offshoot of these two leading military alliances in other areas of the world have also lost their meaning and purpose.

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6. Disintegration of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union as an expanded Nation had been formed on the basisi of communist ideology. Naturally when communism collapsed, it gave a severc jolt to the Soviet Union. For some time it tottered and tried to survive but could not succeed. The giant state collapsed like a house of cards. Its various republics declard themselves as independent states wiping out their united personality, the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was one of the two pillars on which the post war edifice of world politics had been erected. The disintegration of the Soviet Union had destroyed the post war structure of the world politics. It is no longer a biopolar world. What is it now is yet to be clear and viable.

Implication of the Changes End of History

As the world was approaching nineties, it was announced that history has come to an end. In a lecture at the University of Chicago's John M. Olin Centre for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy, Francis Fukuyama, the then Deputy Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff emphatically declared:

> The twentieth century saw the developed world descend into a paroxysm of ideological violence, as liberalism contended first with the remnants of absolutism, then bolshevism and fascism, and finally an updated Marxism that threatened to lead to the ultimate apocolpse of nuclear war. But the century that began full of confidence in the ultimate triumph of liberal democracy seems at its close to be returning full circle to where it started; not to an "end of ideology" or a convergence of capitalism and socialism, as earlier predicted, but to an unabashed victory of economic and politcal liberalism.[1]

Further highlighting the consequence of the change taking place in world, he finally asserted:

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> What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the cold war, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such; that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.[2]

Fukuyama's end of history thesis evoked sharp responses among academics.[3] Our concern here is not to take side in the debate. The truth or otherwise of Fukuyama's contention notwithstanding, his depiction of the implications of change for world politics hence-forward is quite convincing. Commenting on the new directions of world politics in the years to come he writes:

> The end of history will be a very sad time. The struggle for recognition, the willingness to risk one's life for a purely abstract goal, the worldwide ideological struggle that called forth daring, courage, imagination, and idealism, will be replaced by economic calculation, the endless solving of technical problems, environmental concerns, and the satisfaction of sophisticated consumer demands. In the post-historical period there will beneither art nor philosophy, just the perpetual caretaking of the museum of history.[4]

Emerging Pattern

It has been widely propagated that after the end of the cold war, the leader of the victorious camp, the United States, has assumed the unchallenging position in the world. The US performance in the Gulf War (1991) and more recently the disintegration of the Soviet Union have lent further support to this belief. Meaning thereby, the hitherto bipolar world has now converted into a unipolar one. As such, to many, Pax Americana of American hegemony characterises the contemporary world power structure. While it does appear so facially, the appearance is far from the reality. Actually, the world did experience a brief spell of Pax Americana during the gulf war days, but that was an extraordinary situation in world politics. It has not, and it cannot, stabilise as the lasting feature of the

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world system. Aberrations and exceptionalities apart, the democratic ordering of the world has come to stay as the fundamental principle of the international system in the second half of this century. The recent changes have strengthened it instead of eroding it. In fact, it was this aspect of international politics which often tended to undermine bipolarism of a brazenly bipolar world and encouraged multipolar tendencies. The international community is determined not to tolerate any direct interference in the functional independence of its basic units. This is not the ideal but the reality of international situation. The Vietnam war is a classic instance. Despite its military might, the United States failed to impose its will on Vietnam against the latter's determination to preserve national identity and freedom.

Nevertheless, nobody can deny that the disappearance of the Soviet Union has given far greater political lever to the United States in world politics than ever before and apparently placed it in a commanding position. But Washington knows it well from its own experiences that the arrogance of power and its arbitary exercise are neither desirable nor feasible in contemporary international society. Nations apart, the world public opinion is a big constraint on any misuse of power in world politics. So far as the United States is concerned, its own enlightened public opinion is averse to too much of American involvement in world affairs. Precisely for this reason, the US Govenment has publicly denied its intention to play such a role.

Moreover, the United States is neither politically nor economically in a position to perform alone the world leadership role. The Western allies of the USA in the cold war years have formed an integrated personality and are in search of a new line in order to make themselves viable and effective as a new actor in international politics instead of involving themselves in power-game. Integration of Europe and the revival of European powers thus tend to discourage unipolarism in world politics.

The State of American economy also does not augur well for increasing American dominance. True, its military superiority is now unquestioned in the world after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. But it will be too much to treat it the world's leading industrial power. Japan has emerged as a strong economic power and it poses serious challenge to

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the American position in the world market. Also, there is every likelihood of Europe emerging as a strong economic power on the world scene whereas there does not seem to be any further break through in the American position in the near future. The American debt has risen in trillion. Daniel Bell's announcement in the end of the American centrury is not without substance. According to him for elements conjoin to reduce the centrality and role of the United States as the twenty-first century emerges: One is the reduction of the great power confrontation, and therefore the decisive political role of the United States as the leader of the world. Second is the rise of the Japanese economic power, especially in the central high-technology sectors. Third are the low investment and productivity features of the American economy, which began to sap its strength. And fourth comes the increasing difficulty of coping with domestic social problems such as crime and drugs, the aging infrastructures, and the declining quality of life in the central cities.[5]

Globalization of Technology

The world is functioning now as a single technological evolution system. It is no longer possible to visualize a strictly national technology base or even a national industrial base. The growth of multinational corporations has greatly contributed to this phenomenal change. An American expert on the subject himself admits:

> Throughtout much of the twentieth century, the United States has been the World's preeminent technological power; by early in the next century, however, most technological break-throughs may well occur outside the United States. The spread of technology and technological innovation has been dramatic. Equally significant is the exceptional commitment of othe nations to education and effieient cooperation between government and industry. No single nation, not even the United States, can lead in all technologies. Each nation must compete globally by using the world's technology as its own resource.[6]

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Rise of the Pacific Rim

In the technology business, the nation of the Pacific Rim are increasingly important. Annual growth rates in the gross national product of 5 to 7 percent are forcast for nations of the Asian and Pacific region through the end of the century. By the year 2000, it is estimated, the region will constitute a world class centre of technology. A Japanese student of technology and security issues asserted sometime ago:

> The more technology advances, the more the United States and the Soviet Union will become dependent upon the initiative of the Japanese people..... If, for example, Japan sold (integrated circuit) chips to the Soviet Union and stopped selling them to the United States, this would upset the entire military balance....among the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan.... we are going to have a totally new configuration in the balance of power in the world.[7]

Even if one does not agree with this bold assertion it is difficult to deny the centrality of Japan as the major economic and financial power in the Pacific. In the past Japan had been under American pressure to spend more on defence and military security. With the disappearance of the Soviet Union, it is now in a strong position to resist American pressure and become a competing centre of economic and military power at the global level.

Third World

Technically speaking the term "Third World" has become meaningless after the disappearance of the Second World i.e., the socialist world. The recent changes have weakened the collective personality of the countries of the third world in international politics. The non-aligned movement has lost much its purpose. Its continuance is questioned on the one hand, while, on the other, efforts are being made to strengthen it and to make it meaningful in the changed world. Simultaneously the question of restructuring of the United Nations in order to make it effective in the peacemaking and peacekeeping role is under active consideration by the comity of na-

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tions. If this world body is made democratic and effective there is no need for a parallel world forum. In fact, in that case, the dogmatic adherence to the nonaligment movement might be counterproductive and self defeating for the nonalignment itself. The third world countries will have to resolve this political tangle.

In the comming years the core of international politics will be the economic aspect. This is already visible. The collapse of the socialist system has facilitated the globalization of the economy and the increasing scope of activities of multinationals. With north-South dialogue and the 'new international economic order' becoming dormant by now, the countries of the third world will fall into the inescapable but uncomfortable embrace of the multinationals. Their problems of poverty, population and unemployment as well as the environmental issues will keep embarassing their own governments and the world bodies. Also, after the end of the communist ideology, much of the Asian part of the third world is likely to relapse into the worstkind of religious fundamentalism and militant nationalism on ethnic line.

In a nutshell, the nineties will be a period of great upheavals and reordering of international politics on a durable pattern.

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PRIVATISATION AND THE CONCEPT OF EFFICIENCY

Asha Gupta

Privatisation is a recent phenomenon. The very word 'privatisation' causes a lot of misunderstanding, premature polarisation and arguments that are beside the point. Some believe that privatisation is an attempt to restore completely free market. Others interpret the word as a check on the government or rolling back its activities. Generally speaking, privatisation refers to the transfer of activities from the public to the private sector. It can take a variety of forms. It can mean the sale of wholly owned government enterprises either fully or in part. Privatisation can also be a partnership between the government and business through the transfer of responsibilities from the government to private sector.[1]

All the world over, governments are resorting to privatisation for multiple reasons-improving efficiency and competition, reducing public deficits, generation of cash, elimination of political interference in the management of various enterprises and widening the ownership of economic assets, etc. However, the question of efficiency remains the central issue. It is generally assumed that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector. The myth prevails that what the public sector can do, the private sector can do better. Also, the non-productive public sector is considered to be a burden on the productive private sector.

We find a lack of broad understanding on the role of public sector in general. The dual set of responsibility of the public enterprises make effeciency measurement difficult, if not impossible. Those who have a vested or ideological interest in continued public ownership of public enterprises seek to measure their performance

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by broader and even more socially oriented dimensions. Those who have a contrary interest seek to measure their performance with a view that their inherent ineffeciency will thereby be revealed.

Many of the theoretical arguments of privatisation of ownership, competition, value judgement involved, really depend on how effeciency is defined[2]. Most of the universal criteria offered such as global factor, productivity, economic profitability and contribution to general resources of the state, are versions of productivity or economic efficiency which omit non-economic values.[3]

Usually a public enterprise is judged by a variety of vague indices. An enterprises may be declared inefficient on economic grounds however efficient it may be on social grounds. On the other hand, an economically inefficient enterprise can also try to conceal its poor performance under the cloak of social obligation. It is also possible that an enterprise showing commercial surplus under monopoly power may not be efficient in reality. Had it been managed efficiently, it could have earned more profits perhaps.

In fact, the scope of measuring the efficiency of a public enterprise is limited in the narrowest sense of profitability. Public enterprise profits are not solely due to their inefficiency. For this, we need a far more differentiated and nuanced approach-an approach that takes into consideration their varied problems and constraints-from faulty technological choice, poor market strategies to plan mismanagement and gross governmental interference.[4]

Further, we should keep in mind the dual nature of the public enterprises. They behave both as a public body and as a private enterprise. As a public body it is supposed to be concerned only with social objectives and as a private enterprise it is concerned only with profit. In other words, the public enterprises have certain economies in terms of pricing, finance, licensing and marketing, etc. They have certain diseconomies also in terms of social obligations, commitment towards economic development, removal of regional imbalances and creation of employment opportunities, etc. Therefore, in order to arrive at a correct judgement regarding the performance or

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efficiency of the public enterprises, both the commercial and non-commercial criteria should be taken into consideration.[5]

At the heart of the privatisation strategy is the assumption that public sector is always wasteful, inefficient and unproductive. It is based on the crude division between productive economic relations and unproductive social relations. Under this scheme, the economic motive such as maximisation of profit is given more weightage than social motive such as heath care. This is a clear case of diluted version of laiseez-fare case for privatisation of finance and social services. It stands for selection distribution of benefits and services.

In the public sector, benefits and services are funded wholly on the basis of non-market criteria such as need. The public sector provides certain services to the public at cost price or even less because the services provided by them are essential. Pre-occupied with profits and competition, the private sector cannot be expected to give priority to services such as maintenance of highways, fire services, etc.

Statistically speaking, there can be no productive gain from social services. Therefore, the convention prevails that more a society spends on public services, the lower is the rate of economic growth.[6] It provides legitimacy to privatisation. It also implies increased 'effeciency'. But here privatisation is concerned only with the narrow form of economic efficiency rather than social equity. The question arises can we apply market tools to assess on-market institutions ? How can the public enterprises be subject to market efficiency, yet play a social role ?

Economic efficiency is the least cost notion of efficiency. It is achieved when the value of what is produced exceeds as much as possible the value of resources.[7] As such, the social services can never be termed efficient so far as the market value is concerned. But they certainy help in providing 'social equity'. By social equity we mean the maximisation of equality in terms of resources, status and power. By privatising public services, we may achieve economic efficiency but at what cost? It will certainly lead to unequal distribu-

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tion of resources, status and power. The poor are likely to be at a disadvantage however efficient the market forces may be.

As such, the privatisation is likely to widen inequalities. It is based on the analysis of the distribution of the social costs. The term 'social cost' refers to all those harmful consequences which other persons sustain as a result of productive processes and for which private enterprises are not held accountable.[8] These include the social consequences of rapid technological changes and effects of production on health, population and employment. Further, it should be realised that the effects of the social cost is not felt evenly by the public. It may be felt more by the working class and the lower strata.

The question arises should be social costs be met collectively by social services or should be allowed to fall anywhere ? Under the laissez-faire system, social costs were the responsibility of the individuals themselves. privatisation reflects the same individualism. It forces the individual to bear the cost of the problems which are not due to his own faults but are the results of the other's doing. These problems include unemployment, ill-health, low pay and poverty, etc.[9]

Further, we should keep in mind that privatisatin cannot lead to effeciency *iposo facto*. Privatisation is no pancea. It may even backfire when the economic and social costs of it become apparent.[10] Private enterprises are not intrinsically effecient. Everyday we read about the financial difficulties and bankrupties of private companies all over the world. Efficiency in the private sector is usually achieved at the cost of some social or economic factors. While the public services provided by the state are subject to scrtiny, private enterprises may not hesitate in sacrificing quality for the sake of profit.

At this stage, we should not forget that the public enterprises can not function like the private enterprises. The former have to work in a different environment altogether. This does not mean that the manager in the public enterprises are less effecient than their counterparts in the private enterprises. If in deed, there is some gain

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following privatisation, it is not because the managers become more efficient all of a sudden but because the environment becomes more flexible. What we need, perhaps, is privatisation of style rather than privatisation of ownership.

If we substitute the public enterprises or social services with the private ones, we change the very character of them. We do not solve the public sector efficiency problem by this method, rather we try to get rid of the public sector itself. All public enterprises are not inherently inefficient. Similarly, all private enterprises ar not inherently efficient. Public enterprises have to work under several constraints while the private enterprises can work in a more business-like atmosphere. It may be attributed to the general attitudes and modelities of accountability.

It is worth repeating that pubic enterprises have multiple objectives. Had the public enterprises aimed at maximising economic cost benefit efficiency, with all other goals expressed as constrains, its political acceptability, as well as managerial operatability, would have become doubtful. Since the government are not willing to provide trade off values for the various criteria, or to allow them to be applied consistantly, there is no real integration of disparate achievements.

Since the public enterprises have both commercial and non-commercial objectives, there is an urgent need to develop some common criteria to evaluate their performance and efficiency. This poses definitional problem of efficiency : (i) what is efficiency in the context of public enterprises, (ii) how efficiency is to be measured and (iii) how efficiency can be introduced ? Answer to these questions will have to be sort both from the theoretical aspects and empirical evidence.[11]

Each person, whether participant or spectator, has his own scale of values and applies it to the public enterprise as he thinks appropriate. The consumer evaluates from the point of view of the services he gets and the price he pays. The treasure evaluates from the point of view of the taxes dividends and other revenues earned

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on public investments. The auditor general evaluates from the point of view of conformity to the rules and regulations. The party in power may evaluate its usefulness from the point of view of consolidation of its powers and so on. This is purely subjective approach.

This relativity can be avoided by adopting some common criteria. There are two dimensions to the economists' definition of efficiency : (i) technial or x-efficiency and (ii) allocative efficiency. A production process is said to be technically efficient if the minimum feasible quantity of resources is used in the production of a given level of output. The thrust of this definition is that a maximum feasible output is to be obtained from a given volume of inputs. In allocative efficiency, it does not matter whether the level of output is supplied at minimum cost or not. In allocative efficiency, the stress is on the level or quality of output which ought to be in accordance with the consumers' preferences.

Those who advocate the superiority of the market in the form of privatisation point out profitability as an indicator of efficiency. This simple argument can be misleading. Profitability in itself cannot be the sufficient indicator of efficiency. Additional information has to be acquired to understand fully the cost structure of a given product. The return on the capital cannot be the only factor of judging the profitability and performance of an enterprise. It is a product of inverse output capital ratio and profit margins. The Profit margin has to be related to the gross profit before tax and interest on gross sale.[12] It is the total value of sales of an enterprise and not its profits, that should be taken into consideration.

Further, many of the services which are provided by the public sector such as irrigation, transport, postal services and education have high fixed costs. Privatisation of these services become profitable. in that case monopoly rents will have to be extracted by the producer with a loss in welfare to the consumer. Therefore, high fixed cost makes the entry of potential competitors expenses, and, therefore, unlikely. Without the threat of competition from alternative

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suppliers, the cost of production are likely to be higher than they would otherwise be if markets were contested.

The higher costs arise because of managerial slack such as management prerequisites low productivity and over staffing. Therefore, manager are able to track-off profit for intra-organisation benefits. In other words, there is a transfer of surplus from share holders to management. The ability of management to engage in discretionary behaviour that results in x-inefficiency depends upon the degree of competition and the powers of the share holders *vis-a-vis* managers. Therefore, it is clear that the existance of x-inefficiency is as much possible under public enterprises as under private enterprises depending upon the market condition.[13]

In fact, the privatisation is not aimed at improving the effectiveness or increasing the efficiency in the use of scarace resources but improving the cost effectiveness. It is based on the assumption that the less spent on public sector, the better it is.

Therefore, while assessing the performance of an enterprise, whether under the public or private control, three things should be kept in mind- (i) efficiency, (ii) effectiveness and (iii) economy. These are refered to as the three E's. Efficiency implies output divided by resources consumed. An alternative measure of efficiency could be the unit cost-the cost of inputs divided by the outputs. By effecitiveness, we imply the objectives to be achieved. Quality of service can also be measured and regarded as an indicator of effectiveness. By economy we try to analyse how actual input costs compare with planned or expected costs.

Efficiency, effectiveness and economy are the components of value for money. Where they can be measured they are called 'performance measures; but where, they cannot be measured precisely, they can be treated as 'performance indicators'. We have to take all three elements into consideration for evaluation purposes. Any study based on any one of these elements cannot be termed realistic.

It does not mean that the question of efficiency is no longer

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relevant in the context of public enterprises. But greater weightage has to be given to the question of effectiveness. The non-neoclassic group comprising of the Marxists, Structuralists and Liberals, view industrial development not as an end but as a means to an end. To them, efficiency cannot be measured in terms of market values. It has to be measured in terms of self-reliance, technological up-gradation, change in class-structure, income-redistribution, equity, etc. They perceive an active role for the state in contrast to the neoclassic assumption of the neutral state.

In fact, effeciency is a relative concept.[14] It is relative to the objectives conceived for an enterprise, public or private it may be. Unless the objectives are clearly defined and the parameters of effciency sharply demarcated, any attempt to evaluate the performance of an enterprise cannot serve any purpose. The question arises what objective should an organisation be serving? In the case of private sector, it is unambiguously the maximisation of long-term profits. But in the case of public sector organisation or enterprise, it is more ambiguous. Given the quest for public sector effeciently the marginal cost pricing is bound to result in losses. If externalities are taken into consideration, nebolous concept of serving the 'public interest' replaces the idea of maximising profit.

A public sector typically serves a number of intermediate goals which are loosely and ambiguously related to the over all objective of serving the public interest. Again, the question arises what is public interest, who will decide upon it, are all the members of the public to be given equal weight, etc., ? Sometimes the complexity of the decision making process, goal ambiguity, goal conflict and asymmetry in the distribution of information give rise to 'principal agent' problems. In this case, the managers and bureaucrats can serve their own interests at the expense of the politicians and general public.

It can be avoided by adopting some common measures. In a contract between the government and one of its public enterprise, the government and the enterprise management must agree on how the latter's performance is to be measured. It is an evaluation on

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agreed terms of performance of a public enterprise in discharge of an agreement. Management should not be deemed to have failed, or broken the contract because of certain factors which are uncontrolable or unavoidable. Nor should they reap underserved credits for their achievements based on favourable international market or protectionaist policies of the government.

Herein lies the need for a concept like 'memorandum of understanding'. A MOU is supposed to outline the mutual obiligations of the government and the public enterprises concerned. In fact, the government should sign the MOU with select public enterprises preferably for a period of five years. It should prescribe the annual targets of production, profits and other obligations. It should also spell out the duties and obligations of the administrative ministry concerned.[15]

Further, the criteria and the targets specified in the contract should be such that their achievements should contribute to national objectives. They should be fair to the nation as well as to the management.[16] This will require an impartial evaluation of the performance of a public enterprise on the basis of cost, benefit and other technical assessments. The distinction will have to be made between evaluation of an enterprise's total impact and evaluation of that part of the enterprise's impact which is attributable to the management. This will depend on the extent to which mangement is able to control certain variables such as reduction in utilisation of scarce resources, wastages, etc. The management should not be held responsible for the inefficiencies due to governmental policies or other factors outside government's control such as world crisis, trade recession, world wide inflation, etc.

While selecting indicators for the evaluation of the public sector management, we should keep in mind the most relevant indicators-those whose variations from time to time has the greatest impact on national objectives. However, the indicators which are most significant for imporovement of management performance are those whose variation will depend on management skill and efforts.

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To conclude, it can be said that the concept of efficiency in the public sector is the one which requires more attention than it has received so far. While considering, allocative efficiency, care must be taken to incorporate externalities into the demand function. This leads to further problems regarding the relatives weights given to private and social benefits. The elimination of x-inefficiency requires the introduction of management systems and incentive structures. It is bound to show positive results in due course.

Lack of clarity on the concept of efficiency and the means to achieve, it can nullify the aim of privatisation. The question of efficiency remains central to the debate on privatisation all the world over. A holistic approach which incorporate the social dimension of public enterprises requires a case by case study. Only such an approach can help in identifying the efficient and non-efficient public enterprises. It can also pinpoint the constraints specific to each enterprise. In order to make a correct evaluation of a public enterprise, one has to discover the public enterprise's objectives, reduce these objectives to measurable indicators of achievement, decide about suitable standards of achievement, collect data on actual achievements and compare it with actual standards. Naturally, this should be followed by an analysis of possible options for the future to make the study more relevant.

Lastly, I would like to suggest that the privatisation should not be attempted in any country without proper analysis of socio-economic and political conditions prevalent therein. Profound economic changes cannot occur without *pari-passu* or prior transformation of the ideological climate. In this set of affairs, a set of economic policies is of little relevance if in the absence of a determined political movement bound together by a cohesive and dynamic ideology, the will is lacking to implement them.

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EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PLAN AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

N. Ashirvad

The new Congress Government had re-constituted planning Commission–decided to start the eighth five Year plan from April 1, 1992. The eighth plan has the unique distinction of having been worked upon by three different Planning Commissions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the new approach paper entitled 'Objectives, Thrusts and Macro Dimensions of the Eighth Plan'. (Planning Commission, 1991) reads more like a document of national consensus, than the product of a particular party's political manifesto.[1]

The National Development Council (NDC) at its 43rd meeting on 23rd and 24th December, 1991 has broadly approved Direction Approach to the Eighth plan.

An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss the growth strategy of the eighth plan in the light of the previous plans, allevating the conditions of poverty-sticken people to lead human life. So this paper is divided into two sections; the first section discusses size, growth rate, approach, Thrust and strategy of 8th Five Year Plan and the second section deals with various efforts initiated in the previous Five Year Plans to eliminate the poverty from the country and what are the new arrangements in this direction in the 8th five year plan.

I

Size of Plan:- Regarding size of 8th plan, it is a giant size plan in terms of outlay: Rs. 792,000 crore at 1991-92 prices. Of this, the share of private sector will be Rs. 450,000 crore which is inclusive of Rs. 302,000 crore investment in the house hold sector. The balance of

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Rs. 342,000 crore or 43.2 per cent of the total outlay has been earmarked for public sector. Obviously the planners have "down graded" the public sector status of being at "Commanding heights". It has taken a U-turn yielding place to the private sector after a persistent struggle for nearly four decades now. Significantly, the proposed shift resource-allocation from the public to the private sector reflects the revolution in economic reforms initiated since July 1991. One may well question the relevance of planning in the context of extensive liberalisation instead of continuing the regime of controls and regulations and licensing.[2]

Growth rate : The approach paper has opted for a low key growth rate of 5.6 per cent per annum. It is based on the assumption that the domestic savings will average 21.6 per cent annually and the incremental capital-output ratio will be 4:1. This growth rate is considered more "realistic" and achievable.[3]

The Commission estimates the current account deficit or foreign borrowing at Rs. 94,000 crore or 1.4 per cent of GDP compared to the current level of 2.5 per cent of GDP, with export growth of 13.6 per cent and imports restricted to 8% per annum.[4]

The approach paper proposes deficit financing of 1.75 per cent for every 1 per cent increase in the GDP. This target is sought to be achieved by cutting down non-plan expenditure and reducing the Government dis-saving.[5]

Approach : The three-fold approach adopted for the plan is : (1) prioritisation of sectors/projects for intensive investment for the implementation of the package of new policies (2) Funding of the selected areas; and ensuring the benefits of investment in the social sectors to the beneficiaries, that is target-specific investment should be aimed at.[6]

Thrust : The main thrust of the plan will be optional utilisation of the resources implying thereby improved efficiency and higher resource generation by the public sector. The emphasis will also be on reduction of expenditure on Government administration and un-

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productive projects. Reduction will be effected in time and cost overruns in all major and medium-irrigation projects. Priority areas will be provided finance through various sources.[7]

The "Services Sector" is to receive a thrust in the next round of liberalisation to increase employment generation.[8]

Objectives : The plan would aim population control, employment generation, health care, universalisation of education, provision of safe drinking water, roads and rural energy supply. The infrastructure including power, transport and communication will be treated as a key sector for development.

Strategy : For the achievement of objectives an integrated and well-coordinated sectoral strategy will be adopted.

The Ministries and Departments will undertake pruning of the plans and programmes in order to weed out the uneconomc schemes or projects. For the selected schemes full, and not ad hoc allocations of funds will be made. One of the eighth plan has been finalised, no fresh projects will be allowed to be undertaken.

The planning Commission has suggested merger of all poverty alleviation schemes into a single scheme. The centrally sponsored schemes are proposed to be transferred to the states. These recommendations have been proposed because the 20-point poverty alleviation programmes, which had been started with all the fanfare and in which roughly Rs. 60,000 crore had been sunk during the eighties, have flopped according to a study.[9]

II

Planning and poverty Alleviation

This section discusses the various programmes and schemes initiated in various Five-Year Plans in the past to remove the mass poverty in the country. It is an appropriate to recall here what Pandit Nehru said years back. Speaking to members of the first Planning Commission (1950) Jawaharlal Nehru said that the aim of

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planning in our country should be "Growth with justice". Today after more than 40 years and seven Five year plans, this goal remains far from being achieved. It has not become the major thrust of planning in our country.

It is a pity that despite mass poverty in the country, adequate provisions was not made in the first three five years plans to remove the same. It was in the fourth five year plan that the economists and the planners started qualifying poverty conditions and the people living under conditions of absolute and abject poverty.[10]

The fourth plan made a radical departure in terms of planning philosophy and planning efforts. It identified two broad approaches which were adopted as a integral part of the planning process. The two approaches were:

1) Identification of vulnerable and weaker sections of society and creation of gainful employment and avenues for such house holds with financial assistance.

2) Spatial Component plans for vulnerable regions which were entrapped in climatically and geographically different conditions were also initiated. The main focus was to accelerate the pace of development in such areas which were relatively in a disadvantageous position from the view point of resource endowment and infrastructural development.[11]

In the fifth plan, the concept of the Minimus Needs Programme (MNP) was introduced. It covered aspects of social development in contrast to the primary emphasis on economic activities and ventures in the beneficiary and area development approaches.[12]

The sixth plan shifted the strategy by producing the concept of integrated Rural Development Programme. This strategy aimed at raising the weakest families in the rural areas above the poverty line on a lasting basis by giving them income generating assest and access to credit and other inputs.[13]

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On account of severity of drought in different parts of the country it is regarded that the seventh plan is a failure one. The plan target of growth in GDP in real terms of five per cent annually has been a major casualty of draught. The reserve Bank's latest report on currency and fince estimates the rate of growth at 1.5 per cent in the current financial year. Though this is better than the world Bank's earlier projection of a zero rate of growth, it is far below the rate of 4.7 per cent estimated for 1986-87.[14]

This has obvious implications for poverty alleviation efforts in the country. Extensive drought relief programmes should have reduced the adverse impact to some extent. But we must consider the fact that these programmes do not either generate productive assets or provide for sustained growth of employment and income in the manner rising farm output can, though it may not always do, even after making due allowance for labour-saving efforts by the bigger farm holds.[15] The latest data available show that only 30 per cent of the families which were given earning assets under the IRDP have managed to cross the poverty line. The Government claims that nearly 80 per cent of the beneficiaries have registered some increase in their income. But their lot remains unchanged even today.[16]

The facts which are discussed in the above paragraphs clearly establishes that the anti-poverty programmes sponsored and initiated by the Government have so far not yielded satisfactory results. There are several complaints from different quarters that most of the benefits under poverty alleviation programmes were not reaching the people for whom they were meant. Out of every Rs. 100 allocated for the upliftment of the poor only Rs. 15 could manage to reach down to the poor.[17] Therefore, the forty years of the planned economic development could not remove the poverty nor atleast stop its growth.

Is poverty on the Wane ?

According to Professors B.S. Minhar, I.R. Jain and S.D. Jandulkar the number of poor people in the country has increased from 311 million to 361.2 million from 1972-73 to 1987-88.[18] Acoording to the

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latest world development Report India stood 20th from the bottom in 1989 in a list of 24 countries arranged in order of per capita GNP. However, if countries with populations of less than 20 million are excluded from consideration India emerges as the sixth poorest country in the world, exceeded in destitution only by Zaire, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Tanzania and Ethiopia. The number of Indians who subsist below the line of absolute poverty is estimated to be around 350 million out of a total population of around 850 million.[19]

PV's vision

Perthaps the Prime Minister was aware of the hard realities of abject poverty of the country, when he said on 24th December, 1992 in the concluding session of National Development Council that by the year 2000 poverty should be almost completely eradicated and conditions of near full employment would prevail. Basic needs in respect of food, drinking water, clothing, universal elementary eduction, adult literacy and access to health facilities would be provided for. Women will have equal status and life expectancy will increase to well over 60 years and infant morality will be declined steeply.[20] Commenting on the controversy over subsidy reductions, the Prime Minister wanted the Chief Ministers to make their positions clear on whether the poor in the country deserved a separate treatment. In his view without such special treatment there will be no social justice.[21]

Tightening the net:

To translate the vision of the present government on poverty alleviation the planning Commission suggested merger of all the existing rural poverty alleviation schemes into a single scheme in 8th five year plan. It is the sound suggestion and hence it should be implemented soon.

The programmes for the rural poor now included the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and its two subprogrammes, Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), and the programme for generationg wage employment, namely the Na-

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tional Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)–which were merged to form the Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY). These programmes have had the positive impact of improving the social and economic infrastrutural along with reducing the incidence of poverty.[22] On other hand, each programme has spawned its own bureaucracy. Quite often larger sums of money are spent on maintaining the bureaucracy rather than on the beneficiaries of the programme. A leaner, more efficient administrative system will surely be welcome. However, the fundamental reform that such "Safety net"schemes require is the involvement of the beneficiaries in the design and implementation and, indeed, the partial financing of these projects.[23]

Experience from the planned economic development of our country reveals certain hard realities i.e. the planning in our country suffers from class and caste biases. While lip service is rendered to the problems of the marginalised people the vast resources of the country are being utilised for the benefits of a few, Soulutin for abject poverty of the country call for, first and foremost, a political will to face the reality of inequality in our country. The recognition of this reality would demand a reversal of the planning priorities. This would require a reallocation of available resources to achieve basic human rights for all.

Just planning would also require that concrete mechanisms are created to allow people from the different marginalised sectors to participate in the planning process. Besides, the following steps should be taken with right earnest. They are : (i) Quick and rigorous land reformation (ii) recognition of right to work as a fundamental right (iii) right to primary education (iv) right to housing (v) right to information and (vi) right to participation.

Mere recognition of said rights is not enough, sincere translation of them into concrete action is essential. And that is crying need of the hour.

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RESTRUCTURISATION OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION : SOME OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

V.P. Tripathi and Gunjan Sharma

The organisational structure of the Planning Commission has been a controversial issue in India right since its inception in 1950. This controversy did not come to an end even after the recommedations of Narsingh Rao Dixit Committee on the Administrative Reforms and subsequent restructurisation of the Planning Commission in 1970. The said controversy got a new lease of life with the declaration of Janta Government in 1989 to accord constitutional Status to the PC and restructurise its whole set-up. Although Janta Government did not last long but the same generated a new debate on the status and restructurisation of the said body, which is still continuing.

The Planning edifice in India is quite vast, complex and monolithic. Broadly, on the pattern of the political organisation, the planning system in India is also three staged i.e. there are planning machinaries on centre, state and district levels. The whole set-up however intermingles with political and administrative set up of the Government at various levels. Broadly, as one descends downwards (namely district level) more one finds it being administered by the Government officials. The super structure of the Planning Machinery i.e. the planning Commission is however an autonomous body. This body has been flexible since its inception, in the sense that there have been frequent alterations in its membership and organisation. Except the Prime Minister, who is exoffcio Chairman of the Planning Commission there have been no uniform principes on which the Vice Chairman and members of the Commission are chosen or com-

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position of the same is altered. This kind of liberty has been possible only because the formation of the Planning Commission is not sought under constitutional provisions. But if once it attains constitutional status such flexibility will not be permissible. It is, therefore, very vital that an ideal model of the Planning Commission is designed before it is accorded a constitutional status.

2. Present Setup of the Planning Commission:

The Planning Commission in India was set up first of all on March 15, 1950 on the basis of a Government of India resolution. This Resolution made provision for setting up of a permanent Planning Commission but it did not specify the number and qualification of its members. This left a wide margin for changes in the size and the composition of the Commission from time to time. Experience speaks that the politicians took full advantages of this flexibilities and made frequent and arbitry changes in the composition of the Planning Commission as and when they wished to do so.

On 3rd of May 1971 the Planning Commission was restructurised and Planning Portfolio was created in the Union Ministry so that political control on Planning process could be tightened more.[2] Under aforesaid restructisation, the post of the Chairman of the Planning Commission remained with the Prime Minister but the Deputy Chairmanship which was hitherto with a non-minister member was given to the Minister looking after the portfolio of Planning in the Union Ministry.

Besides Chairman and Deputy Chairman, ten other members were to be nominated, out of which six members wer full time members and four were to be coopted from the Union Cabinet. In order to maintain a close coordination and living contact between the Planning Commission and the Union Ministry, the Cabinet Secretary himself acted as Secretary to the Planning Commission.

3. Past Experiences and Suggestion :

The study of present composition of Planning Commission

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reveals that there are four offices of the Planning Commission, which are as follows:-

a) The Chairman

b) The Deputy Chairman

c) The Members of the Commission

d) The Member Secretary of the Commission.

In the following discussion each of the aforesaid offices will be dealt seperately and suggestion will be given on vital issues namely who should hold a particular office of what should be his qualification etc. on the basis of the Past experiences.

a) The Chairman:

The post Chairman and Deputy Chairman are very important. The Chairman of the Commission has so far been the Prime Minister only. The administrative Reform Committe under the Chairmanship of Shri Narsingh Rao Dixit recommended that the Prime Minister should not continue to be the Chairman of the Planning Commission.[3] This recommendation, however, was not acceptable. The Chairmanship of the Prime Minister is necessary by the view point of maintaining status and authority of the Planning Commission. It is also important to secure political support to planning and avoid delay in the planning process. When the plan is formulated and consensus is sought in the Planning Commission in the presence of the Prime Minister there remains no doubt as regards its clearance from National Development Council and the Parliament. In the absence of the Prime Minister there might be string pulling between the Planning Commission and the legislature and thus there are possibility of delays plan between the Planning Commission and Parliament.

b) The Deputy Chairman

The office of the Deputy Chairman is most vital and often held as key position in the whole planning apparatus. This is probably

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one of the most important reason why this office has been a point of heated controversies right from the inception of the Commission in 1950. So far there have been following three types of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

i) A specialist on socio economic affairs.

ii) An active politican but not holding any post in the Government.

iii) A Union Minister holding Planning Portfolio and acting part timely as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

The post of Deput Chairman has been vested in the above three categories of persons from time to time and it was never decided once for all as who would be the suitable man for the same. In the following account the role of Deputy Chariman has been critically discussed in a historical sequence and in the final analysis a conclusion has been drawn as to what type of person will be suited best for this key post.

Deputy Chairmen during Nehru Era:

The way Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocated Planning and repose his faith in it, it was expected that he will support the idea of making the Planning Commission a constitutional body but suprisingly Nehru neither raised this point in constituent assembly nor supported this idea anywhere outside of it in his hundreds of speeches on planning or matters pertaining to planning. He however himself assumed the Chairmanship of the Planning Commission in March 1957 and this way ensured full political control over the planning process.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru chose Gulzarilal Nanda to take over as first Deputy Chairman of the Panning Commission. He was the full time Deputy Chairman directly attached to Pandit Nehru. But this state of affairs did not continue for a long time and a seperate portforlio was created in the Union Ministry. Mr. Nanda was now

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designated as Deputy Minister for Planning in addition to Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. In addition to planning he was to act also as Deputy Minister of power and Irrigation. No wonder that Mr. Nanda felt soon over burdened and wished that he be releived of Deputy Charimanship. His wish was readily granted and Mr. V.T. Krishnachari was appointed Deputy Chairman in his place in Septement, 1953. With the appointment of Mr. V.T. Krishnachari the Planning Commission once again had a full time Deputy Chairman. This situation continued for quite a long time. It is however to be noted that though Mr. V.T. Krishnachari was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission during the Second Five Year Plan; yet he did not play the key role in the formulation and the implementation process of the Second Five Year Plan. Instead the dominating role was played by the Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Planning Commission. Pandit Nehru on one hand and a simple member Mr. P.C. Mahalnobis on the otherhand. Even the plan Draft was issued with the signature of Mr. P.C. Mahalnobis.[4] During the Third Five Year Plan Ashok Mehta who was an active politician of then strong opposition party, Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) was brought is an Deputy Chairman obviously made people apprehensive. The term of Mr. Mehta was almost eventless. The problem of inflation and foreign debt took an unpresidentedly dangerous turn. Mr. Mehta could not take any effective step to save the ship of Planning from the rising tide of inflation which ultimately resulted Planning holiday for complete three years from 1965-66 to 1968-69.

Deputy Chairpersonship under Mrs. Indira Gandhi:

When Mrs. Indira Gnadhi took over as Prime Minister and Chairpersonship of the Planning Commission she kindled the hope of revamping the Planning Commission by appointing Prof. V.N. Gadgil as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. Prof. Gadgil was regarded as a veteran economist commanding high reputation in academic and professional circles. Prof. Gadgil put real hard labour to work out the Fourth Five Year Plan so as to bring

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the Planning process in its right track. But it did not take him long to confront at the same time with the Prime Minister on several vital economic policy issues. The style of working of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was entirely different to that of Pandit Jawaharal Nehru who consulted the Planning Commission on almost all major policy decision specially in the early phase of his rule. Mrs. Indira Gandhi contrary to her father embarrased experts and specialists attached with the Planning process. She did not spare even Prof. V.N. Gadgil who came to know the historic decision of Bank Nationalisation on one fine morning through Newspapers only. Mr. Gadgil was greatly shocked the way he was neglected. he felt shocked not because it was kept confidential (in this matter he never had any doubt about the privileses of the Prime Minister) but what he felt was that even its implication were never discussed with him formally or informally. Yet somehow he overcame the shock and absorbed its implications in the resource scheme of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Bank Nationalisation was not only the issue when Mrs. Indira Gandhi neglected the Planning Commission in General and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in particular, but food procurement, Income Tax on rich farmers were some other major issued where Planning Commission was not even consulted formally or informally what to talk of taking into confidence.

The net result of these developments was the sour relationship between the Planning Commission and the Prime Minister. Not just Planning Commission but specialists as a whole started feeling neglected and demoralised. Things deteriorated so much that in May 1979 Mrs. Gandhi removed Prof. V.N. Gadgil (just when the Fourth Five Year Plan was in progress) in order to tone it up so that the same could fulfil the aspirations of the masses. The removal of Prof. V.N. Gadgil raised an important issue can an active specialist like Prof. V.N. Gadgil is not suitable to be Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission ? Are specialists not suitable persons to undetake the aspiration of the masses ? Can they not work smoothly with the political set up ?

After removal of Mr. Gadgil the post of Deputy Chairman once

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again went to the Planning Minister of the Union Cabinet. Mr. S.V. Chavan, then minister of Planning took over the Charge of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. Yet the confrontation with specialists could not come to an end and now it was an honourable member Prof. B.S. Minhas who clashed on fixing up the target of growth rate. He ultimately resigned. The Prime Minister once again pleased to accept his resignation and ease out his exit.

After Prof. Gadgil who so evercame in as Deputy Chairman whether pure politician S.V. Chavan or specialist minister D.P. Dhar or P.N. Hakshar they were all 'amicable' and adjusting and hence there was no question of any kind of differences with the then Prime Minister.

Deputy Chairmanship after Fourth Five Year Plan:

The practise of appointing minister as Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission was however haulted. Once again in 1977 when Janata Party came into power the post went to specialist when Prof. D.T. Lakhadwala was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission with Cabinet rank. The exparience of appointing Prof. Lakhadwala was however not very pleasant. Like Prof. Gadgil, Prof. Lakhadwala was not dyanamic and hardworking. He had higher calibre as an academician but he had lack of understanding and insight of the structure of the Indian society. He thus proved himself to be one of the most unsuccessful Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission due to his failure and low profile. Although his tenure left a blemish on specialists to be appointed as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. His appointment which was enthusiastically hailed from all quarters began shading reservations in calling his appointment a politically motivated one. They held that Prof. Lakhadwala was just awarded a prize for his guts to criticise economic policies and performance of Mrs. Gandhi during the emergency.

It will however be an erroneous judgement to claim that specialists are not successful as Deputy Chairman. An active

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economist can understand things in a wider panorama (bearing in mind all the social, administrative and political constraints) and he can only think in terms of grass root level. In fact the failure of Prof. Lakhadwalala was not that of professional specialists.

The Janata Government did not stay for a longtime. Contrary to its promise it could not make the Planning Commission a constitutional body. Hence in 1980 when Mrs. Gandhi Came into power again, she lost no time in reverting the decision of Janata Government and reversed the post of Deputy Chairman again to Planning Minister. Mr. N.D. Tiwari hence took over the Deputy Chairmanship once again as Planning Minister. This situation continued till Janata Government did not come to power again. When Janata Dal took over power at Centre, the Planning Commission was reconstituted again. The whole body was made that of specialist. But the Deputy Chairmanship was not given to a pure economist like Prof. Lakhdawala once again, rather it was a recurrence of 1961. An active but dejected politician Mr. R.K. Hegde was installed as Deputy Chairman. He had to head a body which had no fellow politician unlike Mr. Ashok Mehta who had more than one minister as members of the Planning Commission.[5]

Who should hold the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission:

Our past experience reveals that the post of Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission is a key office and thus a person who is appointed to this esteemed office should weild extensive practical experience of Planning process on the one hand and have deep insight of socio economic constrainsts of the Indian economy. On the other hand he must be competent enough to establish good liason with the Government in general and the Prime Minister in Particular as he has not only to deal with them but has to consult them at severl occassions. Keeping all these considerations in mind a pure economist unmindful of the political compulsion of the Government and socio cultural set up of the people cannot be of much use to the planning process. Similarly, a pure politician cannot be of much

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help in achieving our planning goals for he will be motivated only by politically vested interests. Thus we can conclude that this office should be held by such a person who has an economic background and political experience and is capable of thinking on a broad horizon in a down to earth manner. An explicit example of the afforesaid qualities is Dr. V.K. R.V. Rao.

Just according a constitutional status to the Planning Commission is not enough unless the whole Planning Machinery is not overhauled and restructurised on the basis of past experiences.

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THE 'DEBACLE' OF THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND THE THIRD WORLD

Manohar Pandit

'The demonstration effect of Soviet economic growth certainly had a profound impact on the thinking of the leaders of nationalist movements in backward areas'[1] belonging to the Third World. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the demonstration effect of soviet economic and political debacle now is having equally profound impact on the attitude of the leaders in the countries of the Third World. East European countries which were so far wedded to communism have now obtained divorce and are heading towards market economies. A new wave has spread all over the world establishing 'market friendly economy'. Most of the Third World countries, willingly or unwillingly, are giving a serious thought to allow the market forces to have their larger say in arriving at economic decisions.

Many of the Third World countries have already opened their doors for multinationals. Government intervention so far thought to be essential for development of underdeveloped countries is now being considered to be helping only when it is market–friendly. According to the World Development Report 1991 the approach to development that seems to have worked most reliably, and which seems to offer most promise, suggests an reappraisal of the respective roles for the market and the state. 'Put simply, governments need to do less in those areas where market works, or can be made to work, reasonably well'[2] The debacle of Soviet Socialist economy and most of the socialist economies of Eastern Europe seems to provide strong evidence in supoport of the above view. In addition, experience of 'too big' a government in most of the developing

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countries has not been very happy. They have done more harm than good to economic development. Now there is much evidence to show that it is better not to ask governments to manage development in detail. Restricting competition and interfering with prices have very often proved counterporductive. Trade barriers have proved costly.

There are several indices of market distortions, like the parallel-market, premium on the exchange of foreign currency and trade restrictions. Many economies have had severely distorted price systems. There is much empirical evidence to show that most of the countries with severely distorted price structure have done poorly in growth of output and productivity. The World Bank Report of 1991 is full of such evidence.

The Soviet Economic crisis was not a short-term crisis which could have come over by minor reformes in the system. Gorbachev's early programmes failed and spurred more serious efforts to reform the economy in 1987 and 1988. However, the measures were introduced piecemeal and thus they have the opposite of their intended efforts. In 1990, net material product declined by 4 per cent and inflation was running at 12 per cent.[3] The centrally planned system had largely collapsed, but a functionsing market system had not yet replaced it and therefore it was not easy to have any effective reform possible. Ultimately, the transformation of the Soviet economy has started.

The question arises, therefore, that is it the defective implementation of the system based on Marxian Scientific Socialism responsible for the debacle, or is it the very system that failed to work just because of its inherent weak foundation ? To find the answer one had to look into the Marxian doctrine for its weak foundations, if any.

The list of economists is very long who from the very start have been drawing attention to the inherent weaknesses of the Marxian doctrine in spite of its pervasive influence and appeal. Marxism as an intellectual structure, comprising of method, analysis, and em-

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pirical observations; as a secular messianic faith, covering all aspects of life; and as a programme of political action; had its appeal all over the world, and particularly in the developing countries.

Marx centrainly revealed some unusual insight which contributed to its intellectual appeal. Yet, intellectual structure does contain some major shortcomings. There are some internal inconsistencies and it is why, Marxian specific and explicit predictions could not come true. Thus the intellectual structure was not major cause of influencial appeal. In fact, the wide spread influence of the appeal was mainly due to the messianic faith and due to the political success of the Marxist governments, particularly, that of the USSR over the past seven decades. Now that the so called successful government and its political and economic philosophy has dwindled, naturally the influence of the appeal has a major set back.

Dwindling of the so called successful government of USSR and its political and economic philosophy can not be attributed mainly to the mismanagement of the economy based on the doctrine of scientific socialism. For the failure much can be attributed to the inherent weaknesses of the doctrine itself. The following arguments support this view.

First, if the Marxian doctrine of socialism is taken to be founded on sound footing, then it should have replaced the capitalist system of the highly advanced capitalistic countries of the Western Europe and USA and Japan. But this could not happen partly because the doctrine was not purely scientific and partly because short term reforms of Keynesian–type policies were readily and timely adopted in the capitalist system of these countries. Schumpeter's doctrine explaining the evolution of new socialism seems to be constructed on better footing than the Marxian doctrine. Moreover, just contrary to the thesis, Marxian socialism established itself in those countries which were not even at the threshold of capitalism. So the success of such out of way imposed structure was obviously doubtful. Rather it was bound to fail.

Second, the very concepts of 'surplus value' and 'exloitation' were vague and confusing. In a free–market capitalist economy, no

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doubt, there is wide scope for exploitation of man by man, but for that matter, such scope is plentiful in whichever system of economy we may think of. Further, the very argument that the surplus value is generated by increasing the rate of exploitation is in itself misleading and untrue. The surplus that the society all over the world is enjoying does not come from the so called exploitation of man by man, but comes mostly form the increasing productivity of inputs due to improvements in machine and human skill, and last but not the least due to better organisational technology. The so called 'residual' is attributed to technological change and that too mostly disembodied technology i.e. managment improvements.

Finally, overthrowing a system and then establishing an altogether new system, conceived by a man or men, whatever be their abnormal capacities, can not sustain. The history of the human society shows that it is always the gradual evolution that transforms an old system into a new one. The free–market–capitalist system of society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not the same as we have in the twentieth century and the system we may have in the coming centrury may take still a new shape.

For the present, the market economy that was so profoundly advocated by Adam Smith and which had undergone various reforms alongwith checs and counterchecs during the last two centuries, still sems to work better than any other system experimented so far. The state has its role to play but just complimentary to market. Attempts to substitute the role of market by the role of state in functioning of an economy have been disappointing and frustrating.

From the point of view of welfare maximisation it is better to have each individual his right of feedom to take economic decisions pertaining to his consumption, production and exchange matters; provided, of course, such individual decisions do not come in conflict with the interests of the society as a whole. And here comes the role of the state, not only the state but on a wider plain, the role of all the nations together to keep appropriate checks on such individual decisions as and when necessary.

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It appears that the Third World countries, by and large, are making efforts to allow their economies to come to brass tracks, shaking off their pseudo–socialist policies which have had earned cheap popularity for over five decades but failed to deliver the desired goods. The sudden debacle of scientific socialism had compelled the Third World countries to face the realities of life rather than continue their pseudo–socialist policies articulated by a handful of persons enjoying the political power for their vested self–interest.

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MARKET, PLANNING AND MARKET-FRIENDLY-APPROACH TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A.D.N. Bajpai and
Amitabh Shukla

The question of determining eco-dynamics of any system through market[1] or through planning[2] has been disturbing the brains of economic-theorists since long. On one hand classical thinkers[3] were great believers of market-system in which "invisible hand" of the 'self-interest' operates perfectly and gives proper signals to consumers, producers and exchangers, etc. through price. 'Laissez Faire'[4] is the crux of entire market mechanism. On the other hand Soviet-economists[5] thought that market can never fulfil the goals of social justice, rather, it strenghthens exploitative forces and hence, advocated the case for state interference in commanding the reins of economic development. The planning is the main instrument used by the state-authorities to control and direct the economy in desired channels. The mix-up of the above two mechanisms was adopted by various economies, including India, which achieved Independence from colonial rule after World War II. In this mixed model too the state's interference has an upper hand. It shows that newly independent economies preferred the planned path of economic development with some limitations and reservations. All these three types of models were under operation in different parts of the world with different degrees of successes and failures. But since 1980s, there has been a concerted effort of the Western World to highlight the weaknesses of planning and failure of planned economic system in a big way. It did work very well too. Soviet Union and host of East European countries had to succumb to market-oriented pressure

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generated by the West-World. India and many other countries also had to restructure their economic policies in favour of the market. This all has necessitated to have a relook of all the paradigms of economc development used by different countries. This paper is an attempt towards clarifying the concepts of market, planning and recently coined Market-Friendly-Approach (MFA) to economic development.

The Market : The term 'market' reflects the idea of 'laiseez-faire' which is governed by the 'invisible-hand' of self-interest. Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, had believed that this is the 'self-interest' which motivates the economic agents to perform their activities. Free movement of demand and supply forces have in-built capability to balance each other through price mechanism.[6] Price plays an important role in a market-system. The persons having the perchasing power dictate the market. The principle of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' operate effeciently. Private enterprise holds the comanding heights in the market oriented economies.[7] Thus, the market-economies are generally known as capitalistic economie. In other words most of capitalistic economies have efficient working of market which takes care of production and quality, consumption and perchasing power, saving and investment, trade and technology, domestic management and external secotr automatically. Market economists believe that free competition among the economic agent automatically brings competence. It means that effecients survive and inefficients die their own death in a market economy. In nutshel, according to the liberal classical doctrine the free and unimpeded mechanism of market forces would lead to a maximum national income which would also be an optimum national income, disregarding the un-ethical value judgement about personal income distribution and special cases of increasing returns to scale.[8] This market school believes that any concious deliberate effort to influence the amount and composition of investiment can not raise national income in long run. According to Roseenstein Rodan[9], maximisation of national income would be reached by the working of machanism of supply and demand on assumption of competitive

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conditions and small changes per unit of time in four stages or equilibria :

(i) Allocation of given stock of consumers goods

(ii) Allocation of production on assumption of given stock of equipment, land and labour.

(iii) Allocation of investmnt, on assumption of given stock of labour, land and capital.

(iv) Fourth equilibrium condition is provided by the Say's law.[10]

Johnson, explains the market mechanism like this that in the first place, the market rations supplies of consumer goods among consumers, this rationing is governed by the willingness of consumers to pay and provided the distribution of income is acceptable, it is a socially efficient process. Secondly, the market directs the allocation of production between commodities, according to the criterion of maximum profit, which on the same assumption, corresponds to social usefulenss. Thirdly, the market allocates the different factors of production among their various uses, according to the criterion of maximising their incomes. Fourthly, it governs the relative quantities of specific types of labour and capital equipment made available. Fifthly, it distributes income between factors of production and therefore between individuals. Thus it solves all the economic problems of allocation of scarch means between alterntive ends[11] Besides the static functions according to Johnson, serves in various ways to provide incentives to economic growth. Thus the availability of goods through the market stimulates the consumer to seek to increase his income, and access to the market provides and opportunity for investors of new goods and technical improvements to profit from their exploitation. Moreover, the market serves particularly to provide an incentive to the accumulation of capital of all kinds : first to the accumulation of personal capital in the form of trained skill, since the skill earns a higher reward; and second to the accumulation of material capital, since such capital earns an income.[12]

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Thus, properly functioning market system would tend to stimulate built economic efficiency and economic growth, and it is important to note that the market does this automatically, while it requires no big administrative apparatus, no central decision making and very little policing other than the provision of a legal system for the enforcement of contracts.[13]

In brief, it may be said, on the basis of above discussion, that the market has got in-built capacity to take sound care of both economic growth and allocative justice. If economic forces are left free to the comptetive instincts of self interest, the problems of growth efficiency, justice can automatically be solved. But, this is one part of the story. The market does not always work so efficiently. Generally, two types of objections are raised. One type of objection is that the market does not perform its functions properly. The other type of objection is that the results produced by the functioning of the market are undesirable in themselves. These objections are raised on the ground that the market rests much faith on individual decisions which may tend to non-optimum allocation of resources for the reasons as following :

(i) The individual investors maximise the private, not social net market product. External economies are not sufficiently exploited. Complimentarity of industries is so great that, simultaneous inducement rather than hope for autonomous coincidience of investment is called for.

(ii) The lifetime of equipment is long so that the investors foresight is likely to be more imperfect than that of the buyer and seller or the producers. The individual investors risk may be higher than that confronting an over-all investment programme. Further, the costs of an erronous investment decision are high, punishment in the form capital afflicts not only the investor but also the national economy.

(iii) Because of the indivisiblity of capital, large rather than small changes are involved. Yet the price mechanism

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works perfectly only under the assumption of small changes.

(iv) Capital markets though often well organised are notoriously imperfect markts, governed not only by prices but also by institutional or traditional rationaing quotas.[14]

One of the strongest sceptism about the market mechanism is the automatic balancing capacity between aggregate demand and aggregate supply. In 1930s when entire market world was under the pressure of great depression then it was strongly realised and highlighted that the market does not have infinite capacity to balance the demand and supply force and it is not always true that supply creates its own demand.[15] Rather, as Keynes emphasised that over-supply or under-supply and fluctuating nature of employment are the main ingredients of a capitalistic market-oriented system.[16] Keynes strongly advocated the case for state's interference in rectifying the imperfections of market. He analysed the classical doctrines, registered his criticisms and recommended possible curative measures in which state's role was considered indispensable.[17] The differeence between the individual's (micro) decisions and macro expectations became obious and quite apparent in the hands of Keynes. The individuals can think of themselves but not for the economy as a whole and this makes the entire difference. Keynes criticised the faith of classicals in tremendous capacity of building automatic equilibrium between demand and supply, the mechanism of raising employment levels by reducing wages, the process of capital formation through boosting individual savings and soon. But key uses attitude was merely centred around recitifying the misdeeds of the market, and restoring the faith of the world in the goodnesses of the market[19]. However, there can not be any doubt that the great depresion was eye opening failure of market mechanism which gave birth to such a fine economist like Keynes. Keynes divided the history of economics into two parts; Pre-Keynesian and Post-Keynesian.

Again in late 1990s the American Dollar Crash was also an example of market failure for which Japanese and German came

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forward in a big way for its rescue. Inflation, unemployment and instability can be witnessed everywhere in all the market economies. It means that the market economies are not fully fool-proof economies.

To conclude the discussion devoted to the concept of market, it may be mentioned that this system in governed by self-interest, price-mechanism, competition and free movement of demand and supply forces. Further, the history witnesses the mixed story of it's successes and failures.

The Planning :- After undersanding the concept of 'market' it becomes imperative to explain the concept and insrumentality of planning also. "The planning is generally used in opposite sense to market". The economic planning is a concious and a carefully thoghtout process, initiated by the state, for estimating the wealth of the country and for utilising the aviliable resources as effeciently as possible with a view to fulfil some difinite long term objectives".[20] In other 'words, planning is an instrument used by the state to achieve certain well thought objectives. It is not a way of life. It is a means to an end.[21] The concept of planning has been different to different countries. In some countries, economic planning has more or less assumed the position of "the national character of development whereas in case of other countries the planning, stands for diagnosis, prognosis and programme".[22] If in an East European country it appears to be a case of "planning under duress, in the case of a developing economy, it may be only marginally more than an exercise in economic arithmatic.[23] Similarly we have plathora of concepts related to planning as communistic and democratic planning, imperative and indicative planning, centralised and decentrelised planning and so on.[24] But, notwithstanding, planning requires and strong central authority mainly responsible for taking decision pertaining to the economy as a whole. State's intervention is socially and constitutionally approved and obeyed by the economic agents. Controls and restrictions, licences and quotas, subsidy and taxes are generally articulated in such a manner that they fructify in the desired directions. The states authorities which are fully aware of the structural parameters and their flow take decisions about con-

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sumption, production, investment, domestic and foreign trade which are more realistic and may be achieved with lower costs and in less time and with more social welfare and stability. This is the crux of the planning. In planing, it is supposed that the state keeps the record of every economic activity taking place in the economy and further attempts to restrict and direct them in the socially desirable directions. In planning, the targets of production, investment consumption and trade both domestic and foreign must be known before hand. One authority must try to coordinate all these closely related processes. In parallel with the physical processes their accompanying monetary processes, i.e. the flows of incomes and expenditures, must also be coordinated. A planning is a wide prognosis and organised exchange of information on the one hand and a preliminary coordination of interestes and activities on the other hand. All this, if well done, will improve the economic efficiency and reduce the frictions of adaptation. However, the whole thing is but adequate coordination which will later be exposed to the test of practice.[25]

In sum, planning is a deliberate exercise done by the government to achieve certain goals in a given time. Soviets first experienced with the planning and the same was quite successful too. When in 1930s entire West was under duress of depression then the Soviet Union was enjoying the stability achieved by the enforcement of planning. This set an example for so may countries which got Independence after World War II including India. Moreover, this gave a new direction to state's control in most of the developed western countries too. Most of the developing countries resorted to the path of planning in a big way. In India a mixed path was selected including the merits of planning and market both. But, this fact must be accepted that in India the central authority was getting stronger and the pinch of controls, restrictions, licences was being felt by a common entrepreneur. It means that the state's controls were dominating to a great extent. These restrictions and controls wre impeding not only the growth but also the process of social welfare. On the name of social welfare a huge sum from the public

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exchequer was being spent without achieving any noticable success. The economy could not be lifted above from the grip of unemployment, poverty, backwardness, low productivity, low quality, foreign debt and etc. problems.

Similar is the story, more or less, of various planning oriented economies. Notwithstanding, the difference between command economies and market economies became more apparent, and since 1980s the voice of more liberalisation is being herd clearly. Soviets 'Paristroika' and 'Glosnots' not only influenced the Soviet Union but entire East European World. Even in China things are changing at a very fast rate. India had to reframe its economic policies as suiting to the Western World. this may be attributed to the failures of planning in achieving the desired objectives. Hence, a new approach is developed known as Market Friendly Approach (MFA). In present context it will be quite useful to discuss the market friendly approach.

The Market-Friendly Approach (MFA) :-

This is a belief of western economists that in developing countries what-ever policies were formulated and implemented were against the flow of the market. Therefore, market got distorted and created various problems. The governments are supposed to read the messages coming from the market carefully ad frame these policies accordingly. The World Development Report 1991 selected the main theme of discussion as "interaction between governments and market".[26] According to the Report, competetive markets are the best way yet found for efficiently organising the production and distribution of goods and services. Domestic and External competion provide the incentives that unleash entrepreneurship and technological progress. But the markets can not operate in vaccum they require a legal and regulatory framework that only governments can provide ..... it is not a question of state or market : each has a large and irreplaceable role.[27] The Report further adds, if markets can work well, there can be substantial economic gain. If markets fail, and governments intervene cautiously and judiciously in

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response. there is a further gain. But if the two are brought together the evidence suggests that the whole is greater than the sum. When markets and governments have worked in harness, the results have ben spectacular but when they have worked in opposition, the results have been disastrous.[28]

Analysing the economic theory and practical experiences of developed and developing countries, the Report suggests that state interventions are likely to help, provided they are market friendly. That means[29]

1. Intervane Reluctantly : Let markets work unless it is demonstrably better to step in. Certain actions involving public goods readily pass this test in principle because the private sector usually does not carry them-out. Spending on basic education, infractructure, the relief of poverty, population control and environment protection. Certain other actions, accoriding to the Report, usually fail the test. For instance, it is usually a mistake for the state to carry out physical production, or to protect the demestic production of a good that can be imported more cheaply the whose local production offers few spillover benefits.

2. Apply Checks and Balances :- Put interventions, Report continues, continually to the discipline of the international and domestic markets. The Republic of Korea withdrew it's support for the heavy chemicals industry when market performance showed that the policy was failing.

3. Intervene Openly :- The Report adds that "make interventions as simple, transparent and subject to rules rather than official discretion. Prefer, for example, tariffs to qualitative controles,

Thus, the MFA deals with the reluctant intervention, interrentions will checks and balances and open intervention by the state.

Main Elements of MFA :- The Work Development Report (1991) looked at the relation between government and market under four

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broad headings :[30]

i. Human Development

ii. The Domestic Economy

iii. The Internaitonal Economy and

iv. Macro Economic Policy

These areas of activities are inter-related.

As far as investment in people is concerned, though the economic returns from public and private investments are quite high, markets can not be relied upon in general. Hence, the the states intervention is a must in the areas of adequate educaiton (especially primary education) health care, nutrition and faimily planning services.

The government should increase the quantity of human investment on one hand and improve its quality too. There should be a proper balance of capital and recurring expenditure to avoid any wastage. Subsidies may be reduced from higher education and investment on primary education may be increased. Similarly, expensive curative health care may be shifted in favour of primary cheaper health systems. Moreover, the governments should take especial care to ensure that public programmes reach their intended beneficiaries. In brief in humnan investment the governments should take especial care to ensure that public programmes reach their intended beneficiaries. In brief in human investment the governmetns should intervene but the involvement of private sector in this respect may also permit services to be delivered effectively as in case of education in Kenya, the Phillipines and Zimbabwe and of health care in Rwanda and Zambia.

For managing the domestic economy, the WDR mentions that domestic and external competition has very often spurred innovation, the diffusion of technology and efficient use of resources. The economies like Japan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore the United States and Europe which had established global competitiveness have

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enjoyed advantageous position. Conversely, systems of industrial licencing, restrictions on entry and exit, inappropriate legal codes concerning bankruptsy and employment, inadequate property rights and price controls all of which weaken the forces of competition have impeded the progress of technological change and growth of productivity. The MFA recommends more competitive atmosphere, domestic as well external, so that economic forces may be strengthend in developing countries. It means that the government should try to decontrol, liberalise, privatise its economy to the maximum. To ensure competition, the government should intervene through it's regulatory power on one-hand and investment in infrastructure as irrigation and feeder roads, research and development etc. on the other hand. Further the government, through it's investment in comunication infrastructure and institutions should strengthen the flow of information perfectly. Thus, the governments' intervention and market can work in a harmonious manner and strengthen domestic economy to a great extent.

It the context of international economy MFA strongly believes in the merits of openness to trade, investment and ideas. The international flows of goods, services, capital, labour and technology have expanded quality, the pace of economic advance has been rapid. As contrary to it, a high level of protection for domestic industry has held development back by decades in many countries. The international openness plays a critical role in encouraging domestic producers to cut costs by introducing new technologies and to develop new and better products. The governments should reformulate their economic policies so that international flow of technology of any form viz. foreign investment, foreign education, technical assistance, the licencing of patented process, the transmission of knoweldge through labour flows and exposure to foreign goods, market and technology emboidied in imports of capital, equipment, and intermediate inputs. The governments should frame its policies to promote such flows on one hand and collaborate with industries intimately so that approriate education and on the job training associated with the technology transfer be imparted effectively. In brief,

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the MFA advocates a case for more openness in trade policies so that the domestic governments may interact with the international markets more effeciently and domestic economies are properly integrated with the global economy.

In respect of macro-economic management, the MFA gives most importance to stability. For stability, the governments should reduce their expenditure, cut their deficits, exessive borrowing so that monetary expansion be curbed and inflation be controlled. The exessive expansion of government expenditure has not merely led to inflation but also chronic over-valuation of the currency and loss of export competitiveness. The excessive borrowings have created severe debt problems. So, confidence in private sector investment should be restored to spur growth and generate employment, by and large. Further, the government should respond to external shocks quickly and attempt to overcome the fiscal and financial instability caused due to overcome to the fiscal and financial instability caused due to them. Moreover, a prudent fiscal policy should be maintained by carefully dividing the economic tasks between public and private sector. The Report argues. that, in reappraising gvernment's spending priorities, implementing reforms, reforming the financial sector, privatising state-owned enterprises and using charges to recover the cost of some state-provided services, governments can meet the goals of micro-economic efficiency and macro economic stability at the same time. Similarly the governments should frame their policies in such a manner so that their regular credit worthiness is maintained and they receive foreign debt without any difficulty. In brief, it may be stated that MFA recommends the reduction in government expenditure, by and large, to maintain fiscal and financial stability. A coordination between public and private sector spending, internal and external fincancial system is essential to maintain macro-economic stability.

To conclude the above discussion on MFA, it may be mentioned that this approach believes in the proper integration of governments and markets of developing as well as developed countries. The crux of MFA lies in (i) restricting the role of state in most crucial areas

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as human investment, protection of environment, provision of infrastructure, and macro-economic management, (ii) creating competitive climate of enterprise, domestic as well as external and (iii) more openness towards international trade and investement. A complimentarity between the state and the market should be maintained to achieve better growth prospects.

Conclusion :- In this paper it has been attempted to explain the concepts of market, planning and market-friendly approach. The market and planing are treated as two opposite poles with different instruments and ideological policy frameworks. But in all the systems governments and market both exist. We can not think of any efficient market system without effective control of the government nor we can find any state planned economy without existence of any type of market-behaviour. The difference is that in market system governments read the massages coming from the market and respond to them quickly. Conversely, in command economies, instead of incorporating the signals of the market in economic policies, the markets are suppressed by the governments leading to several distortions and incompetences. Therefore a market friendly approach is propounded in which neither the markets are allowed to go indisciplined and uncontrolled nor the government are permitted to behave illogically and irrationally. Nevertheless, this approach is also not a fool-proof approach and the developing countries should reframe their economic policies looking to their structure, intensity of problems, requirements and administrative capacities. Any step taken in haste or under compulsion may not be fruitful in the long run.

References

1. Here 'Market' does not mean any specific commodity or factor market but it denotes the free movement of demand and supply forces, governance of price mechanism and predominant role of private sector.
2. The planning is an instrument used by the State. Here, planning means effective intervention of the State in economic activities. The controls, licences, restrictions quotas etc. are various tools of state's intervention which are articulated in the main framework of plannig.
3. Classical thinkers are Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, on one hand and Say, Marshall, Pigou on the other hand.

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4. 'Laissez-Faire' principle means that the state should not intertere in the operations of economic forces. The economic agents should be allowed to move freely and interact with each other as and when suiting to their motive of self interest. Adam Smith and many classicists and market believers have confidence in the merits of this principle.
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27. World Bank, "Ibid" P.1
28. World Bank, "Ibid" p. 2
29. World Bank, "Ibid", P. 5
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NEED FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN ECONOMY : A PROPOSED CASE STUDY OF MADHYA PRADESH

Radhika Dass

The basic need of the Indian Economy in general and the State economics in particular is to bring about structural reforms in different sectors of economy like agriculture, industry, trade and services and the financial sector, along with necessary changes in the fiscal system at the macro and micro levels. Corrective measures have to be taken to remove imbalances that have crept into the economy.

The instance of Madhya Pradesh economy has been referred to here as a proposed study.

A Few Observations:

Madhya Pradesh is categoriesed among the low-income States, viz. Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Bihar. The State ranks third in this category, as given below–

Table - 1

	Low Income States	Per Capital Income at Current Prices (1986-87) Rs.
1.	U.P.	2146
2.	Rajasthan	2150
3.	M.P.	1957
4.	Bihar	1802

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When the long term growth rate in the country has been 3.5%, it is 2.5% in the State. If this trend continues, it will lag much behind others. The planners and researchers have to pay attention to this fact.

The growth rate of per capita income for Madhya Pradesh was about 1.2. per cent per annum as compared to the national average of 1.6 per cent between 1970-71 and 1986-87. For comparison purpose per capit income of M.P. and India at 1970-71 prices can be observed as follows–

Table - 2

Per Capita Income at 1970-71 Prices

(Rs.)

Year	M.P.	India
1970-71	484.2	633.0
1980-81	517.0	698.0
1984-85	573.6	775.0
1986-87	583.4	798.0

Per Capita income of M.P. as compared to Punjab, the most prosperous State it is less thon 40%.

Contribution of State income to the National income has declined from 7% in 1960-61 to less than 5% in 1984-85.

It is, however, paradoxical that in various respects, the State has been favourably placed in relation to the richer States, yet its per capita income could not rise to a comparatively higher level. In mid-80's the percentage population below poverty line was estimated at 46.2% while All-India average was 37.2%.

During Sixth Plan the actual Plan expenditure was next highter to Maharastra, U.P. and Gujarat (fourth in ranking order of States) and next to Maharastra during the VIIth Plan, though it was much less in absolute terms yet higher than that in other States as shown in the following table :-

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Table - 3

Rank	State	Actual Expenditure (Rs. Crores)
		During VIth Plan
1.	Maharashtra	6,521
2.	U.P.	6,519
3.	Gujarat	3,880
4.	M.P.	3,865
		During VIIth Plan
1.	Maharastra	10,500
2.	M.P.	7,000
3.	Gujarat	6,000

Source : R.B.I. Bulletin, April 1991 p. 38

Per capita Central Plan Outlay during the VIIth Plan in M.P. has been considerably higher (Rs. 590 per capita) than the All–India Average of Rs. 350. Though per capita total plan outlay is nearly half of the All–India average (Rs. 2933).

Besides Plan expenditure, the non-plan development expenditure, which is largely the responsibility of the State governments has also to be taken into account. Looking to both the plan and non-plan development expenditure the average annual growth rate during VIth Plan has been +16 which was a little less than the All – India average (16.1). But the growth rate of the total development expenditure of the State during the VIIth. Plan was 11.5 which is further below All–India average (13.9).

An important reason for not contributing higher to the per capita income in the State is that the infrastructure got a lion's share in the State (60.6%) which do not at once contribute to the production.

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A comparative picture of the VIIth Plan allocation in M.P., Centre and All–India is as follows:

Table - 4

	Heads	M.P.	Centre	All States
1.	Irrigation and Flood Control	28.2	9.4	19.7
2.	Power	37.4	30.5	28.4
3.	Transport	5.0	12.7	7.2
4.	Communication and Information	—	3.6	0.1
		60.6	56.2	55.4

Source : Statistical Outline of India, 1989-90. Tata Services, Ltd., Deptt. of Econ. & Stat.

A. Structural Changes:-

Madhya Pradesh has been predominantly an agricultural State and still it is so, but with the structural changes in the economy the State's contribution from agriculture to the S.D.P. has proportinately declined, while there has been a proportionate increase in the other sectors of the economy.

The most striking fact about agriculture in M.P. is its low productivity, still it is a surplus State. If the existing agricultural potentialities of this state are harnessed, it can supply a substantial portion of the nation's requirement. In its Plans the emphasis has been mainly on the development of irrigation and power potential. The results have, however, been much below expectations.

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Table - 5

Changes in the Composition of State Demestic Product and NDP (Contribution in Percentages from Different Sectors of Economy) At 1970-71 Prices at Factor Cost

Sectors	1970-71		1981-82		1987-88	
	M.P.	India	M.P.	India	M.P.	India
1. Primary (Agri. & Allied)	62.2	49.1	52.4	41.1	49.0	33.7
2. Secondary (Manufacturing)	14.7	19.9	18.5	23.3	19.8	27.3
3. Tertiary (Transport Commerce & Trade)	12.5	16.0	13.0	16.5	11.8	17.6
4. Banking, etc.	3.5	5.1	4.5	8.4	5.4	9.4
5. Others	7.1	9.9	11.6	10.6	20.0	12.0

Source : Economic survey of M.P. 1989-90, Directorate of Economics & Statistics & N.I. Statistics, C.S.O.

If we compare the contribution from different sectors of the State economy with the All–India averages, we find that there has been a decline in the percentage contribution of agriculture in M.P. from 62.2 in 1970-71 to 43.0 in 1987-88, while the All–India average has declined from 49.1 to 33.7 in the respective years. On the other hand, the manufacturing sector in the State did not make much headway (till 70's). Its proportion in the S.D.P. has increased 14.7% in 1970-71 to 19.8% in 1987-88 but that in the N.D.P. has increased much higher i.e. from 19.9% to 27.3% in the respective years. Tertiary sectors, banking and others have also increased in the State but comparatively much less than the All–India average. (Vide Table V)

The increase in the industrial growth rate can been observed to have been higher since 80's, as has been the case in some of the backwad States like Rajasthan and U.P. By contrast, States like

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Maharastra, Gujarat and Karanataka, which were the relatively fast growing States suffered slowdown in their industrial growth in the second half of 80's.

Table - 8

Industrial Growth Rates (Percent per annum)

	1970-71 to 1980-81	1980-81 to 1985-
Punjab	8.8	3.7
Haryana	8.0	6.5
Karnataka	7.7	3.3
U.P.	6.8	12.6
Maharastra	6.4	3.8
T.N.	6.3	3.3.
A.P.	6.0	7.0
Orissa	6.0	7.0
Gujarat	5.8	2.0
M.P.	5.6	8.5
Rajasthan	4.9	7.8
Kerala	3.7	0.3
Bihar	2.7	6.2
W.B.	1.9	0.5

Source : CSO 1989.

Though the industrial development efforts have started yielding results in some areas, yet so little has been achieved that 36 out of 45 districts in the State have been classified as industrially backward. Industry engages less than one-fifth of the workers in the State.

From a State which till now has not been recognised as industrially developed, M.P. is, however, carving out a place for itself on the country's industrial map. It can be gauged from the fact that according to the State Industries Department, Rs. 20,000 Crore is proposed to be invested in the State during next five years.

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Entrepreneurs are planning to set up small, medium and major products for producing a host of items such as cement, pig iron, copper, paper, sugar, tractors, micro–electronics and automobile tyres. The investment in these units ranges between Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 200 crores.

This is in addition to over Rs. 5000 crores that has already been pumped in by both the small sector as well as industrial giants in the last few years. Further, liberalisation policy along with the incentives provided by the State, Madhya Pradesh–a tribal dominated State, is fast racing ahead to secure a leading position among the industrial States of the country. The electronic industry in the State has rapidly grown at the rate of 55.% between 1985 and 1990, against 30% in the rest of the country. In terms of turn–over too it has done well.

The quest, however, arises, as to how the production structure which is highly capital intensive, luxury oriented and import guessling is going to solve our basic problem of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and whether it will be fitting well in the social milieu and the life-style of the people of the state.

Moreover, there are wide variations in the Industrial development of different regions in the State. According to 1981 census the M.P. average of workers in the registered factories was 506.87 per lakh workers, while the variations were high, viz, the number varied from 3.24 in Raisen to 2056.92 in Indore. There has been a change in the distribution and the number was 24.58 in Sarguja (minimum) to 2746.52 again in Indore (maximum) in 1986.

B. Impact of Fiscal Policy on Structural Changes:

Madhya Pradesh has not lagged behing in absolute terms as far as Central assistance is concerned, though looking to the diversity of the wide area of Madhya Pradesh and the varied programmes it has to adopt, the resources are yet insufficient. The State's own resources as percentage of total revenue have declined from 63.2% in 1970-71 to 58.9% in 1988-89 (R.E.) as given below:

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Table - 7

M.P. Finances

Year	* State's own Resources as % of total Revenue	* State's own Tax Finances as % of own Finances	# State's non-tax Rev. as % of own Finances
1970-71	63.2	60.1	39.9
1980-81	57.3	58.1	41.9
1985-86	60.2	61.5	38.5
1988-89 (RE)	58.4	65.1	34.9
1989-90 (BE)	58.9	66.6	33.4

* Excluding Sharing and Grants-in-aid.
\# Grants not included.

(Source : Economic Survey of M.P., P. 239)

It is evident that the decline in the State's own resources as percentage of total Revenue has been due to the relative fall in the State's non-tax revenue. The annual growth rate of the State's own tax revenue has been, however, higher than the All–States average as given below:

Table - 8

States Own Tax Revenue

	1980-85	1986-90
M.P.	17.4	17.5
All States	16.8	15.9

Generally in search of financial resources the non-fiscal purposes of fiscal policy are discarded, because of the fear that if might weaken its potentiality as an instrument of revenue, minimising the deficit being the aim. It is agrued that to mix up with one very important

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objective another different and perhaps incomptaible one is to run the risk of failing in both. The impact of fiscal policy on the economic functionng becomes more obvious in case of State taxes. For example, sales tax the most important source of revenue for the State has been considered to have a direct impact on the trade and industry in a State. The effects of taxation have not been denied but they have been wrongly attributed to. Taxes collected in one way may have different economic effects from those levied in another way, because incentives are affected differently.

The State's own total resources are about 61%, out of which Sales tax forms 46% (nearly), excise 15.31%, electricity 14.29%, vehicle 9.3% and taxes on goods and passenger 5.72% of the total taxes (1989-90) R.E.

Looking to the State's percentage of Sales tax to the State's Tax revenue, we find that in Madhya Pradesh the collection from sales tax is quite low. The percentage is highest in Maharastra where it is 62.43 per cent while in the neighbouring States like Rajasthan, U.P. and A.P. it is 52.20%, 53.20% and 52.79% respectively (1980-90) R.E.

Perhaps in the eagerness to accelerate industrialisation, M.P. (along with a few other States like Bihar and U.P.) has chosen the most expensive incentive schemes (in terms of revenue foregone). Such incentives, however, do not prove to be so powerful as other factors like availability of infrastructural facilities, including power and availability of raw material, etc. Hence, it is an important fact to be explored whether State should go on loosing revenue, when it is not a largely effective factor in bringing about structural changes., Whether concessions in other taxes like taxes on goods and passenger, electicity tax, etc. can be more useful? Feasibility of raising the registration, entertainment and Stamp duty fees could also be examined.

If we take into account the buoyancy factor, which denotes the responsiveness of revenue to the changes in income, sales tax has given a buoyancy coefficient of 1.2 in the State, while it is lowest as compared to the other major taxes.

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It may be suggested that an Inter-state Taxation Council could be set up to examine the matters of uniformity in certain taxes like sales tax so as to avoid competition and wasteful expenditure, while the internal tax structure of the State could be tuned to bring about the desired structural changes in the economy.

Relative decline in the non-tax sources is also a matter of concern in the face of the fact that the State possessed rich natural resources like minerals and forests, which can be a good revenue source to the government through proper restructuring of rayalty rates, etc.

C. Regional Approach to Planning:-

What should be the form of the State Plan and how has it to be framed is another topic to be studied relating to the structural changes sought to be brought about in the State. Structural changes are the corollary to the process of development, or the end result of the planning exercise.

As we are aware, the nature of Planning in the country is in the process of change, as it is being considered by the government better to work as an umpire rather than player. The process of privatisation reduces involvement of the government in economic and commercial activities. Despite all this the significance of the planning will not change, though its form may change and the State (government) will have to be more vigilant then as an ultimate custodian of the Nation.

It is now an accepted fact that if the State Plans have to be more effective it has to emanate from the grass root looking to the needs, potentialities, capabilities and adaptability, etc. of a region, In the true sense of the word it is not merely the integration of the development plans of one level or at different levels, but it is the integration of the plans and the needs., potentialities, capabilities and adaptability of the people and their surroundings.

Madhya Pradesh being the biggest State (with an area of 442.8

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thousand sq. kms.) in the country with large diversities, district level planning is a must for the development of different agro-climatic regions. The planning may further be decentralised and more decision making and finances may be transferred to the villages and panchayats and local bodies. Thereby the scope for private sector to flourish would also widen. A more systematic integration of regional planning and sectoral planning will strengthen the process of attainment of long cherished growth with equity.

Planning Commission has divided Madhya Pradesh into five regions mainly on the basis of cropping pattern. Different regions of the State vary widely regarding the various aspects. Some of them are given below as an illustration.

i. Density of Population varies from 86.3 persons per Km. in region III to as high as 119.0 persons per km. in region V, as against M.P. average of 94 persons and the All-India Average of 183 persons.

ii. Percentage of Urban to Rural popolation varies from 9.58 in region I to 21.83% in Region V against M.P. Average of 15.50.

iii. Percentage of Scheduled Tribes to total population varies from 3.50 in Region IV to 31.68 in Region I. Percentage of Scheduled Caste varies from 9.03 in region I to 19.71 in Region III. M.P. averages 20.14 (ST). 13.09 (SC). All-India average 6.94 (ST) and 14.60 (SC).

iv. Revenue receipts from Mines and Minerals vary from 314.91 in Region I to 13.46 in Region V.

v. Percentage of Irrigated area varies from 19.54 in Region IV to 2.78 in Region II.

It is evident from the above few figures that different regions of the State (it is proposed to take District as the ultimate unit in our analysis) have their specific problems which have to be worked out in depth and a strategy is to be evolved for regional planning in

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the State to have a framework for the desirable structural changes in its economy as a whole, some region or regions acting as a complement to the other in the achievement of the objective.

Structural changes in the economy have not been uniform all over the State, The micro-level study would show that the different sectors have developed differently in different regions. For example, Agricultural intensity in 1980-81 (Index No. M.P. = 100) was minimum (89.4) in District Raisen while it came down to 77.59 as the minimum at Shahdol in 1986-87 respectively. Similarly, the area of land cultivated per agriculturist to total net cultivated area have shown varied trends in different areas. Also, if the per capita receipt from sales tax is taken as an indicator of industrial and commercial development there has been wide variations in different districts. The minimum value varied from Rs. 5.45 in 1980-81 to Rs. 1.77 in 1986-87, while the maximum value varied from 41.49 to 91.70 in the respective years.

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RELIGIOSITY AND THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH IN OLD AGE[1]

(A case study of Retired Government Employees Living in Urban Areas)

Saraswati Mishra

(In this research paper an effort has been made to examine the relationship that exists between the retirees' degree of religious-mindedness (RM) and religious-activenness (RA) on one hand and the degree of positiveness of theri attitudes towards the event of death (PAD)[2] on the other. The findings of the investigation among 800 retirees, demonstrate statistically significant positive association among these variables.).

Prelude :

A particular system of faith and worship is called religion (Oxford English Dictionary). It originates from the recognition of the existence of some higher unseen power, controlling the universe, i.e., almighty God, with the emotion and morality connected there with. The two most generally accepted derivations or interpretations of religion by Cicero and 'Christian Cicero' of 4th century, suggest the twofold aspect of religion. On the subjective side, it is part of the hidden experience of the psychic life; on the objective side, it involves the recurring performance of certain human activities and thus belongs to the realm of external phenomena. As a matter of fact, both the aspects of religion are interrelated, as, the external manifestations of religion are organically rooted in the inner experience of pyschic life (Bertholet, 1969 : 228).

The superior power, having full control of man's destiny, in-

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trenches upon his life and hence must be compounded with, if he has to ward of the dangers emanating from it and receive the assistance it can bestow. Thus, from the sociological point of view, the religion can be understood as the complex of man's interrelations with the super human power based on a particular system of faith and worship. In this way, religion is the belief in one or the other super-human, super-natural or supra-social power, directing and controlling the course of nature and the human life which has for its basis, the fear, the reverence, the devotion and the idea of sacredness and which is expressed through prayer, worship and submission (Mukerjee, 1985 : 49).

The religion defines and explains various aspects of life, death and life after death as well as transmits the message of God in the form of recommendations for ideal life style, generating positive effects during life, death and after death period (Marshall, 1986 : 125-146).

Nothing is more certain than the 'State of being dead', of every living being. But at the same time it is also true that every living being wants to continue its living process. Therefore while facing the death of others, we reflect upon our own mortal state and become conscious of this inevitable event (Moore, 1963). But as cited by Marshall (1986 : 125), George Simmel (1908), by recognising the inevitability of death as a fact of life, has distinguished its definition in the consciousness of individuals. According to him, the manner in which we conceive this fact of ours and its final effect, and in which we react to this conception, varies greatly. So does the way in which this element of our existence is interwoven with other elements.

Recognition of mortality by the culture is the universal phenomenon but it varies dramatically in form and content in different cultures. Every religion provides an answer to the question 'why human die?' The written and orally transmitted myths of diverse religions provide a wide variety of 'explanations' for death, conceptions of after life and the recommendations as to how the

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death should be faced with greater equanimity (Marshall, 1985 : 126). Thus under a particular cultural and religious environment we learn to accept our own impending deaths and keep on living.

In any Society, a set of few religious beliefs, written or orally transmitted, gets widely spread and shared by the people. And as an expression of the religious feelings, they adopt particular activity pattern in different stages of life, prescribed by their religion in the form of the wish of God.

According to the philosophy and most pouplar religious beliefs of Indian Society,[3] the human spirit (substance of inner self) is immortal. It emanates from the Supreme spirit of God, takes different physical forms in different lives in the world and ultimately gets absorped with the supreme spirit. The Salvation (Moksha) is the greatest achievement and a state of extreme happiness for human spirit as it gets liberated from the trouble-some cycle of birth and death forever. Connected with this spiritual aspect of life is the belief of human deed's outcome (result) which one has to go through during the life, death and life after death. While for good deeds the person earns graces and gets rewarded, for evil deeds one earns sins and gets punished even after death while staying in the heaven and hell between the two births respectively. Therefore the deeds approved by the religion have been declared as the greater ones and they should be performed without thinking about their outcome. Thus, a sense of continuity or on-goingness of life even after death, has been created by these beliefs among Indians.

In the Indian Society, the life of human being has been planned and organized under the traditional 'Ashram System' which provides equal and balanced opportunities for intellectual, behavioural and spiritual advancement in one's life. Under this system, the life span of 100 years has been divided into four equal parts of 25 years. In the first part, the person belongs to 'Brahmacharyashram' where one is expected to get oneself educated and attain knowledge for intellectual advancement. During the second phase of life, that is, 'Grahasthashram', a person is supposed to earn livelihood, get mar-

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ried and raise family, and perform 'Yagna' (institution of sacrifice and offerings) and lead a household life. In the third stage of 'Vanprasthashram', the person should try to get rid of the worldly ties and attachments by renunciating the homely environment and living in the forest. And in the last phase of life, that is 'Sanyasashram', a person should become monk (saint) totally renounce the world, plan his life in order to reach to the God and attain salvation through very hard and difficult penance (Tapasya), resulting into the graceful and willing acceptance of death, as it is considered as the opportunity of meeting the God (Mukerjee, 1985 : 26-48).

In the present Indian Society, we may not find the above mentioned life pattern in general but while living in the same house hold, increasing religiosity with the advancing age, can easily be observed in India. The religion plays a very important role specially in the later life of Indians. According to Indian religious preachings as we have seen earlier, the old people are recommended to detach themselves from the present materialistic world and to attach with the other spiritual world. Gradual withdrawal or disengagement, in other words, minimization of the needs, on the part of the aged people, may release them from the worries and tensions of worldly affairs and provide mental peace and satisfaction. Religiosity in terms of belief in life after death which gives a sense of 'ongoingness' may make the old people less afraid of impending death. Moreover, it provides various activities to pass their leisure time which is a biggest problem in old age specially in the case of retirees. Since present society does not provide them important roles and opportunities of social participation, they can divert their attention towards the spiritual matters. It can also avoid the conflicting situation created by the unnecessary interference by the elders in the personal affairs of grown-up children. The disengagement theory of successful aging (Cumming et. al., 1961) also suggests the 'rocking chair' pattern of life in old age.

But the situation today is, that with the modernization of the Indian Society, the religion's control over the people's life is decreas-

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ing gradually. Probably quite a few problems of old age in the present society emerge from the fact that the aged people wish to remain engaged in the worldly affairs till their last breath. Due to this tendency while on one hand, modern attitudes and activities of the younger generation make them unhappy and frustrated, on the other, they get worried and frightened due to the impending death, fast approaching to them.

Objective: In the present paper an effort has been made to find out the relationship that exists between the religiosity and the attitudes towards death in oldage. It was thought quite proper and interesting to know whether religiosity helps them to get mentally prepared to face death gracefully or creates fears and tension in their minds about the terrific experiences at the time of death or during the imagined life after death.

Concepts: For the purpose of the study the term 'religiosity' has been divided into two parts, i.e., religious-mindedness (RM) and religious-activeness (RA). They are considered to be the two facets of religiosity, very closely connected yet possibly different from each other, atleast at the comparative ground. Positiveness of attitudes towards death (PAD) conveys a healthy outlook regarding the event of death.

Hypotheses: Due to lack of literature available in India in this field, mainly on the basis of observation and logic, few hypotheses were constructed to be tested. They are-

1. Religious-mindedness will be positively associated with the positiveness of the attitudes towards death.
2. Religious-activenss will be positively associated with the positiveness of the attitudes towards death.
3. Religious-mindedness and religious-activeness are positively associated with each other.

Research Design: Explainatory type of research design has been adopted for the purpose of understanding the PAD in the context of RM and RA.

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Importance: Apart from adding knowledge to the literature on the subject, its practical importance lies in the guidance to the aged people for getting better prepared to face the inevitable event of death. It may also help the welfare agencies, active in the field of aged people to decide whether to divert their attention towards religon or not.

Universe and Sample: The universe of the study is the entire number of male retired Government employees living in the cities of Chandigarh and Jabalpur (2400). By adopting the simple random sampling method, one-third Proportion of the universe, that is, 800 retirees, were selected out of which only 720 could be interviewed. Death, change of address and migration were the main reasons behind sample mortality.

Procedure of Data Collection: Interview method was selected for collecting the information about the retirees' attitudes, beliefs and activities.

Index of Religious-mindedness: With a view to judging the levels of RM of the aged people, an index, measuring the strength of their faith in the popular religious beliefs, has been prepared. The religious beliefs, taken into account are about the existence of almighty God; pre-determined fate of a person; concepts of 'Punya' (grace) and 'pap' (sins); 'Karmaphal' (out come or the result of deeds) and rebirth; hell and heaven; relationship between the common spirit and the supreme spirit and the state of salvation.

Index of positiveness of attitudes towards death: With the intention of deciding the level of PAD also, an index measuring their mental preparedness to embrace the death at any time, has been constructed. For this purpose six statements indicating the meaning of death to the individual, such as vision or thought of death as a source of anxiety and depression; imagination of the experience of death as quite painful and frightening; death as the source of bereavement and problems to others; death as a quiet, natural and inevitable event of life, death as the opportunity of unification with God and getting better life afterwards, and the death as the freedom

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or emancipation from the false worldly illusions and attachments (Maya and Moh), have been used.

Scaling technique: While preparing the indexes, Likert type of scaling method has been used. Both the indexes contain three positive and three negative statements which have been mixed up and arranged in the index to get reliable information. Each statement has five point response categories, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The score of each statement ranges from one to five in negative statement and five to one in positive statement. In this way the total scores of all the six statements of each index adds to 30.

Item analysis: After completing the data collection 100 interview schedules have been selected randomly and the upper and lower quartiles (25 schedules) for each item score have been worked out. It is assumed that these two groups provide the criteria groups in terms of which each statement of an index can be evaluated by deriving its 't' ratio. As Edwards (1969 : 19-53) has written, the value of 't' measures the extent to which a given statement differentiates between the high and low groups. As a crude and approximate rule of thumb, 't' value, equal to or greater than 1.75 may be regarded as indicating that the average response of the high and low groups to a statement differs significantly, provided 25 or more subjects have been kept in both the groups.

For the purpose of our study also, with the help of 't' ratio, the difference between the mean response of each statement in the upper and lower quartiles has been tested for significane. Any statement having 't' ratio less than 1.75 is required to be removed from the index. The 't' ratio of each statement of the two indexes of our study has been shown in the appendix No. 1. It is a matter of chance that all the Six Statements of each index were found to differ significantly, hence the removal of any statement was not required.

The total score of a respondent on any one of the two indexes has been taken as the indicator of his level of the concerned variable i.e. religious mindedness (RM) or positiveness of attitudes towards death (PAD). Based on the five point response categories of

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the Six statements, the possible total score, an individual can obtain in any index, ranges from 6 to 30. This range of score has been equally divided into five categories as 6 to 10, 11 to 15, 16 to 20, 21 to 25 and 26 to 30. Higher score on any index shows the better level regarding that variable. All the respondents have been appropriated in these categories indicating the level of either RM or PAD as very low, low, average, high and very high.

In order to measure the degree of retirees' religious activeness, the total time spent by them daily on religious activities, such as worshiping, praying, reading religious books, telling religious stories, visiting religious institutions, singing religious songs, meditating, listening religious preachings etc. has been considered as the indicator of the level of their religious-activeness (RA). The retirees spending less than 1 hr, 1 to 2 hrs, 2 to 3 hrs, 3 to 4 hrs. and above 4 hrs. on religious activities daily, have been categorised as having very low, low, average, high and very high level of religious–activeness.

Test of Association: In the present investigation an attempt has been made to examine the relationship that exists between the religious-mindedness and the religious-activeness on one hand and the positiveness of attitudes towards death on the other. Therefore any tow variables under consideration have been cross tabulated to find out their relationship. Since we have the ordinal level of data, Goodman's and Kruskal's Gamma(r) test of association has been applied for examining the association between any two variables. Since 'r' measures the degree of agreement between any two ordinal level variables, the value of 'r' shows the percentage of error which gets reduced in the mutual predictatability of those two variables (Champion, 1968 : 219-224). Further, the value of 'r' has been converted into the value of 'z' to findout its statistical significance by applying the conservative asymptotic test suggested by Goodman and kruskal (1963 : 310-364).

The value of 'r' ranging between .1 to .3, between .3 to .4 and above .4 is considered as indicating the weak, moderate and high association between any two variables respectively. The 'z' values

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ranging between 1.92 to 2.33 and above 2.33 are considered statistically significant at .05 and .01 level respectively. Owing to the qualitative nature of the data, .05 level has been set to test the statistical significance of association between any two variables. Since the nature of the variables concerned is largely qualitative, a multiple correlational analysis could not be adopted and the researcher has to be contented with only a single factor association between any two variables.

FINDINGS

In the sample of the study, 79.59, 12.36, 3.75, 1.74 and 2.36 percent of the retirees are Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and other religious groups respectively.

Table No. 1 Shows the distribution of the respondents regarding the three variables under consideration.

TABLE - 1
Distribution of the Respondents according to their levels of RM, RA and PAD.

Degree or the level of the variable	Religious-mindedness.	Religious-activeness	Positiveness of attitudes towards death.
Very Low	45 (6.25)	107 (14.86)	96 (13.33)
Low	52 (7.22)	179 (24.86)	142 (19.72)
Average	101 (14.02)	165 (22.92)	143 (19.86)
High	12 (17.22)	139 (19.31)	151 (20.98)
Very High	398 (55.29)	130 (18.05)	188 (26.11)
TOTAL:	720 (100.00)	720 (100.00)	720 (100.00)

(Percentages are given in the parentheses)

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Table 1 demonstrates a great concentration of the aged people in the category of very high level of strength of faith in religious beliefs. Regarding religious–activeness and positiveness of attitudes towards death we do not find the heavy concentration in any category. More or less same proportion of the retirees fall in the all levels of these two variables.

Now we are in position to find out the relationship among these variables.

RM and PAD: RM plays an important role in old age. It goes with the traditionalism and helps the people to divert their attention from the worldly matters to the spiritual matters. It is very significant in view of the fact that present society does not provide the aged people, the opportunities of achieving higher status. In the situation they can withdraw themselves mentally from the known world of their near and dear ones and draw some satisfaction or peace by connecting themselves with the God.

Like any other society, in Indian society also the religion defines, explains and gives meaning to the life, death and life after death. According to it, human spirit is immortal as it is the part of the supreme spirit of God. It only changes the physical forms in different births (Like one changes the clothes). Origin and the end of the soul is God, as salvation is the ultimate aim of it. The religious belief in the life after death may give a sense of on-goingness to the aged people and make them less afraid of their impending death. This realization may release them from the tensions and worries and they may generate in themselves the positive attitudes towards death.

Considering it was hypothesized that significant positive association exists between RM and PAD in old age. The two indexes, measuring the level of RM and PAD have already been discussed in detail. For RM, the strength of faith in religious beliefs and for PAD, mental preparedness for death, are the criteria for measurement. For examining the relationship between above mentioned two variables, all the retirees are divided into five categories, i.e. having very low,

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low, average, high and very high level of both the variables separately and the frequencies are cross tabulated in the table–2. After that the Gamma 'r' test of association has been applied to findout the relationship. Further, the value of 'r' has been converted into the value of 'z' to findout its statistical significance.

TABLE - 2

Distribution of the Respondents according to their levels of RM and PAD

Level of RM	Level of PAD					
	Very low	Low	Average	High	Very high	Total
Very low	25	12	5	3	0	45
Low	10	29	8	4	1	52
Average	17	16	37	18	13	101
High	16	15	21	35	37	124
Very High	28	70	72	91	127	398
Total	96	142	143	151	188	720

(= .40, z = 2.73)

Table-2 demonstrates, firstly, that majority of the retirees are having very strong faith in the religious beliefs prevalent in the Indian Society, Secondly, that a considerable number of them have quite positive attitudes towards death also, and vice-versa. The point worth noticing here is, that we find quite a few retirees having very high level of RM, falling in the category of low level of PAD When we applied the test of association between these two variables, It has been found that a moderate degree of positive association, which is statistically significant at. 01 level, exists between them (r = .40, z = 2.73). This finding supports our hypothesis regarding these variables to a great extent. Moderate association between them shows that the religious beliefs are not very much effective in creating the higher degree of postiveness of attitudes towards death among the retirees.

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Now let us examine the relationship that exists between RA and PAD among our respondents.

RA and PAD: RA plays a very significant role in old age specially in the case of retirees. In the present society, which does not provide opportunities of social participation to its senior members, they have to face the problem of leisure time. While younger generation does not approve their interference in every matter, they themselves want to remain in the dominating position. This creates conflicting situation at home and generates intolerance and irritation on the part of both the generations. Moreover, the aged people remain tense and worried due to the fast approaching death to them. The idea of imaginary after-death, life also frightens them and they really do not know what is there in store for them in near future. Under these circumstances, involvement in religious activitiess can be proved as a boon to them. They on one hand, can withdraw themselves from the worldly affairs by detaching from the near and dear ones and remain busy in religious activities to pass the time; on the other, they can earn graces through the performance of religious deeds and consequently be assured about the lack of sufferings or punishment by God during the present life, death and life after death. This can release them from mental tension and depression and bring them some satisfaction and happiness.

Considering these possibilities it was hypothesized that the positive association exists between RA and PAD in old age.

In order to indicate the level of religious involvement of the respondents, the time spent by them, on religious activities every day, has been taken into account. The retired people spending upto 1hr, 1 to 2 hrs, 2 to 3 hrs, 3 to 4 hrs and above 4 hrs, on religious activities, have been considered as having very low, low, average, high and very high level of religious activeness. The frequencies regarding this variable were cross tabulated with the frequencies of PAD in the table-3 and then the tests for association and its statistial significance were applied.

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Table - 3

Distribution of the Repondents According to their levels of RA and PAD

Level of RA	Level of PAD					
	Very low	Low	Average	High	Very high	Total
Very low	68	21	17	1	0	107
Low	12	97	49	21	0	179
Average	9	11	56	55	34	165
High	5	11	11	64	48	139
Very High	2	2	10	10	106	130
Total	96	142	143	151	188	720

(r = .77, z = 4.85)

Table-3 demonstrates firstly, that more or less same proportion of the retirees have come in the all level categories of RA but the largest group of retired people is spending 1 to 2 hrs daily on religious activities; and Secondly, that a considerable number of people is having quite positive attitudes towards death. Cross tabulation of both the variables shows quite clearly that most of the aged people having lower or higher levels of religious involvement are also having the lower or higher levels of PAD respectively. And this is the case of over whelming majority of retirees. Both the variables have the tendency to proceed or recede together in the same direction. On the application of the test of association between these two variables, it has been found that a very high degree of positive association, which is statistically significant at .01 level, exists between them (r = .77, Z = 4.85). This finding strongly proves our hypothesis regarding the relationship of these variables i.e. higher the RA higher the PAD. It certainly shows that religious involvement may lead to positive attitudes towards death in old age. It seems, as it was expected, that more involvement in religious activities assures them that they will certainly be placed in heaven after death. They may also attain salvation, and if not, they will definitely get confortable and respectful life in the next birth. In the rest of

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the present life and during the event of death also, they will not have to suffer, as they are earning lot of graces through religious deeds. This decreases the fear of death in their minds and makes them free from tension and anxiety. It seems quite possible that highly religiously active old people may prepare themselves to die any time and quite a few of them may even look forward to die as it relieves them from false illusions and attachments of the present world.

R.M. and R.A.: Initially it was hypothesized that RM and RA must be significantly associated in positive direction specially among retirees. But moderate positive relationship between the RM and PAD (r = .40, Z = 2.73) on one hand and the high level of positive association between RA and PAD (r = .77, z = 4.85) on the other, demonstrates firstly, that RA is affecting PAD more than RM and secondly, that it is not necessary that a highy religious minded person should also be highly involved in the religious activities and vice versa.

In order to confirm the above mentioned fact, it was thought proper to examine the relationship that exists between RM and RA in old age. For the purpose, frequencies in the five categories of RM were cross tabulated with the frequencies in the five categories of RA in table 4.

Table - 4
Distribution of the respondent according to the RM and RA

	Degree of Religious Activeness					
Degrre of Religious Mindedness	Very low	Low	Average	High	Very high	Total
Very Low	26	10	6	3	0	45
Low	9	31	7	4	1	52
Average	18	19	34	17	13	101
High	13	25	28	39	19	124
Very High	41	94	90	76	97	398
Total	107	179	165	139	130	720

(r = .31, z = 1. 64)

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Table 4 demonstrates that while majority of the respondents have achieved very high level of RM, we do not find such heavy concentration in any category regarding RA. More or less same proportion of the retirees have fallen in all the categories of RA. It also shows that although in lower levels of both the variables we find some association between the two facets of religion, i.e. RM and RA but in the higher categories it is not so. It is quite clearly visible that almost same proporation of those having very high level of RM have low, average and very high level of RA. When we applied the test of association between the two variables, we found the moderate positive association exists between them which is not statistically significant even at .05 level (r = .31, z = 1.64).

The findings demonstrate the fact that quite a few aged people are not involving themselves much in religious activities inspite of their very strong faith in religious beliefs. Consequently, they are not certain about the treatment they will get by the almighty God during the event of death and life after death, which creates fear of death in their minds. The phenomena is quite understandable and there can be several reasons due to which they may not be able to devote much time to religious activities. For example, money earning activities due to liabilities even at this age may be the biggest obstacle in this respect. Bad health condition, house hold jobs, other interests and hobbies or the mere laziness may be the other reasons in this regard. In this way, our hypothesis regarding the close association between RM and RA was approved by the data only partially.

Now we can summarize our findings as below:

(a) RM is positively associated with PAD. This relationship, although exists at the moderate level, is statisically significant at .01 level (r = .40, Z - 2.73).

(b) RA and PAD are positively associated at a much higher degree and obviously this association too is statistically significant at .01 level (r = .77, Z - 4.85).

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(c) The value of relationship between RA and RM is not statistically significant, although they are positively associated with each other (r = .31, Z = 1.64).

In this way, while our two main hypotheses about the significant positive association between the RM and RA on one hand and PAD on the other, have been approved by the facts, the side hypothesis regardig the close association between the RM and RA has been partly rejected by the findings of the investigation.

Conclusions: On the basis of above mentioned facts we can couclude that RM alone is not sufficient to produce positive attituds towards death. On the contrary, it may create anxiety, fear and depression in the human mind. Most important is the RA, of course based on the RM, through which one gets assured to have good experience of death in the present as well as in the spiritual world, when RM gent compuled wih the RA, it becomes very effective on the issue under consideration. It indicates towards the fact that due to the imagined positive consequeneces of religious deeds, the self assurance about the comfortable experiences in future, i.e., during and after death; decreases the seriousness of threat posed by the fast approaching death to them. On the contrary they look forward to embrance death anytime to get earlier release from the wordly worries of present life. They think it as the joyful and peaceful event, liberating them from the responsibilities and giving opportunity to meet the God and achieve the state of salvation to get rid of the life and death cycle again and again in different births.

Suggestions: Since the practical purpose of knowledge in the field of thanatology is to provide death education to the people, on the basis of our conclusions, some suggestions can be forwarded to the aged people and to the agencies working for their welfare. For the happy ending of life, the aged people should try to minimize their needs and detach them-selves from the worldly ties. They should look at the death as the inevitable natural phenomena which should be accepted willingly in the later years of life. For the aged, having strong religious beliefs, best course of action is to devote

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more time in religious activities if their basic needs along with the dependents' requirements are being fulfilled. The agencies working for them may provide opportunities of religious group activities. Consultation services can be provided and lectures, discussions, film shows etc. can be arranged to educate them on death and remove its fear from their minds. This will help them to plan rest of their life and the end of their life properly.

Reference

1. This paper is prepared on the basis of information collected by the author during the field work for the D. Litt. thesis on 'Social Adjustment in old Age' which was submitted in July, 1985, in Jabalpur University of Madhya Pradesh, India.

2. These abbreviations will be used subsequently to express the variables under consideration.

3. According to 1981 census report, there are 85% Hindus, 9.9% Muslims, 2.3% Christians, 1.7% Sikhs, .5% Jains, .05% Bouddhs, .03% Parasies, .477% tribal religious groups and .03% other non-tribal groups in the Indian population (Census of India, 1981).
   Although the religious beliefs, being mentioned here are mainly from the Hindu religion but they are prevalent in the whole Indian Society. In other religious groups also they are found in some or the other form and their negative or positive impact can easily be seen on the lives of individuals other than Hindus.
   By considering the fact, that over whelming majority of the followers of other religions in India, especially Muslim, Christian and sikh, have the Hindu ancestors; all the retirees of different religions were grouped together for the purpose of finding out the degree of their religiosity and attitudes towards death.

4. Quite often we come to know about such events where the highly religious people such as Saints, Sages etc. minimize their needs, involve themselves more and more with advancing age in meditation and prayers etc., get mentally prepared for death and ultimately die quietly & peacefully.

APENDIX–A

(a) Item Analysis ('t' ratio) of the Statements of the Index of Religious Mindedness :

S. No.	Statement and the Degree of Agreement					Mean of Lower quartile	Mean of Upper quartile	Value of 't'
1.	I believe in the existence of almighty God Every where.							
	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	1.32	4.48	7.9
	5	4	3	2	1			
2.	I do not believe that the fate of a person is pre-determined by God.					1.2	3.8	9.6
	S.A. 1	A.2	U.3	D.4	S.D.5			
3.	I believe in the concept of 'Pap' & 'Punya'					1.36	3.88	8.7
	S.A.5	A.4	U.3	D.2	S.D.1			
4.	I do not believe in the concept of 'Karmaphal' and the rebirth.					2.1	4.3	7.8
	S.A. 1	A.2	U.3	D.4	S.D.5			

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5.	I believe in the concept of hell and heaven.					1.60	4.40	9.1
	S.A.5	A.4	U.3	D.2	S.D.1			
6.	I do not believe in the inter-relationship between the human and supreme spirit and the state of salvation.					1.44	4.00	9.1
	S.A.1	A.2	U.3	D.4	S.D.5			

(b) Item Analysis of the Statements of the Index of positiveness of Attitudes towards Death

S. No.	Statement and the Degree of Agreemnt					Mean of Lower quartile	Mean of Upper quartile	Value of 't'
1.	Quite often thoughts about death worry me a lot and I get depressed.							
	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	1.96	4.4	9.5
	1	2	3	4	5			
2.	We should accept the death not as the source of bereavement but as an inevitable natural event of life.					2.36	4.48	8.8
	S.A. 5	A.4	U.3	D.2	S.D.1			

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3.	Death must be a quite painful and tough experience for a dying person					1.40	3.60	6.9
	S.A.1	A.2	U.3	D.4	S.D.5			
4.	Death provides an opportunity of meeting and unifying with the God.					1.00	3.72	12.00
	S.A.5	A.4	U.3	D.2	S.D.1			
5.	The after death life of spiritual world seems quite frightening to me.					2.56	4.5	7.4
	S.A.1	A.2	U.3	D.4	S.D.5			
6.	Death provides an occasion to get freedom from the worldly illusions and bindings.					1.4	4.4	11.8
	S.A.5	A.4	U.3	D.2	S.D.1			

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